



THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L I S H P O E T R Y,
FROM THE
CLOSE of the ELEVENTH
TO THE
COMMENCEMENT of the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
T W O D I S S E R T A T I O N S.

- I. ON THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
II. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

By THOMAS WARTON, B. D.
FELLOW of TRINITY COLLEGE OXFORD, and of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES.

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THE HISTORY OF
ENGLISH POETRY

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

TWO
VOLUMES

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

POLLITT
ARTS

VOLUME THE FIRST

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

THOMAS WATSON, ESQ.

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

LONDON

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

OF THE
POETRY OF THE
ENGLISH

TO HIS GRACE
G E O R G E
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,
MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD,
KNIGHT OF THE
MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER,
A JUDGE AND A PATRON
OF THE
P O L I T E A R T S,

THIS WORK IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

By his Grace's most obliged,

And most obedient Servant,

THOMAS WARTON.

P R E F A C E.

IN an age advanced to the highest degree of refinement, that species of curiosity commences, which is busied in contemplating the progress of social life, in displaying the gradations of science, and in tracing the transitions from barbarism to civility.

That these speculations should become the favourite pursuits, and the fashionable topics, of such a period, is extremely natural. We look back on the savage condition of our ancestors with the triumph of superiority; we are pleased to mark the steps by which we have been raised from rudeness to elegance: and our reflections on this subject are accompanied with a conscious pride, arising, in great measure, from a tacit comparison of the infinite disproportion between the feeble efforts of remote ages, and our present improvements in knowledge.

In the mean time, the manners, monuments, customs, practices, and opinions of antiquity, by forming so strong a contrast with those of our own times, and by exhibiting human nature and human inventions in new lights, in unexpected appearances, and in various forms, are objects which forcibly strike a feeling imagination.

Nor does this spectacle afford nothing more than a fruitless gratification to the fancy. It teaches us to set a just estimation on our own acquisitions; and encourages us to cherish that cultivation, which is so closely connected with the existence and the exercise of every social virtue.

On these principles, to develop the dawnings of genius, and to pursue the progress of our national poetry, from a rude origin and obscure beginnings, to its perfection in a polished age, must prove an interesting and instructive investigation. But a history of poetry, for another reason, yet on the same principles, must be more especially productive of entertainment and utility. I mean, as it is an art, whose object is human society: as it has the peculiar merit, in its operations on that object, of faithfully recording the features of the times, and of preserving

serving the most picturesque and expressive representations of manners: and, because the first monuments of composition in every nation are those of the poet, as it possesses the additional advantage of transmitting to posterity genuine delineations of life in its simplest stages. Let me add, that anecdotes of the rudiments of a favourite art will always be particularly pleasing. The more early specimens of poetry must ever amuse, in proportion to the pleasure which we receive from its finished productions.

Much however depends on the execution of such a design, and my readers are to decide in what degree I have done justice to so specious and promising a disquisition. Yet a few more words will not be perhaps improper, in vindication, or rather in explanation, of the manner in which my work has been conducted. I am sure I do not mean, nor can I pretend, to apologise for its defects.

I have chose to exhibit the history of our poetry in a chronological series: not distributing my matter into detached articles, of periodical divisions, or of general heads. Yet I have not always adhered so scrupulously to the regularity of annals, but that I
have

have often deviated into incidental digressions; and have sometimes stopped in the course of my career, for the sake of recapitulation, for the purpose of collecting scattered notices into a single and uniform point of view, for the more exact inspection of a topic which required a separate consideration, or for a comparative survey of the poetry of other nations.

A few years ago, Mr. MASON, with that liberality which ever accompanies true genius, gave me an authentic copy of Mr. POPE's scheme of a History of English Poetry, in which our poets were classed under their supposed respective schools. The late lamented Mr. GRAY had also projected a work of this kind, and translated some Runic odes for its illustration, now published: but soon relinquishing the prosecution of a design, which would have detained him from his own noble inventions, he most obligingly condescended to favour me with the substance of his plan, which I found to be that of Mr. POPE, considerably enlarged, extended, and improved.

It is vanity in me to have mentioned these communications. But I am apprehensive my vanity will justly be thought much greater, when it shall appear, that in giving the history of English poetry,
I have

I have rejected the ideas of men who are its most distinguished ornaments. To confess the real truth, upon examination and experiment, I soon discovered their mode of treating my subject, plausible as it is, and brilliant in theory, to be attended with difficulties and inconveniencies, and productive of embarrassment both to the reader and the writer. Like other ingenious systems, it sacrificed much useful intelligence to the observance of arrangement; and in the place of that satisfaction which results from a clearness and a fulness of information, seemed only to substitute the merit of disposition, and the praise of contrivance. The constraint imposed by a mechanical attention to this distribution, appeared to me to destroy that free exertion of research with which such a history ought to be executed, and not easily reconcilable with that complication, variety, and extent of materials, which it ought to comprehend.

The method I have pursued, on one account at least, seems preferable to all others. My performance, in its present form, exhibits without transposition the gradual improvements of our poetry, at the same time that it uniformly represents the progression of our language.

Some perhaps will be of opinion, that these annals ought to have commenced with a view of the Saxon poetry. But besides that a legitimate illustration of that jejune and intricate subject would have almost doubled my labour, that the Saxon language is familiar only to a few learned antiquaries, that our Saxon poems are for the most part little more than religious rhapsodies, and that scarce any compositions remain marked with the native images of that people in their pagan state, every reader that reflects but for a moment on our political establishment must perceive, that the Saxon poetry has no connection with the nature and purpose of my present undertaking. Before the Norman accession, which succeeded to the Saxon government, we were an unformed and an unsettled race. That mighty revolution obliterated almost all relation to the former inhabitants of this island; and produced that signal change in our policy, constitution, and public manners, the effects of which have reached modern times. The beginning of these annals seems therefore to be most properly dated from that era, when our national character began to dawn.

It was recommended to me, by a person eminent in the republic of letters, totally to exclude from these

these volumes any mention of the English drama. I am very sensible that a just history of our Stage is alone sufficient to form an entire and extensive work ; and this argument, which is by no means precluded by the attempt here offered to the public, still remains separately to be discussed, at large, and in form. But as it was professedly my intention to comprise every species of English Poetry, this, among the rest, of course claimed a place in these annals, and necessarily fell into my general design. At the same time, as in this situation it could only become a subordinate object, it was impossible I should examine it with that critical precision and particularity, which so large, so curious, and so important an article of our poetical literature demands and deserves. To have considered it in its full extent, would have produced the unwieldy excrescence of a disproportionate episode : not to have considered it at all, had been an omission, which must detract from the integrity of my intended plan. I flatter myself however, that from evidences hitherto unexplored, I have recovered hints which may facilitate the labours of those, who shall hereafter be inclined to investigate the antient state of dramatic exhibition in this country, with due comprehension and accuracy.

It will probably be remarked, that the citations in the first volume are numerous, and sometimes very prolix. But it should be remembered, that most of these are extracted from antient manuscript poems never before printed, and hitherto but little known. Nor was it easy to illustrate the darker and more distant periods of our poetry, without producing ample specimens. In the mean time, I hope to merit the thanks of the antiquarian, for enriching the stock of our early literature by these new accessions: and I trust I shall gratify the reader of taste, in having so frequently rescued from oblivion the rude inventions and irregular beauties of the heroic tale, or the romantic legend.

The design of the DISSERTATIONS is to prepare the reader, by considering apart, in a connected and comprehensive detail, some material points of a general and preliminary nature, and which could not either with equal propriety or convenience be introduced, at least not so formally discussed, in the body of the book; to establish certain fundamental principles to which frequent appeals might occasionally be made, and to clear the way for various observations arising in the course of my future enquiries.

C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S E C T I O N S in the F I R S T V O L U M E.

S E C T I O N I.

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SECTION IX.

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SECTION

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OF THE
O R I G I N
O F
ROMANTIC FICTION in EUROPE.

DISSERTATION I.

THAT peculiar and arbitrary species of Fiction which we commonly call Romantic, was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome. It appears to have been imported into Europe by a people, whose modes of thinking, and habits of invention, are not natural to that country. It is generally supposed to have been borrowed from the Arabians. But this origin has not been hitherto perhaps examined or ascertained with a sufficient degree of accuracy. It is my present design, by a more distinct and extended inquiry than has yet been applied to the subject, to trace the manner and the period of its introduction into the popular belief, the oral poetry, and the literature, of the Europeans.

It is an established maxim of modern criticism, that the fictions of Arabian imagination were communicated to the
a western

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western world by means of the *crusades*. Undoubtedly those expeditions greatly contributed to propagate this mode of fabling in Europe. But it is evident, although a circumstance which certainly makes no material difference as to the principles here established, that these fancies were introduced at a much earlier period. The Saracens, or Arabians, having been for some time seated on the northern coasts of Africa, entered Spain about the beginning of the eighth century^a. Of this country they soon effected a complete conquest: and imposing their religion, language, and customs, upon the inhabitants, erected a royal seat in the capital city of Cordoua.

That by means of this establishment they first revived the sciences of Greece in Europe, will be proved at large in another place^b: and it is obvious to conclude, that at the same time they disseminated those extravagant inventions which were so peculiar to their romantic and creative genius. A manuscript cited by Du Cange acquaints us, that the Spaniards, soon after the irruption of the Saracens, entirely neglected the study of the Latin language; and captivated with the novelty of the oriental books imported by these strangers, suddenly adopted an unusual pomp of style, and an affected elevation of diction^c. The ideal tales of these eastern invaders, recommended by a brilliancy of description, a variety of imagery, and an exuberance of invention, hitherto unknown and unfamiliar to the cold and barren conceptions of a western climate, were eagerly caught up, and universally diffused. From Spain, by the communications of a constant commercial intercourse through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, they soon passed into France and Italy.

^a See ALMAKIN, edit. Pocock. p. 72.

^b See the second Dissertation.

^c "Arabico eloquio *sublimati*, &c. Du

Cang. Gloss. Med. Inf. Latinitat. tom. i. Præf. p. xxvii. §. 31.

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In France, no province, or district, seems to have given these fictions of the Arabians a more welcome or a more early reception, than the inhabitants of Armorica or Basse Bretagne, now Britany; for no part of France can boast so great a number of antient romances^c. Many poems of high antiquity, composed by the Armorican bards, still remain^d, and are frequently cited by father Lobineau in his learned history of Basse Bretagne^e. This territory was as it were newly peopled in the fourth century by a colony or army of the Welsh, who migrated thither under the conduct of Maximus a Roman general in Britain^f, and Conau

^c The reason on which this conclusion is founded will appear hereafter.

^d In the British Museum is a set of old French tales of chivalry in verse, written, as it seems, by the bards of Bretagne. MSS. Harl. 978. 107.

"TRISTRAM A WALES" is mentioned, f. 171. b.

Tristram ki bien saveit HARPEIR.

In the adventure of the knight ELIDUC. f. 172. b.

En Bretagne un chevalier
Pruz, e curteis, hardi, e fier.

Again, under the same champion, f. 173.

Il tient sun chemin tut avant
A la mer vient si est passez
En Toteneis est arrivez
Plufurs reis ot en la tere
Entre eus eurent e strif e guere
Vers Excestre en cil pais.

TOTENEIS is Totness in Devonshire.—

Under the knight MILUN. f. 166.

Milun fu de Suthwales nez.

He is celebrated for his exploits in Ireland, Norway, Gothland, Lotharingia, Albany, &c.

Under LAUNVAL, f. 154. b.

En Bretains lapelent Launval.

Under GUIGEMAR. f. 141. b.

La chambre est peint tut entour
Venus de deveffe damur

Futres bien en la paintur
Le traiz mustres e la natur
Coment hume deit amur tenir
E lealment e bien servir
Le livre Ovide ou il enseigne, &c.

This description of a chamber painted with Venus and the three mysteries of nature, and the allusion to Ovid, prove the tales before us to be of no very high antiquity. But they are undoubtedly taken from others much older, of the same country. At the end of ELIDUC's tale we have these lines. f. 181.

Del aventure de ces traiz
Li auntien BRITUN curteis
Frent le lai pour remember
Q'hum nel deust pas oublier.

And under the tale of FRESNE, f. 148.

Li BRITUN enfrent un lai.

At the conclusion of most of the tales it is said that these LAIS were made by the poets of Bretagne. Another of the tales is thus closed. f. 146.

Que cest kunte ke oi avez
Fu Guigemar le LAI trouvez
Q'hum fait en harpe en rote
Bone est a oir la note.

^e HISTOIRE DE BRETAGNE, ii. tom. fol.

^f Maximus appears to have set up a separate interest in Britain, and to have engaged an army of the provincial Britons on his side, against the Romans. Not succeeding

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lord of Meiriadoc or Denbigh-land^z. The Armoric language now spoken in Britany is a dialect of the Welsh: and so strong a resemblance still subsists between the two languages, that in our late conquest of Belleisle, such of our soldiers as were natives of Wales were understood by the peasantry. Milton, whose imagination was much struck with the old British story, more than once alludes to the Welsh colony planted in Armorica by Maximus and the prince of Meiriadoc.

Et tandem ARMORICOS Britonum sub lege colonos^b.

And in the PARADISE LOST he mentions indiscriminately the knights of Wales and Armorica as the customary retinue of king Arthur.

—————What resounds

In fable or romance, of Uther's son
Begirt with BRITISH and ARMORIC knightsⁱ.

This migration of the Welsh into Britany or Armorica, which during the distractions of the empire, in consequence of the numerous armies of barbarians with which Rome was surrounded on every side, had thrown off its dependence on the Romans, seems to have occasioned a close connection between the two countries for many centuries^k. Nor will

succeeding in his designs, he was obliged to retire with his British troops to the continent, as in the text. He had a considerable interest in Wales, having married Ellena daughter of Eudda a powerful chieftain of North-wales. She was born at Caernarvon, where her chapel is still shewn. Mon. Antiq. p. 166. seq.

^z See Hist. de Bretagne, par d'Argentre, p. 2. Powel's WALES, p. 1. 2. seq. and p. 6. edit. 1584. Lhuyd's Etymol. p. 32. col. 3. And Galfrid. Mon. HIST. BRIT. Lib. v. c. 12. vii. 3. ix. 2. Compare Borlase, Antiq. Cornwall, B. i. ch. 10. p. 40.

^b MARCUS.

ⁱ Parad. l. i. 579. Compare Pelloutier, Mém. sur la Langue Celt. fol. tom. i. 19.

^k This secession of the Welsh, at so critical a period, was extremely natural, into a neighbouring maritime country, with which they had constantly trafficked, and which, like themselves, had disclaimed the Roman yoke. It is not related in any Greek or Roman historian. But their silence is by no means a sufficient warrant for us to reject the numerous testimonies of the old British writers concerning this event. It is mentioned, in particular, by Llywarchen, a famous bard, who lived only one hundred and fifty years afterwards. Many of his poems are still extant, in which he celebrates his twenty-four sons who wore gold chains, and were all killed in battles against the Saxons.

it

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it prove less necessary to our purpose to observe, that the Cornish Britons, whose language was another dialect of the antient British, from the fourth or fifth century downwards, maintained a no less intimate correspondence with the natives of Armorica: intermarrying with them, and perpetually resorting thither for the education of their children, for advice, for procuring troops against the Saxons, for the purposes of traffick, and various other occasions. This connection was so strongly kept up, that an ingenious French antiquary supposes, that the communications of the Armoricans with the Cornish had chiefly contributed to give a roughness or rather hardness to the romance or French language in some of the provinces, towards the eleventh century, which was not before discernible¹. And this intercourse will appear more natural, if we consider, that not only Armorica, a maritime province of Gaul, never much frequented by the Romans, and now totally deserted by them, was still in some measure a Celtic nation; but that also the inhabitants of Cornwall, together with those of Devonshire and of the adjoining parts of Somersetshire, intermixing in a very slight degree with the Romans, and having suffered fewer important alterations in their original constitution and customs from the imperial laws and police than any other province of this island, long preserved their genuine manners and British character: and forming a sort of separate principality under the government of a succession of powerful chieftains, usually denominated princes or dukes of Cornwall, remained partly in a state of independence during the Saxon heptarchy, and were not entirely reduced till the Norman conquest. Cornwall, in particular, retained its old Celtic dialect till the reign of Elizabeth^m.

¹ M. l'Abbé Lebeuf. RECHERCHES, &c. Mem. de Litt. tom. xvii. p. 718. edit. 4to.
 “ Je pense que cela dura jusqu'à ce que le
 “ commerce de ces provinces avec les peuples du Nord, et de l'Allemagne, et sur

“ TOUT celui des HABITANS DE L'ARMORIQUE AVEC L'ANGLAIS, vers l'onzième siècle, &c.”

^m See Camd. Brit. i. 44. edit. 1723. Lhuyd's Arch. p. 253.

And

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And here I digress a moment to remark, that in the circumstance just mentioned about Wales, of its connection with Armorica, we perceive the solution of a difficulty which at first sight appears extremely problematical: I mean, not only that Wales should have been so constantly made the theatre of the old British chivalry, but that so many of the favorite fictions which occur in the early French romances, should also be literally found in the tales and chronicles of the elder Welsh bards^a. It was owing to the perpetual communication kept up between the Welsh, and the people of Armorica who abounded in these fictions, and who naturally took occasion to interweave them into the history of their friends and allies. Nor are we now at a loss to give the reason why Cornwall, in the same French romances, is made the scene and the subject of so many romantic adventures^b. In the meantime we may observe, what indeed has been already implied, that a strict intercourse was upheld between Cornwall and Wales. Their languages, customs, and alliances, as I have hinted, were the same; and they were separated only by a strait of inconsiderable breadth. Cornwall is frequently styled West-Wales by the British writers. At the invasion of the Saxons, both countries became indiscriminately the receptacle of the fugitive Britons. We find the Welsh and Cornish, as one people, often uniting themselves as in a national cause against the Saxons. They were frequently subject to the same prince^c, who some-

^a The story of *LE COURT MANTEL*, or the *BOY AND THE MANTLE*, told by an old French troubadour cited by M. de Sainte Palaye, is recorded in many manuscript Welsh chronicles, as I learn from original letters of Lhuyd in the Ashmolean Museum. See *Mem. Anc. Chev.* i. 119. And *Obf. Spenser*, i. §. ii. p. 54. 55. And from the same authority I am informed, that the fiction of the giant's coat composed of the beards of the kings whom he had conquered, is related in the legends of the bards of both countries. See *Obf. Spens.*

ut *supr.* p. 24. seq. But instances are innumerable.

^b Hence in the Armorican tales just quoted, mention is made of Totnefs and Exeter, anciently included in Cornwall. In Chaucer's *ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE* we have "*Hornpipis of Cornewaile*," among a great variety of musical instruments. v. 4250. This is literally from the French original, v. 3991.

^c Who was sometimes chosen from Wales and Cornwall, and sometimes from ARMORICA. Borlase, *ubi supr.* p. 403. See also

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times resided in Wales, and sometimes in Cornwall; and the kings or dukes of Cornwall were perpetually sung by the Welsh bards. Llygad Gwr, a Welsh bard, in his sublime and spirited ode to Llwellyn, son of Grunfludd, the last prince of Wales of the British line, has a wish, "May the prints of the hoofs of my prince's steed be seen as far as" **CORNWALL** ⁹. Traditions about king Arthur, to mention no more instances, are as popular in Cornwall as in Wales: and most of the romantic castles, rocks, rivers, and caves, of both nations, are alike at this day distinguished by some noble achievement, at least by the name, of that celebrated champion. But to return.

About the year 1100, Gualter, archdeacon of Oxford, a learned man, and a diligent collector of histories, travelling through France, procured in Armorica an antient chronicle written in the British or Armorican language, entitled, **BRUT-Y-BREHNINED, OR THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN** ¹. This book he brought into England, and communicated it to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welsh Benedictine monk, an elegant writer of Latin, and admirably skilled in the British tongue. Geoffrey, at the request and recommendation of Gualter the archdeacon, translated this British chronicle into Latin ², executing the translation with a tolerable degree of purity and great fidelity, yet not without

also p. 375. 377. 393. And Concil. Spelman. tom. i. p. 112. edit. 1639. fol. Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. ch. 5. p. 344. seq. edit. 1688. fol. From **CORNUWALLIA**, used by the Latin monkish historians, came the present name Cornwall. Borlase, *ibid.* p. 325.

⁹ Evans, p. 43.

¹ In the curious library of the family of Davies at Llanerk in Denbighshire, there is a copy of this chronicle in the handwriting of Guttyan Owen, a celebrated

Welsh bard and antiquarian about the year 1470, who ascribes it to Tyssilio a bishop, and the son of Brockmael-Yfeythroc prince of Powis. Tyssilio indeed wrote a **HISTORY OF BRITAIN**; but that work, as we are assured by Lhuyd in the **ARCHÆOLOGIA**, was entirely ecclesiastical, and has been long since lost.

² See Galfr. Mon. L. i. c. 1. xii. 1. 20. ix. 2. Bale, ii. 65. Thompson's Pref. to Geoffrey's Hist. Transl. edit. Lond. 1718. p. xxx. xvi.

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some interpolations*. It was probably finished after the year 1138¹.

* Geoffrey confesses, that he took some part of his account of king Arthur's achievements from the mouth of his friend Gualter, the archdeacon; who probably related to the translator some of the traditions on this subject which he had heard in Armorica, or which at that time might have been popular in Wales. Hist. Brit. Galfr. Mon. lib. xi. c. i. He also owns that Merlin's prophecies were not in the Armorican original. Ib. vii. 2. Compare Thompson's Pref. ut supr. p. xxv. xxvii. The speeches and letters were forged by Geoffrey; and in the description of battles, our translator has not scrupled frequent variations and additions.

I am obliged to an ingenious antiquarian in British literature, Mr. Morris of Penbryn, for the following curious remarks concerning Geoffrey's original and his translation. "Geoffrey's SYLVIVS, in the British original, is SILIVS, which in Latin would make JULIVS. This illustrates and confirms Lambarde's, BRUTUS JULIVS. Peramb. Kent, p. 12. So also in the British bards. And hence Milton's objection is removed. Hist. Engl. p. 12. There are no FLAMINES or ARCHFLAMINES in the British book. See Usher's Primord. p. 57. Dubl. edit. There are very few speeches in the original, and those very short. Geoffrey's FULGENIVS is in the British copy SULLIVS, which by analogy in Latin would be JULIANVS. See Milton's Hist. Eng. p. 100. There is no LEIL in the British; that king's name was LLEON. Geoffrey's CAERLISLE is in the British CAERLLEON, or West-Chester. In the British, LLAW AP CYNFARCH, should have been translated LEO, which is now rendered LOTH. This has brought much confusion into the old Scotch history. I find no BELIVS in the British copy; the name is BELI, which should have been in Latin BELIVS, or BELGIUS. Geoffrey's BRENNVS in the original is BRAN, a common name among the Britons; as BRAN AP DYFNWAL, &c.

"See Suidas's Dict. It appears by the original, that the British name of CARAUSIVS was CARAWN; hence TREGARAUN, i. e. TREGARON, and the river CARAUN, which gives name to ABERCORN. In the British there is no division into books and chapters, a mark of antiquity. Those whom the translator calls CONSULS of Rome, when Brennus took it, are in the original TWYSOGION, i. e. princes or generals. The Gwalenses, GWALO, or GWALAS, are added by Geoffrey, B. xii. c. 19." To what is here observed about SILIVS, I will add, that abbot Whethamsted, in his MS. GRANARIUM, mentions SILOIVS the father of Brutus. "Quomodo Brutus SILOII filius ad litora Angliæ venit," &c. GRANAR. Part. i. Lit. A. MSS. Cotton. NERO, C. vi. Brit. Mus. This gentleman has in his possession a very ancient manuscript of the original, and has been many years preparing materials for giving an accurate and faithful translation of it into English. The manuscript in Jesus college library at Oxford, which Wynne pretends to be the same which Geoffrey himself made use of, is evidently not older than the sixteenth century. Mr. Price, the Bodleian librarian, to whose friendship this work is much indebted, has two copies lately given him by Mr. Banks, much more ancient and perfect. But there is reason to suspect, that most of the British manuscripts of this history are translations from Geoffrey's Latin: for *Britannia* they have BRYTTAEN, which in the original would have been PRYDAIN. Geoffrey's translation, and for obvious reasons, is a very common manuscript. Compare Lhuyd's Arch. p. 265.

¹ Thompson says, 1128. ubi supr. p. xxx. Geoffrey's age is ascertained beyond a doubt, even if other proofs were wanting, from the cotemporaries whom he mentions. Such as Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry the first, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, his patrons: he mentions also William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntington.

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It is difficult to ascertain exactly the period at which our translator's original romance may probably be supposed to have been compiled. Yet this is a curious speculation, and will illustrate our argument. I am inclined to think that the work consists of fables thrown out by different rhapsodists at different times, which afterwards were collected and digested into an entire history, and perhaps with new decorations of fancy added by the compiler, who most probably was one of the professed bards, or rather a poetical historian, of Armorica or Basse Bretagne. In this state, and under this form, I suppose it to have fallen into the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth. If the hypothesis hereafter advanced concerning the particular species of fiction on which this narrative is founded, should be granted, it cannot, from what I have already proved, be more antient than the eighth century: and we may reasonably conclude, that it was composed much later, as some considerable length of time must have been necessary for the propagation and establishment of that species of fiction. The simple subject of this chronicle, divested of its romantic embellishments, is a deduction of the Welsh princes from the Trojan Brutus to Cadwallader, who reigned in the seventh century. It must

Huntingdon. Wharton places Geoffrey's death in the year 1154. *Episc. Assav.* p. 306. Robert de Monte, who continued Sigebert's chronicle down to the year 1183, in the preface to that work expressly says, that he took some of the materials of his supplement from the *HISTORIA BRITONUM*, lately translated out of British into Latin. This was manifestly Geoffrey's book. Alfred of Beverly, who evidently wrote his *ANNALES*, published by Hearne, between the years 1148 and 1150, borrowed his account of the British kings from Geoffrey's *HISTORIA*, whose words he sometimes literally transcribes. For instance, Alfred, in speaking of Arthur's keeping Whitfuntide at Caerleon, says, that the *HISTORIA BRITONUM* enumerated all the kings who came thither on

Arthur's invitation: and then adds, "Preter hos non remansit princeps alicujus pretii citra Hispaniam qui ad istud editum non venerit." *Alured. Bev. Annal.* p. 63. edit. Hearne. These are Geoffrey's own words; and so much his own, that they are one of his additions to the British original. But the curious reader, who desires a complete and critical discussion of this point, may consult an original letter of bishop Lloyd, preserved among Tanner's manuscripts at Oxford, num. 94.

"This notion of their extraction from the Trojans had so infatuated the Welsh, that even so late as the year 1284, archbishop Peckham, in his injunctions to the diocese of St. Asaph, orders the people to abstain from giving credit to idle dreams and visions, a superstition which they had
b con-

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be acknowledged, that many European nations were antiently fond of tracing their descent from Troy. Hunnibaldus Francus, in his Latin history of France, written in the sixth century, beginning with the Trojan war, and ending with Clovis the first, ascribes the origin of the French nation to Francio a son of Priam *. So universal was this humour, and carried to such an absurd excess of extravagance, that under the reign of Justinian, even the Greeks were ambitious of being thought to be descended from the Trojans, their antient and notorious enemies. Unless we adopt the idea of those antiquaries, who contend that Europe was peopled from Phrygia, it will be hard to discover at what period, or from what source, so strange and improbable a notion could take its rise, especially among nations unacquainted with history, and overwhelmed in ignorance. The most rational mode of accounting for it, is to suppose, that the revival of Virgil's *Eneid* about the sixth or seventh century, which represented the Trojans as the founders of Rome, the capital of the supreme pontiff, and a city on various other accounts in the early ages of christianity highly revered and distinguished, occasioned an emulation in many other European nations of claiming an alliance to the same respectable original. The monks and other ecclesiastics, the only readers and writers of the age, were likely to broach, and were interested in propagating, such an opinion. As the more barbarous countries of Europe began to be tinged with literature, there was hardly one of them but fell into the fashion of deducing its original from some of the nations most celebrated in the antient books. Those who did not aspire so

contracted from their belief in the dream of their founder Brutus, in the temple of Diana, concerning his arrival in Britain. The archbishop very seriously advises them to boast no more of their relation to the conquered and fugitive Trojans, but to glory in the victorious cross of Christ. Con-

cil. Wilkins, tom. ii. p. 106. edit. 1737. fol.

* It is among the *SCRIPTORES RER. GERMAN.* Sim. Schard. tom. i. p. 301. edit. Basil. 1574. fol. It consists of eighteen books.

high

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high as king Priam, or who found that claim preoccupied, boasted to be descended from some of the generals of Alexander the Great, from Prusias king of Bithynia, from the Greeks or the Egyptians. It is not in the mean time quite improbable, that as most of the European nations were provincial to the Romans, those who fancied themselves to be of Trojan extraction might have imbibed this notion, at least have acquired a general knowledge of the Trojan story, from their conquerors: more especially the Britons, who continued so long under the yoke of Rome^x. But as to the story of Brutus in particular, Geoffrey's hero, it may be presumed that his legend was not contrived, nor the history of his successors invented, till after the ninth century: for Nennius, who lived about the middle of that century, not only speaks of Brutus with great obscurity and inconsistency, but seems totally uninformed as to every circumstance of the British affairs which preceded Cæsar's invasion. There are other proofs that this piece could not have existed before the ninth century. Alfred's Saxon translation of the Mercian law is mentioned^y. Charlemagne's Twelve Peers, and by an anachronism not uncommon in romance, are said to be present at king Arthur's magnificent coronation in the city of Caerleon^z. It were easy to produce instances, that this chronicle was undoubtedly framed after the legend of saint Ursula, the acts of saint Lucius, and the historical writings of the venerable Bede, had undergone some degree of circulation in the world. At the same time it contains many passages which incline us to determine, that some parts of it at least were written after or about the eleventh century. I will not insist on that passage, in which the title of legate of the apostolic see is attributed to Dubricius in the character of primate of Britain; as it appears for obvious reasons to have been an artful interpolation of the translator, who was an ecclesiastic. But I will select other arguments. Canute's forest, or Can-

^x See *infr.* SECT. iii. p. 127, 128.

^y L. iii. c. 13.

^z L. ix. c. 12.

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noek-wood in Staffordshire occurs ; and Canute died in the year 1036 ^z. At the ideal coronation of king Arthur, just mentioned, a tournament is described as exhibited in its highest splendor. “ Many knights, says our Armoric fabler, famous for feats of chivalry, were present, with apparel and arms of the same colour and fashion. They formed a species of diversion, in imitation of a fight on horseback, and the ladies being placed on the walls of the castles, darted amorous glances on the combatants. None of these ladies esteemed any knight worthy of her love, but such as had given proof of his gallantry in three several encounters. Thus the valour of the men encouraged chastity in the women, and the attention of the women proved an incentive to the soldier’s bravery ^a.” Here is the practice of chivalry under the combined ideas of love and military prowess, as they seem to have subsisted after the feudal constitution had acquired greater degrees not only of stability but of splendor and refinement ^b. And although a species of tournament was exhibited in France at the reconciliation of the sons of Lewis the feeble, in the close of the ninth century, and at the beginning of the tenth, the coronation of the emperor Henry was solemnized with martial entertainments, in which many parties were introduced fighting on horseback ; yet it was long afterwards that these games were accompanied with the peculiar formalities, and ceremonious usages, here described ^c. In the mean time, we

^z L. vii. c. 4.

^a L. ix. c. 12.

^b Pitts mentions an anonymous writer under the name of EREMITA BRITANNUS, who studied history and astronomy, and flourished about the year 720. He wrote, besides a book in an unknown language, entitled, *Sanctum Graal, De Rege Arturo et rebus gestis ejus*. Lib. i. *De Mexia rotunda et strenuis Equitibus*, lib. i. See Pitts. p. 122. Bale, x. 21. Usser. Primord. p. 17. This subject could not have been treated by so early a writer.

^c See infr. SECT. iii. p. 109. xii. p. 347, 348. I will here produce, from that learned orientalist M. D’Herbelot, some curious traits of Arabian knight errantry, which the reader may apply to the principles of this Dissertation as he pleases.

“ BATHALL.—Une homme hardi et vaillant, qui cherchè des aventures tels “ qu’ estoient les chevaliers errans de nos “ anciens Romans.” He adds, that Bathall, an Arabian, who lived about the year of Christ 740, was a warrior of this class, concerning whom many marvellous feats of arms,

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cannot answer for the innovations of a translator in such a description. The burial of Hengist, the Saxon chief, who is said to have been interred not after the *pagan* fashion, as Geoffrey renders the words of the original, but after the *manner of the SOLDANS*, is partly an argument that our romance was composed about the time of the crusades. It was not till those memorable campaigns of mistaken devotion had infatuated the western world, that the soldans or sultans of Babylon, of Egypt, of Iconium, and other eastern kingdoms, became familiar in Europe. Not that the notion of this piece being written so late as the crusades in the least invalidates the doctrine delivered in this discourse. Not even if we suppose that Geoffrey of Monmouth was its original composer. That notion rather tends to confirm and establish my system. On the whole we may venture to affirm, that this chronicle, supposed to contain the ideas of the Welsh bards, entirely consists of Arabian inventions. And, in this view, no difference is made whether it was compiled about the tenth century, at which time, if not before, the Arabians from their settlement in Spain must have communicated their romantic fables to other parts of Europe, especially to the French; or whether it first appeared in the eleventh century, after the crusades had multiplied these fables to an excessive degree, and made them universally popular. And although the general cast of the inventions contained in this romance is alone sufficient to point out the source from whence they were derived, yet I chuse to prove to a demonstration what is here advanced, by producing and examining some particular passages.

The books of the Arabians and Persians abound with extravagant traditions about the giants Gog and Magog. These they call Jagiounge and Magiounge; and the Caucasian wall,

arms are reported: that his life was written in a large volume, "mais qu'elle est toute remplie d'exagérations et de menées." Bibl. Oriental. p. 193. a. b. In the royal

library at Paris, there is an Arabian book entitled, "Scirat al Mogiah-edir," i. e. "The Lives of the most valiant Champions." Num. 1079.

said

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faid to be built by Alexander the Great from the Caspian to the Black Sea, in order to cover the frontiers of his dominion, and to prevent the incursions of the Sythians^d, is called by the orientals the WALL of GOG and MAGOG^e. One of the most formidable giants, according to our Armorican ro-

^d Compare M. Petis de la Croix, *Hist. Genghizcan*, l. iv. c. 9.

^e *Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental.* p. 157. 291. 318. 438. 470. 528. 795. 796. 811, &c. They call Tartary the land of Gajouge and Majiouge. This wall, some few fragments of which still remain, they pretend to have been built with all sorts of metals. See *Abulfaraj Hist. Dynast. edit. Pococke*, p. 62. A. D. 1673. It was an old tradition among the Tartars, that the people of Jajouge and Majiouge were perpetually endeavouring to make a passage through this fortress; but that they would not succeed in their attempt till the day of judgment. See *Hist. Geneal. des Tartars, d'Abulgazi Bahadut Khân.* p. 43. About the year 808, the caliph Al Amin having heard wonderful reports concerning this wall or barrier, sent his interpreter Salam, with a guard of fifty men, to view it. After a dangerous journey of near two months, Salam and his party arrived in a desolated country, where they beheld the ruins of many cities destroyed by the people of Jajouge and Majiouge. In six days more they reached the castles near the mountain Kokaiya or Caucasus. This mountain is inaccessiblely steep, perpetually covered with snows and thick clouds, and encompasses the country of Jajouge and Magiouge, which is full of cultivated fields and cities. At an opening of this mountain the fortress appears: and travelling forwards, at the distance of two stages, they found another mountain, with a ditch cut through it one hundred and fifty cubits wide; and within the aperture an iron gate fifty cubits high, supported by vast buttresses, having an iron bulwark crowned with iron turrets, reaching to the summit of the mountain itself, which is too high to be seen. The valves, lintels, threshold, bolts, lock and key, are all represented of proportionable magnitude. The governor of the castle above-

mentioned, once in every week mounted on horseback with ten others on horseback, comes to this gate, and striking it three times with a hammer weighing five pounds, and then listening, hears a murmuring noise from within. This noise is supposed to proceed from the Jajouge and Magiouge confined there. Salam was told that they often appeared on the battlements of the bulwark. He returned after passing twenty-eight months in this extraordinary expedition. See *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. iv. B. i. § 2. pag. 15. 16. 17. And *Anc.* vol. xx. pag. 23. Pliny, speaking of the PORTÆ CAUCASIÆ, mentions, "ingens naturæ opus, montibus interruptis repente, ubi fores obditæ ferratis trabibus," &c. *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 2. Czar Peter the first, in his expedition into Persia, had the curiosity to survey the ruins of this wall: and some leagues within the mountain he found a skirt of it which seemed entire, and was about fifteen feet high. In some other parts it is still six or seven feet in height. It seems at first sight to be built of stone: but it consists of petrified earth, sand, and shells, which compose a substance of great solidity. It has been chiefly destroyed by the neighbouring inhabitants, for the sake of its materials: and most of the adjacent towns and villages are built out of its ruins. *Bentink's Notes on Abulgazi*, p. 722. Eng. edit. See *Chardin's Travels.* p. 176. And *Struys's Voyage*, B. iii. c. 20. p. 226. *Olearius's Travels of the Holstein Ambassad.* B. vii. p. 403. *Geograph. Nubiens.* vi. c. 9. And *Act. Petropolit.* vol. i. p. 405. By the way, this work probably preceded the time of Alexander: it does not appear, from the course of his victories, that he ever came near the Caspian gates. The first and fabulous history of the eastern nations, will perhaps be found to begin with the exploits of this Grecian hero.

mance

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mance, which opposed the landing of Brutus in Britain, was Goemagot. He was twelve cubits high, and would unroot an oak as easily as an hazel wand: but after a most obstinate encounter with Corineus, he was tumbled into the sea from the summit of a steep cliff on the rocky shores of Cornwall, and dashed in pieces against the huge crags of the declivity. The place where he fell, adds our historian, taking its name from the giant's fall, is called LAM-GOEMAGOT, or GOEMAGOT'S LEAP, to this day ^f. A no less monstrous giant, whom king Arthur slew on Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall, is said by this fabler to have come from Spain. Here the origin of these stories is evidently betrayed ^g. The Arabians, or Saracens, as I have hinted above, had conquered Spain, and were settled there. Arthur having killed this redoubted giant, declares, that he had combated with none of equal strength and prowess, since he overcame the mighty giant Ritho, on the mountain Arabius, who had made himself a robe of the beards of the kings whom he had killed. This tale is in Spenser's Faerie Queene. A magician brought from Spain is called to the assistance of Edwin, a prince of Northumberland ^h, educated under Solomon king of the Armoricans ⁱ. In the prophecy of Merlin, delivered to Vortigern after the battle of the dragons, forged perhaps by the translator Geoffrey, yet apparently in the spirit and manner of the rest, we have the Arabians named, and their situations in Spain and Africa. "From Conau shall come forth
" a wild boar, whose tusks shall destroy the oaks of the forests of France. The ARABIANS and AFRICANS shall
" dread him; and he shall continue his rapid course into
" the most distant parts of Spain ^k." This is king Arthur. In the same prophecy, mention is made of the "Woods of

^f Lib. i. c. 16.

^g L. x. c. 3.

^h The Cumbrian and Northumbrian Britons, as powerful opponents of the Saxons,

were strongly allied to the Welsh and Cornish.

ⁱ Lib. xii. c. 1, 4, 5, 6.

^k Lib. vii. c. 3.

"Africa."

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“Africa.” In another place Gormund king of the Africans occurs ¹. In a battle which Arthur fights against the Romans, some of the principal leaders in the Roman army are Alifantinnam king of Spain, Pandrasus king of Egypt, Boccus king of the Medes, Evander king of Syria, Micipsa king of Babylon, and a duke of Phrygia ^m. It is obvious to suppose how these countries became so familiar to the bard of our chronicle. The old fictions about Stonehenge were derived from the same inexhaustible source of extravagant imagination. We are told in this romance, that the giants conveyed the stones which compose this miraculous monument from the farthest coasts of Africa. Every one of these stones is supposed to be mystical, and to contain a medicinal virtue: an idea drawn from the medical skill of the Arabians ⁿ, and more particularly from the Arabian doctrine of attributing healing qualities, and other occult properties, to stones ^o. Merlin’s transformation of Uther into Gorlois, and of Ulfen into Bricel, by the power of some medical preparation, is a species of Arabian magic, which professed to work the most wonderful deceptions of this kind, and is mentioned at large hereafter, in tracing the inventions of Chaucer’s poetry. The attribution of prophetic language to birds was common among the orientals: and an eagle is supposed to speak at building the walls of the city of Paladur, now Shaftesbury ^p. The Arabians cultivated the study of philo-

¹ Lib. xii. 2. xi. 8. 10.

^m Lib. x. c. 5. 8. 10.

ⁿ See *infr.* SECT. i. p. 10. And SECT. xiii. p. 378. *infr.*

^o This chronicle was evidently compiled to do honour to the Britons and their affairs, and especially in opposition to the Saxons. Now the importance with which these romancers seem to speak of Stonehenge, and the many beautiful fictions with which they have been so studious to embellish its origin, and to aggrandise its story, appear to me strongly to favour the

hypothesis, that Stonehenge is a British monument; and indeed to prove, that it was really erected in memory of the three hundred British nobles massacred by the Saxon Hengist. See SECT. ii. *infr.* p. 52. No DECELTICAL monument, of which so many remains were common, engaged their attention or interested them so much, as this NATIONAL memorial appears to have done.

^p Lib. ii. c. 9. See SECT. *inf.* xv. p. 413.

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tophy, particularly astronomy, with amazing ardour^o. Hence arose the tradition, reported by our historian, that in king Arthur's reign, there subsisted at Caer-leon in Glamorgan-shire a college of two hundred philosophers, who studied astronomy and other sciences; and who were particularly employed in watching the courses of the stars, and predicting events to the king from their observations^p. Edwin's Spanish magician above-mentioned, by his knowledge of the flight of birds, and the courses of the stars, is said to foretell future disasters. In the same strain Merlin, prognosticates Uther's success in battle by the appearance of a comet^q. The same enchanter's *wonderful skill in mechanical powers*, by which he removes the giant's Dance, or Stonehenge, from Ireland into England, and the notion that this stupendous structure was raised by a PROFOUND PHILOSOPHICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS, are founded on the Arabic literature^r. To which we may add king Bladud's magical operations^s. Dragons are a sure mark of orientalism. One of these in our romance is a "terrible dragon flying from " the west, breathing fire, and illuminating all the country " with the brightness of his eyes^t." In another place we have a giant mounted on a winged dragon: the dragon erects his scaly tail, and wafts his rider to the clouds with great rapidity^u.

Arthur and Charlemagne are the first and original heroes of romance. And as Geoffrey's history is the grand repository of the acts of Arthur, so a fabulous history ascribed to Turpin is the ground work of all the chimerical legends which have been related concerning the conquests of Charlemagne and his twelve peers. Its subject is the expulsion of the Sara-

^o See DISS. II. And SECT. XV. inf. p. 402.

^p L. viii. c. 15.

^q Lib. ix. c. 12.

^r L. viii. c. 10. See infr. SECT. XV. *passim*.

^s L. ii. 10.

^t L. x. c. 2.

^u L. vii. c. 4.

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cens from Spain: and it is filled with fictions evidently cogenial with those which characterise Geoffrey's history *.

Some suppose, as I have hinted above, this romance to have been written by Turpin, a monk of the eighth century; who, for his knowledge of the Latin language, his sanctity, and gallant exploits against the Spanish Saracens, was preferred to the archbishoprick of Rheims by Charlemagne. Others believe it to have been forged under archbishop Turpin's name about that time. Others very soon afterwards, in the reign of Charles the Bald *. That is, about the year 870 †.

Voltaire, a writer of much deeper research than is imagined, and the first who has displayed the literature and customs of the dark ages with any degree of penetration and comprehension, speaking of the fictitious tales concerning Charlemagne, has remarked, “ Ces fables qu'un moine “ *ecrivit au onzieme siècle, sous le nom de l'archeveque “ Turpin ‡.*” And it might easily be shewn that just before the commencement of the thirteenth century, romantic stories about Charlemagne were more fashionable than ever among the French minstrels. That is, on the recent publication of this fabulous history of Charlemagne. Historical evidence concurs with numerous internal arguments to prove, that it must have been compiled after the crusades. In the twentieth chapter, a pretended pilgrimage of Charlemagne to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem is recorded: a forgery

* I will mention only one among many others. The christians under Charlemagne are said to have found in Spain a golden idol, or image of Mahomet, as high as a bird can fly. It was framed by Mahomet himself of the purest metal; who by his knowledge in necromancy had sealed up within it a legion of diabolical spirits. It held in its hand a prodigious club; and the Saracens had a prophetic tradition, that this club should fall from the hand of the

image in that year when a certain king should be born in France, &c. J. Turpini Hist. de Vit. Carol. Magn. et Rolandi. cap. iv. f. 2. a.

† See Hist. Acad. des Inscript. &c. vii. 293. edit. 4to.

‡ See Catel, Mem. de l'Hist. du Languedoc. pag. 545.

* “ Hist. Gen. ch. viii. Oeuvr. tom. i. p. 84. edit. Genev. 1756.

seemingly

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seemingly contrived with a design to give an importance to those wild expeditions, and which would easily be believed when thus authenticated by an archbishop ^a.

There is another strong internal proof that this romance was written long after the time of Charlemagne. Our historian is speaking of the numerous chiefs and kings who came with their armies to assist his hero: among the rest he mentions earl Oell, and adds, "Of this man there is a song commonly sung among the minstrels *even to this day* ^b." Nor will I believe, that the European art of war, in the eighth century, could bring into the field such a prodigious parade of battering rams and wooden castles, as those with which Charlemagne is said to have besieged the city Agennum ^c: the crusades seem to have made these huge military machines common in the European armies. However we may suspect it appeared before, yet not long before, Geoffrey's romance; who mentions Charlemagne's TWELVE PEERS, so lavishly celebrated in Turpin's book, as present at king Arthur's imaginary coronation at Caer-leon. Although the twelve peers of France occur in chronicles of the tenth century ^d; and they might besides have been suggested to Geoffrey's original author, from popular traditions and songs of minstrels. We are sure it was extant before the year 1122, for Calixtus the second in that year, by papal

^a See *infr.* SECT. iii. p. 124.

^b "De hoc canitur in Cantilena usque *ad bodiurnum diem.*" cap. xi. f. 4. b. edit. Schard. Francof. 1566. fol. Chronograph. Quat.

^c *Ibid.* cap. ix. f. 3. b. The writer adds, "*Cæterisque artificijs ad capiendum, &c.*" See also cap. x. *ibid.* Compare SECT. iv. *infr.* p. 160. In one of Charlemagne's battles, the Saracens advance with horrible visors bearded and horned, and with drums or cymbals. "Tenentesque singuli *TYM-*
" *PANA*, quæ manibus fortiter percutie-

"bant." The unusual spectacle and sound terrified the horses of the christian army, and threw them into confusion. In a second engagement, Charlemagne commanded the eyes of the horses to be covered, and their ears to be stopped. Turpin. cap. xviii. f. 7. b. The latter expedient is copied in the Romance of RICHARD THE FIRST, written about the eleventh century. See SECT. iv. *infr.* p. 165. See also what is said of the Saracen drums. *ibid.* p. 167.

^d Flodoard of Rheims first mentions them, whose chronicle comes down to 966.

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authority, pronounced this history to be genuine ^e. Monsieur Allard affirms, that it was written, and in the eleventh century, at Vienna by a monk of Saint Andrew's ^f. This monk was probably nothing more than some Latin translator: but a learned French antiquary is of opinion, that it was originally composed in Latin; and moreover, that the most antient romances, even those of the Round Table, were originally written in that language ^g. Oienhart, and with the greatest probability, supposes it to be the work of a Spaniard. He quotes an authentic manuscript to prove, that it was brought out of Spain into France before the close of the twelfth century ^h; and that the miraculous exploits performed in Spain by Charlemagne and earl Roland, recorded in this romantic history, were unknown among the French before that period: except only that some few of them were obscurely and imperfectly sketched in the metrical tales of those who sung heroic adventures ⁱ. Oienhart's supposition that this history was compiled in Spain, the centre of oriental fabling in Europe, at once accounts for the nature and extravagance of its fictions, and immediately points to their Arabian origin ^k. As to the French manuscript of

^e Magn. Chron. Belgic. pag. 150. sub ann. Compare J. Long. Bibl. Hist. Gall. num. 6671. And Lambec. ii. p. 333.

^f Bibl. de Dauphiné. p. 224.

^g See infr. SECT. viii. p. 464.

^h See infr. SECT. iii. p. 135.

ⁱ Arnoldi Oienharti Notit. utriusque Vasconia, edit. Paris. 1638. 4to. pag. 397. lib. iii. c. 3. Such was Roland's song, sung at the battle of Hastings. But see this romance, cap. xx. f. 8. b. Where Turpin seems to refer to some other fabulous materials or history concerning Charlemagne. Particularly about Galafar and Braiamant, which make such a figure in Boyardo and Ariosto.

^k Innumerable romantic stories, of Arabian growth, are to this day current among the common people of Spain, which they call CUENTOS DE VIEJAS. I will re-

late one from that lively picture of the Spaniards, RELATION DU VOYAGE D'ESPAGNE, by Mademoiselle Danois. Within the antient castle of Toledo, they say, there was a vast cavern whose entrance was strongly barricadoed. It was universally believed, that if any person entered this cavern, the most fatal disasters would happen to the Spaniards. Thus it remained closely shut and unentered for many ages. At length king Roderigo, having less credulity but more courage and curiosity than his ancestors, commanded this formidable recess to be opened. At entering, he began to suspect the traditions of the people to be true: a terrible tempest arose, and all the elements seemed united to embarrass him. Nevertheless, he ventured forwards into the cave, where he discerned by the light of his torches certain figures or sta-

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this history, it is a translation from Turpin's Latin, made by Michel de Harnes in the year 1207¹. And, by the way, from the translator's declaration, that there was a great impropriety in translating Latin prose into verse, we may conclude, that at the commencement of the thirteenth century the French generally made their translations into verse.

In these two fabulous chronicles the foundations of romance seem to be laid. The principal characters, the leading subjects, and the fundamental fictions, which have supplied such ample matter to this singular species of composition, are here first displayed. And although the long continuance of the crusades imported innumerable inventions of a similar complexion, and substituted the achievements of new champions and the wonders of other countries, yet the tales of Arthur and of Charlemagne, diversified indeed, or enlarged with additional embellishments, still continued to prevail, and to be the favourite topics: and this, partly from their early popularity, partly from the quantity and the beauty of the fictions with which they were at first supported, and especially because the design of the crusades had made those subjects so fashionable in which christians fought with infidels. In a word, these volumes are the first specimens

tues of men, whose habiliments and arms were strange and uncouth. One of them had a sword of shining brass, on which it was written in Arabic characters, that the time approached when the Spanish nation should be destroyed, and that it would not be long before the warriors, whose images were placed there, should arrive in Spain. The writer adds, "Je n'ai jamais été en " aucun endroit, où l'on fasse PLUS DE " CAS DES CONTES FABULEUX qu'en " Espagne." Edit. a la Haye, 1691. tom. iii. p. 158. 159. 12mo. See *infr.* SECT. iii. p. 112. And the *LIFE* of CERVANTES, by Don Gregorio Mayans. §. 27. §. 47. §. 48. §. 49.

¹ See Du Chefne, tom. v. p. 60. And

Mem. Lit. xvii. 737. seq. It is in the royal library at Paris, Num. 8190. Probably the French Turpin in the British Museum is the same, Cod. MSS. Harl. 273. 23. f. 86. See *infr.* SECT. iii. p. 135. See instances of the English translating prose Latin books into English, and sometimes French, verse. SECT. ii. *infr.* passim.

In the king's library at Paris, there is a translation of Dares Phrygius into French rhymes by Godfrey of Waterford an Irish Jacobin, a writer not mentioned by Tanner, in the thirteenth century. Mem. Litt. tom. xvii. p. 736. Compare SECT. iii. *infr.* p. 125. In the Notes.

EXTANT

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extant in this mode of writing. No European history before these has mentioned giants, enchanters, dragons, and the like monstrous and arbitrary fictions. And the reason is obvious: they were written at a time when a new and unnatural mode of thinking took place in Europe, introduced by our communication with the east.

Hitherto I have considered the Saracens either at their immigration into Spain about the ninth century, or at the time of the crusades, as the first authors of romantic fabling among the Europeans. But a late ingenious critic has advanced an hypothesis, which assigns a new source, and a much earlier date, to these fictions. I will cite his opinion of this matter in his own words. "Our old
"romances of chivalry may be derived in a LINEAL DES-
"CENT from the antient historical songs of the Gothic
"bards and scalds.—Many of those songs are still preserved
"in the north, which exhibit all the seeds of chivalry
"before it became a solemn institution.—Even the com-
"mon arbitrary fictions of romance were most of them
"familiar to the antient scalds of the north, long before
"the time of the crusades. They believed the existence of
"giants and dwarfs, they had some notion of fairies, they
"were strongly possessed with the belief of spells and in-
"chantment, and were fond of inventing combats with
"dragons and monsters^m." Monsieur Mallet, a very able and elegant inquirer into the genius and antiquities of the northern nations, maintains the same doctrine. He seems to think, that many of the opinions and practices of the Goths, however obsolete, still obscurely subsist. He adds, "May
"we not rank among these, for example, that love and
"admiration for the profession of arms which prevailed
"among our ancestors even to fanaticism, mad as it were
"through system, and brave from a point of honour?—

^m Percy, on *ANTIEN*T METR. ROM. i. p. 3. 4. edit. 1767.

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“ Can we not explain from the Gothic religion, how judi-
 “ ciary combats, and proofs by the ordeal, to the astonish-
 “ ment of posterity, were admitted by the legislature of all
 “ Europeⁿ: and how, even to the present age, the people
 “ are still infatuated with a belief of the power of magi-
 “ cians, witches, spirits, and genii, concealed under the earth
 “ or in the waters?---Do we not discover in these religious
 “ opinions, that source of the marvellous with which our
 “ ancestors filled their romances; in which we see dwarfs
 “ and giants, fairies and demons,” &c^o. And in another
 place. “ The fortresses of the Goths were only rude castles
 “ situated on the summits of rocks, and rendered inaccessible
 “ by thick misshapen walls. As these walls ran winding
 “ round the castles, they often called them by a name which
 “ signified SERPENTS or DRAGONS; and in these they usually
 “ secured the women and young virgins of distinction, who
 “ were seldom safe at a time when so many enterprising
 “ heroes were rambling up and down in search of adven-
 “ tures. It was this custom which gave occasion to antient
 “ romancers, who knew not how to describe any thing
 “ simply, to invent so many fables concerning princesses of
 “ great beauty guarded by dragons, and afterwards delivered
 “ by invincible champions^p.

ⁿ For the judiciary combats, as also for common athletic exercises, they formed an amphitheatrical circus of rude stones. “Quædam [saxa] circos claudabant, in quibus gigantes et pugiles duello strenue decertabant.” Worm. p. 62. And again, “Nec mora, circuatur campus, milite circus stipatur, concurrunt pugiles.” p. 65. It is remarkable, that circs of the same sort are still to be seen in Cornwall, so famous at this day for the athletic art: in which also they sometimes exhibited their scriptural interludes. See *infr.* *SECT. VI.* p. 237. Frotho the Great, king of Denmark, in the first century, is said to have been the first who commanded all controversies to be decided by the sword.

Worm. p. 68. In favour of this barbarous institution it ought to be remembered, that the practice of thus marking out the place of battle must have prevented much bloodshed, and saved many innocent lives: for if either combatant was by any accident forced out of the circus, he was to lose his cause; or to pay three marks of pure silver as a redemption for his life. Worm. p. 68, 69. In the year 987, the ordeal was substituted in Denmark instead of the duel; a mode of decision, at least in a political sense, less absurd, as it promoted military skill.

^o Mallet, *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, &c. tom. ii. p. 9.

^p *Ib.* ch. ix. p. 243. tom. ii.

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I do not mean entirely to reject this hypothesis: but I will endeavour to shew how far I think it is true, and in what manner or degree it may be reconciled with the system delivered above.

A few years before the birth of Christ, soon after Mithridates had been overthrown by Pompey, a nation of Asiatic Goths, who possessed that region of Asia which is now called Georgia, and is connected on the south with Persia, alarmed at the progressive encroachments of the Roman armies, retired in vast multitudes under the conduct of their leader Odin, or Woden, into the northern parts of Europe, not subject to the Roman government, and settled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other districts of the Scandinavian territory⁹. As they brought with them many useful arts, particularly the knowledge of letters, which Odin is said to have invented¹, they were hospitably received by the natives,

⁹ “Unicam gentium Asiaticarum Immigrationem, in orbem Arcticum factam, nostræ antiquitates commemorant. Sed eam tamen non primam. Verum circa annum tandem vicesimum quartum ante natum Christum, Romanis exercitiis auspiciis Pompeii Magni in Asiæ parte, Phrygia Minore, grassantibus. Illa enim epocha ad hanc rem chronologi nostri utuntur. In cujus (GVLVI SVLCIÆ regis) tempora incidit Odinus, Asiaticæ immigrationis, factæ anno 24 ante natum Christum, antesignanus.” Crymogæa, Arngrim. Jon. lib. i. cap. 4. p. 30. 31. edit. Hamburg. 1609. See also Bartholin. Antiquitat. Dan. Lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 407. iii. c. 2. p. 652. edit. 1689. Lazius, de Gent. Migrat. L. x. fol. 573. 30. edit. fol. 1600. Compare Ol. Rudbeck. cap. v. sect. 2. p. 95. xiv. sect. 2. p. 67. There is a memoir on this subject lately published in the Petersburg Transactions, but I chuse to refer to original authorities. See tom v. p. 297. edit. 1738. 40.

“Odino etiam et aliis, qui ex Asia huc devenere, tribuunt multi antiquitatum

“Islandicarum periti; unde et Odinus “RUNHORDI seu Runarum (i. e. *Literarum*) auctor vocatur.” Ol. Worm. Litter. Runic. cap. 20. edit. Hafn. 1651. Some writers refer the origin of the Grecian language, sciences, and religion to the Scythians, who were connected towards the south with Odin’s Goths. I cannot bring a greater authority than that of Salmasius, “Satis certum ex his colligi potest linguam, ut gentem, HELLENICAM, a septentrione et SCYTHIA originem traxisse, non a meridie. Inde LITTERÆ GRÆCORUM, inde MUSÆ PIRIDES, inde sacrorum initia.” Salmas. de Hellenist. p. 400. As a further proof I shall observe, that the ancient poet Thamyris was so much esteemed by the Scythians, on account of his poetry, *ῥηθαρδία*, that they chose him their king. Conon. Narrat. Poet. cap. vii. edit. Gal. But Thamyris was a Thracian: and a late ingenious antiquarian endeavours to prove, that the Goths were descended from the Thracians, and that the Greeks and Thracians were only different clans of the same people. Clarke’s Connexion, &c. ch. ii. p. 65.

and

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and by degrees acquired a safe and peaceable establishment in the new country, which seems to have adopted their language, laws, and religion. Odin is said to have been stiled a god by the Scandinavians; an appellation which the superior address and specious abilities of this Asiatic chief easily extorted from a more savage and uncivilised people.

This migration is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of various historians: but there is no better evidence of it, than that conspicuous similarity subsisting at this day between several customs of the Georgians, as described by Chardin, and those of certain cantons of Norway and Sweden, which have preserved their antient manners in the purest degree*. Not that other striking implicit and internal proofs, which often carry more conviction than direct historical assertions, are wanting to point out this migration. The antient inhabitants of Denmark and Norway inscribed the exploits of their kings and heroes on rocks, in characters called Runic; and of this practice many marks are said still to remain in those countries†. This art or custom of writing on rocks is Asiatic‡. Modern travellers report, that there are Runic inscriptions now existing in the deserts of Tartary§. The WRITTEN MOUNTAINS of the Jews are an instance that this fashion was oriental. Antiently, when one of these northern chiefs fell honourably in battle, his weapons, his war-horse, and his wife, were consumed with himself on the same funeral pile¶. I need

* See Pontoppidan. Nat. Hist. Norway, tom. ii. c. 10. §. 1. 2. 3.

† See Saxo Grammat. Præf. ad Hist. Dan. And Hist. lib. vii. See also Ol. Worm. Monum. Dan. lib. iii.

‡ Paulus Jovius, a writer indeed not of the best credit, says, that Annibal engraved characters on the Alpine rocks, as a testimony of his passage over them, and that they were remaining there two centuries ago. Hist. lib. xv. p. 163.

§ See Voyage par Strahlenberg, &c. *A Description of the northern and eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*. Schroder says, from Olaus Rudbeckius, that RUNES, or letters, were invented by Magog the Scythian, and communicated to Tuisco the celebrated German chieftain, in the year of the world 1799. Præf. ad Lexicon Latino-Scandic.

¶ See Keyser, p. 147. Two funeral ceremonies, one of BURNING, the other of

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not remind my readers how religiously this horrible ceremony of sacrificing the wife to the dead husband is at present observed in the east. There is a very remarkable correspondence, in numberless important and fundamental points, between the Druidical and the Persian superstitions : and notwithstanding the evidence of Cesar, who speaks only from popular report, and without precision, on a subject which he cared little about, it is the opinion of the learned Banier, that the Druids were formed on the model of the Magi *. In this hypothesis he is seconded by a modern antiquary; who further supposes, that Odin's followers imported this establishment into Scandinavia, from the confines of Persia *. The Scandinavians attributed divine virtue to mistletoe; it is mentioned in their EDDA, or system of religious doctrines, where it is said to grow on the west side of Val-hall, or Odin's elysium †. That Druidical rites existed among the Scandinavians we are informed from many antient Erse poems, which say that the British Druids, in the extremity of their affairs, solicited and obtained aid from Scandinavia ‡. The Gothic hell exactly resembles that which we find in the religious systems of the Persians, the most abounding in superstition of all the eastern nations. One of the circumstances is, and an oriental idea, that it is full of scorpions and serpents §. The doctrines of Zeno, who borrowed most of his opinions from the Persian philosophers, are not uncommon in the EDDA. Lok, the evil

of BURYING their dead, at different times prevailed in the north; and have distinguished two eras in the old northern history. The first was called the AGE OF FIRE, the second the AGE OF HILLS.

* Mytholog. Expliq. ii. p. 628. 4to.

† M. Mallet. Hist. Dannem. i. p. 56. See also Keyser, p. 152.

‡ EDD. Isl. fab. xxviii. Compare Keyser, Antiquit. Sel. Sept. p. 304. seq. The Germans, a Teutonic tribe, call it to this

day "the Branch of Spectres." But see Dr. Percy's ingenious note on this passage in the EDDA. NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES, vol. ii. p. 143.

§ Ossian's Works. CATHLIN, ii. p. 216. Not. edit. 1765. vol. ii. They add, that among the auxiliaries came many magicians.

¶ See Hyde, Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 199. 404. But compare what is said of the EDDA, towards the close of this Discourse.

deity

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deity of the Goths, is probably the Arimanius of the Persians. In some of the most antient Islandic chronicles, the Turks are mentioned as belonging to the jurisdiction of the Scandinavians. Mahomet, not so great an inventor as is imagined, adopted into his religion many favourite notions and superstitions from the bordering nations which were the offspring of the Scythians, and especially from the Turks. Accordingly, we find the Alcoran agreeing with the Runic theology in various instances. I will mention only one. It is one of the beatitudes of the Mahometan paradise, that blooming virgins shall administer the most luscious wines. Thus in Odin's Val-hall, or the Gothic elysium, the departed heroes received cups of the strongest mead and ale from the hands of the virgin-goddeses called Valkyres^c. Alfred, in his Saxon account of the northern seas, taken from the mouth of Ohther, a Norwegian, who had been sent by that monarch to discover a north-east passage into the Indies, constantly calls these nations the ORIENTALS^f. And as these eastern tribes brought with them into the north a certain degree of refinement, of luxury, and splendor, which appeared singular and prodigious among barbarians; one of their early historians describes a person better dressed than usual, by saying, "he was so well cloathed, that you " might have taken him for one of the Asiatics^g." Wormius mentions a Runic incantation, in which an Asiatic inchantress is invoked^h. Various other instances might here

^c Odin only, drank wine in Valhall. EDD. Myth. xxxiv. See Keyser, p. 152.

^f See Preface to Alfred's Saxon Orosius, published by Spelman. VIT. ÆLFREDI. Spelm. Append. vi.

^g LANDNAMA-SAGA. See Mallet. Hist. Dannem. c. ii.

^h Lit. Run. p. 209, edit. 1651. The Goths came from the neighbourhood of Colchis, the region of Witchcraft, and the country of Medea, famous for her incantations. The eastern pagans from the very earliest ages, have had their enchanter.

Now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments. Exod. vii. 11. See also vii. 18, 19. ix. 11, &c. When the people of Israel had over-run the country of Balak, he invites Baalam a neighbouring prince to curse them, or destroy them by magic, which he seems to have professed. And the elders of Moab departed with the rewards of DIVINATION in their hand. Num. xxii. 7. Surely there is no ENCHANTMENT against Israel. xxiii. 23. And he went out, as at other times, to seek for ENCHANTMENTS. xxiv. 1. &c.
Odin

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be added, some of which will occasionally arise in the future course of our inquiries.

It is notorious, that many traces of oriental usages are found amongst all the European nations during their pagan state; and this phenomenon is rationally resolved, on the supposition that all Europe was originally peopled from the east. But as the resemblance which the pagan Scandinavians bore to the eastern nations in manners, monuments, opinions, and practices, is so very perceptible and apparent, an inference arises, that their migration from the east must have happened at a period by many ages more recent, and therefore most probably about the time specified by their historians. In the mean time we must remember, that a distinction is to be made between this expedition of Odin's Goths, who formed a settlement in Scandinavia, and those innumerable armies of barbarous adventurers, who some centuries afterwards, distinguished by the same name, at different periods overwhelmed Europe, and at length extinguished the Roman empire.

When we consider the rapid conquests of the nations which may be comprehended under the common name of Scythians, and not only those conducted by Odin, but by Attila, Theodoric, and Genferic, we cannot ascribe such successes to brutal courage only. To say that some of these irresistible conquerors made war on a luxurious, effeminate, and enervated people, is a plausible and easy mode of accounting for their conquests: but this reason will not operate with equal force in the histories of Genghizcan and

Odin himself was not only a warrior, but a magician, and his Asiatics were called *Incantationum auctores*. Chron. Norweg. apud Bartholin. L. iii. c. 2. p. 657. Crymog. Anglica. L. i. cap. vii. p. 511. From this source, those who adopt the principles just mentioned in this discourse, may be inclined to think, that the notion of spells got into the ritual of chivalry. In all legal single combats, each champion attested upon

oath, that he did not carry about him any herb, spell, or enchantment. Dugdal. Orig. Juridic. p. 82. See Hickes's account of the silver Dano-Saxon shield, dug up in the isle of Ely, having a magical Runic inscription, supposed to render those who bore it in battle invulnerable. Apud Hickes. Thesaur. Dissertat. Epistol. p. 187.

Tamerlane,

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Tamerlane, who destroyed mighty empires founded on arms and military discipline, and who baffled the efforts of the ablest leaders. Their science and genius in war, such as it then was, cannot therefore be doubted: that they were not deficient in the arts of peace, I have already hinted, and now proceed to produce more particular proofs. Innumerable and very fundamental errors have crept into our reasonings and systems about savage life, resulting merely from those strong and undistinguishing notions of barbarism, which our prejudices have hastily formed concerning the character of all rude nations ⁱ.

Among other arts which Odin's Goths planted in Scandinavia, their skill in poetry, to which they were addicted in a peculiar manner, and which they cultivated with a wonderful enthusiasm, seems to be most worthy our regard, and especially in our present inquiry.

As the principal heroes of their expedition into the north were honourably distinguished from the Europeans, or original Scandinavians, under the name of *Asæ*, or Asiatics, so the verses, or language, of this people, were denominated *ASAMAL*, or ASIATIC speech ^k. Their poetry contained not only the praises of their heroes, but their popular traditions and their religious rites; and was filled with those fictions which the most exaggerated pagan superstition would naturally implant in the wild imaginations of an Asiatic people. And from this principle alone, I mean of their Asiatic origin, some critics would at once account for a certain capricious spirit of extravagance, and those bold eccentric conceptions, which so strongly distinguish the old northern poetry ^l. Nor

ⁱ See this argument pursued in the following DISSERTATION.

^k “*Linguam Danicam antiquam, cujus in rythmis usus fuit, veteres appellarunt ASAMAL, id est Asiaticam, vel ASARUM SERMONEM; quod cum ex Asia Odinus fecum in Daniam, Norwegiam, Sueciam, aliasque regiones septentrionales, invex-*

erit.” Steph. Stephan. Præfat. ad Saxon. Grammat. Hist.

^l A most ingenious critic observes, that “what we have been long accustomed to call the ORIENTAL VEIN of poetry, because some of the EARLIEST poetical productions have come to us from the east, is probably no more ORIENTAL than

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is this fantastic imagery, the only mark of Asiaticism which appears in the Runic odes. They have a certain sublime and figurative cast of diction, which is indeed one of their predominant characteristics^m. I am very sensible that all rude nations are naturally apt to cloath their sentiments in this style. A propensity to this mode of expression is necessarily occasioned by the poverty of their language, which obliges them frequently to substitute similitudes and circumlocutions : it arises in great measure from feelings undisguised and unrestrained by custom or art, and from the genuine efforts of nature working more at large in uncultivated minds. In the infancy of society, the passions and the imagination are alike uncontrouled. But another cause seems to have concurred in producing the effect here mentioned. When obvious terms and phrases evidently occurred, the Runic poets are fond of departing from the common and established diction. They appear to use circumlocution and comparisons not as a matter of necessity, but of choice and skill : nor are these metaphorical colourings so much the result of want of words, as of warmth of fancyⁿ.

“ than OCCIDENTAL.” Blair’s Crit. Diff. on Ossian. vol. ii. p. 317. But all the LATER oriental writers through all ages have been particularly distinguished for this VEIN. Hence it is here characteristic of a country not of an age. I will allow, on this writer’s very just and penetrating principles, that an early northern ode shall be as sublime as an eastern one. Yet the sublimity of the latter shall have a different character ; it will be more inflated and gigantic.

^m Thus, a Rainbow is called, *the bridge of the gods*. Poetry, *the mead of Odin*. The earth, *the vessel that floats on ages*. A ship, *the horse of the waves*. Ice, *the vast bridge*. Herbs, *the fleece of the earth*. A Battle, *a bath of blood*, *the hail of Odin*, *the shock of bucklers*. A Tongue, *the sword of words*. Night, *the veil of caves*. Rocks, *the bones of the earth*. Arrows, *the barbed of helmets*, &c. &c.

ⁿ In a strict geographical sense, the original country of these Asiatic Goths might not be so situated as physically to have produced these effects. Yet it is to be observed, that intercourse and vicinity are in this case sometimes equivalent to climate. The Persian traditions and superstitions were current even in the northern parts of Tartary. Georgia, however, may be fairly considered as a part of Persia. It is equal in fertility to any of the eastern Turkish provinces in Asia. It affords the richest wines, and other luxuries of life, in the greatest abundance. The most beautiful virgins for the seraglio are fetched from this province. In the mean time, thus much at least may be said of a warm climate, exclusive of its supposed immediate physical influence on the human mind and temperament. It exhibits all the productions of nature in their highest perfection and beauty :

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Their warmth of fancy, however, if supposed to have proceeded from the principles above suggested, in a few generations after this migration into Scandinavia, must have lost much of its natural heat and genuine force. Yet ideas and sentiments, especially of this sort, once imbibed, are long remembered and retained, in savage life. Their religion, among other causes, might have contributed to keep this spirit alive; and to preserve their original stock of images, and native mode of expression, unchanged and unabated by climate or country. In the mean time we may suppose, that the new situation of these people in Scandinavia, might have added a darker shade and a more savage complexion to their former fictions and superstitions; and that the formidable objects of nature to which they became familiarised in those northern solitudes, the piny precipices, the frozen mountains, and the gloomy forests, acted on their imaginations, and gave a tincture of horror to their imagery.

A skill in poetry seems in some measure to have been a national science among the Scandinavians, and to have been familiar to almost every order and degree. Their kings and warriors partook of this epidemic enthusiasm, and on frequent occasions are represented as breaking forth into spontaneous songs and verses.^o But the exercise of the poetical

beauty : while the excessive heat of the sun, and the fewer incitements to labour and industry, dispose the inhabitants to indolence, and to living much abroad in scenes of nature. These circumstances are favourable to the operations of fancy.

^o Harold Hardraade, king of Norway, composed sixteen songs of his expedition into Africa. Asbiorn Pruda, a Danish champion, described his past life in nine strophes, while his enemy Bruce, a giant, was tearing out his bowels. "i. *Tell my mother Suanbita in Denmark, that she will not this summer comb the hair of her son. I had promised her to return, but now my side shall feel the edge of the sword.* ii. It was far otherwise, when we sat at home in

mirth, chearing ourselves with the drink of ale; and coming from Hordeland passed the gulf in our ships; when we quaffed mead, and conversed of liberty. Now I alone am fallen into the narrow prisons of the giant.

iii. It was far otherwise, &c." Every stanza is introduced with the same choral burden. Bartholin. *Antiquit. Danic. L. i. cap. 10.* p. 158. edit. 1689. The noble epicidium of Regner Lodbrog is more commonly known. The champion Orvarodd, after his expeditions into various countries, sung, on his death-bed, the most memorable events of his life in metre. Hallmund, being mortally wounded, commanded his daughter to listen to a poem which he was about to deliver, containing histories of his victories,

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talent was properly confined to a stated profession : and with their poetry the Goths imported into Europe a species of poets or singers, whom they called SCALDS or POLISHERS of LANGUAGE. This order of men, as we shall see more distinctly below, was held in the highest honour and veneration : they received the most liberal rewards for their verses, attended the festivals of heroic chiefs, accompanied them in battle, and celebrated their victories ².

These Scandinavian bards appear to have been esteemed and entertained in other countries besides their own, and by that means to have probably communicated their fictions to various parts of Europe. I will give my reasons for this supposition.

In the early ages of Europe, before many regular governments took place, revolutions, emigrations, and invasions, were frequent and almost universal. Nations were alter-

victories, and to engrave it on tablets of wood. Bartholin. *ibid.* p. 162. Saxo Grammaticus gives us a regular ode, uttered by the son of a king of Norway, who by mistake had been buried alive, and was discovered and awakened by a party of soldiers digging for treasure. Sax. Grammat. L. 5. p. 50. There are instances recorded of their speaking in metre on the most common occurrences.

² The Sogdians were a people who lived eastward of the Caspian sea, not far from the country of Odin's Goths. Quintus Curtius relates, that when some of that people were condemned to death by Alexander on account of a revolt, they rejoiced greatly, and testified their joy by SINGING VERSES and dancing. When the king enquired the reason of their joy, they answered, "that being soon to be RESTORED TO THEIR ANCESTORS by so great a conqueror, they could not help celebrating so honourable a death, which was the wish of all brave men, in their own ACCUSTOMED SONGS." Lib. vii. c. 8. I am obliged to doctor Percy for pointing out this passage. From the correspondence of manners and princi-

ples it holds forth between the Scandinavians and the Sogdians, it contains a striking proof of Odin's migration from the east to the north : first, in the spontaneous exercise of the poetical talent ; and secondly, in the opinion, that a glorious or warlike death, which admitted them to the company of their friends and parents in another world, was to be embraced with the most eager alacrity, and the highest sensations of pleasure. This is the doctrine of the Edda. In the same spirit, RIDENS MORIAR is the triumphant close of Regner Lodbrog's dying ode. [See Keyser, *ubi* *infr.* p. 127.] I cannot help adding here another stroke from this ode, which seems also to be founded on eastern manners. He speaks with great rapture of drinking, "ex concavis crateribus cranio-rum." The inhabitants of the island of Ceylon to this day carouse at their feasts, from cups or bowls made of the skulls of their deceased ancestors. Ives's VOYAGE TO INDIA, ch. 5. p. 62. Lond. 1773. 4to. This practice these islanders undoubtedly received from the neighbouring continent. Compare Keyser, *Antiquitat. Sel. Septentrional.* p. 362. *seq.*

nately

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nately destroyed or formed; and the want of political security exposed the inhabitants of every country to a state of eternal fluctuation. That Britain was originally peopled from Gaul, a nation of the Celts, is allowed: but that many colonies from the northern parts of Europe were afterwards successively planted in Britain and the neighbouring islands, is an hypothesis equally rational, and not altogether destitute of historical evidence. Nor was any nation more likely than the Scandinavian Goths, I mean in their early periods, to make descents on Britain. They possessed the spirit of adventure in an eminent degree. They were habituated to dangerous enterprizes. They were acquainted with distant coasts, exercised in navigation, and fond of making expeditions, in hopes of conquest, and in search of new acquisitions. As to Scotland and Ireland, there is the highest probability, that the Scutes, who conquered both those countries, and possessed them under the names of Albin Scutes and Irin Scutes, were a people of Norway. The Caledonians are expressly called by many judicious antiquaries a Scandinavian colony. The names of places and persons, over all that part of Scotland which the Picts inhabited, are of Scandinavian extraction. A simple catalogue of them only, would immediately convince us, that they are not of Celtic, or British, origin. Flaherty reports it as a received opinion, and a general doctrine, that the Picts migrated into Britain and Ireland from Scandinavia¹. I forbear to accumulate a pedantic parade of authorities on this occasion: nor can it be expected that I should enter into a formal and exact examination of this obscure and compli-

¹ It is conjectured by Wormius, that *Ireland* is derived from the Runic Yr, a bow, for the use of which the Irish were once famous. Lit. Run. c. xvii. p. 101. The Asiatics near the lake Maeotis, from which Odin led his colony in Europe, were cele-

brated archers. Hence Hercules in Theocritus, Idyll. xiii. 56.

—Μαίνεται λαβών ευκαμπέα τόξα.

Compare Salmæ. de Hellen. p. 369. And Flaherty. Ogyg. Part. iii. cap. xviii. p. 188. edit. 1685. Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. Præf. p. xxxviii.

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cated subject in its full extent, which is here only introduced incidentally. I will only add, that Scotland and Ireland, as being situated more to the north, and probably less difficult of access than Britain, might have been objects on which our northern adventurers were invited to try some of their earliest excursions: and that the Orkney-islands remained long under the jurisdiction of the Norwegian potentates.

In these expeditions, the northern emigrants, as we shall prove more particularly below, were undoubtedly attended by their scalds or poets. Yet even in times of peace, and without the supposition of conquest or invasion, the Scandinavian scalds might have been well known in the British islands. Possessed of a specious and pleasing talent, they frequented the courts of the British, Scottish, and Irish chieftains. They were itinerants by their institution, and made voyages, out of curiosity, or in quest of rewards, to those islands or coasts which lay within the circle of their maritime knowledge. By these means, they established an interest, rendered their profession popular, propagated their art, and circulated their fictions, in other countries, and at a distance from home. Torfaeus asserts positively, that various Islandic odes now remain, which were sung by the Scandinavian bards before the kings of England and Ireland, and for which they received liberal gratuities¹. They were more especially caressed and rewarded at the courts of those princes, who were distinguished for their warlike character, and their passion for military glory.

Olaus Wormius informs us, that great numbers of the northern scalds constantly resided in the courts of the kings of Sweden, Denmark, and England². Hence the tradition in an ancient Islandic Saga, or poetical history, may be explained; which says, that Odin's language was originally

¹ Torf. Hist. Orcad. in Præfat.

² Lit. Dan. p. 195. ed. 4to.

used,

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used, not only in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, but even in England'. Indeed it may be naturally concluded from these suggestions, that the Scandinavian tongue became familiar in the British islands by the songs of the scalds: unless it be rather presumed, that a previous knowledge of that tongue in Britain was the means of facilitating the admission of those poets, and preparing the way for their reception.

And here it will be much to our present argument to observe, that some of the old Gothic and Scandinavian superstitions are to this day retained in the English language. MARA, from whence our Night-mare is derived, was in the Runic theology a spirit or spectre of the night, which seized men in their sleep, and suddenly deprived them of speech and motion". NICKA was the Gothic demon who inhabited the element of water, and who strangled persons that were drowning". BOH was one of the most fierce and formidable of the Gothic generals*, and the son of Odin: the mention of whose name only was sufficient to spread an immediate panic among his enemies".

' Bartholin. iii. 2. p. 651. It was a constant old British tradition, that king Arthur conquered Ireland, Gothland, Denmark, and Norway. See Galfrid. Monum. ix. 11. Rob. of Glouc. ed. Hearne, p. 180. 182. What is said in the text must have greatly facilitated the Saxon and Danish conquests in England. The works of the genuine Caedmon are written in the language of the antient Angles, who were nearly connected with the Jutes. Hence that language resembled the antient Danish, as appears from passages of Caedmon cited by Wanley. Hence also it happened, that the later Dano-Saxonic dialect, in which Junius's POETICAL PARAPHRASE OF GENESIS was written, is likewise so very similar to the language of the antient Angles, who settled in the more northern parts of England. And in this dialect, which indeed prevailed in some degree almost over all England, many other poems are composed, mentioned likewise in Wanley's Catalogue. It is the constant doctrine

of the Danish historians, that the Danes and Angles, whose successors gave the name to this island, had the same origin.

" See Keyssler, Antiquitat. Sel. Septentrional. p. 497. edit. 1720.

" See Keyssler, ut supr. p. 261. And in ADDEND. ibid. p. 588.

* See Keyssler, ibid. p. 105. p. 130.

† See Temple's Essays, part 4. pag. 346. See also instances of conformity between English and Gothic superstitions in Bartholinus, L. ii. cap. 2. p. 262. 266. It may be urged, that these superstitions might be introduced by the Danes; of whom I shall speak below. But this brings us to just the same point. The learned Hickes was of opinion, from a multitude of instances, that our trials by a jury of Twelve, was an early Scandinavian institution, and that it was brought from thence into England. Yet he supposes, at a period later than is necessary, the Norman invasion. See Wootton's Conspectus of Hickes's Thesaur. pag. 46. Lond. 1708.

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The fictions of Odin and of his Scandinavians, must have taken still deeper root in the British islands, at least in England, from the Saxon and Danish invasions.

That the tales of the Scandinavian scalds flourished among the Saxons, who succeeded to the Britons, and became possessors of England in the sixth century, may be justly presumed ^z. The Saxons were originally seated in the Cimbric Chersonese, or those territories which have been since called Jutland, Angelen, and Holstein; and were fond of tracing the descent of their princes from Odin ^a. They were therefore a part of the Scandinavian tribes. They imported with them into England the old Runic language and letters. This appears from inscriptions on coins ^b, stones ^c, and other mo-

And Hicck. Thesaur. Dissertat. Epistol. vol. i. p. 38. seq. The number TWELVE was sacred among the Septentrional tribes. Odin's Judges are TWELVE, and have TWELVE seats in Gladheim. EDD. ISL. fab. vii. The God of the Edda has TWELVE names, *ibid.* fab. i. An Aristocracy of TWELVE is a well known antient establishment in the north. In the Dialogue between Hervor and Angantyr, the latter promises to give Hervor TWELVE MENS DEATHS. *Hervarer-Saga*, apud Ol. Verel. cap. vii. p. 91. The Druidical circular monuments of separate stones erect, are more frequently of the number TWELVE, than of any other number. See Borlase, *ANTIQUIT. Cornw.* B. iii. ch. vii. edit. 1769. fol. And Toland, *Hist. Druid.* p. 89. 158. 160. See also Martin's *Hebrid.* p. 9. In Zealand and Sweden, many antient circular monuments, consisting each of twelve rude stones, still remain, which were the places of judicature. My late very learned, ingenious, and respected friend, doctor Borlase, pointed out to me monuments of the same sort in Cornwall. Compare Keyser, p. 93. And it will illustrate remarks already made, and the principles insinuated in this Dissertation, to observe, that these monuments are found in Persia near Tauris. Geoffrey of

Monmouth affords instances in his *British History*. The knights sent into Wales by Fitzhammon, in 1091, were TWELVE. Powel, p. 124. sub anno. See also an instance in Du Carell, *Anglo-Norman ANTIQ.* p. 9. It is probable that Charlemagne formed his TWELVE PEERS on this principle. From whom Spenser evidently took his TWELVE KNIGHTS.

^z "Ex vetustioribus poetis Cimbrorum, nempe Scaldis et Theotiscæ gentis versificatoribus, plane multa, ut par est credere, sumpsere." Hicck. Thesaur. i. p. 101. See p. 117.

^a See Gibson's *Chron. Saxon.* p. 12. seq. Historians mention WODEN'S BEORTH, i. e. Woden's hill, in Wiltshire. See Mil-ton, *Hist. Engl. An.* 588.

^b See Sir A. Fountaine's *Pref. Saxon Money. OFFA. REX. SC. BOTRED MONETARIUS, &c.* See also Serenii *Diction. Anglo-Suecico-Latin.* *Pref.* pag. 21.

^c See Hicckes's *Thesaur. BAPTISTERIUM BRIDKIRKENSE.* Par. iii. p. 4. Tab. ii. *SAXUM REVELLENSE apud Scotos.* *Ibid.* Tab. iv. pag. 5.—*CRUX LAPIDEA apud Beaucastile.* *Wanley Catal. MSS. Anglo-Sax.* pag. 248. ad calc. Hicck. Thesaur. *ANNULUS AUREUS.* Drake's *York, Append.* p. 102. Tab. N. 26. And Gordon's *Itin. Septentr.* p. 168.

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numents; and from some of their manuscripts ^d. It is well known that Runic inscriptions have been discovered in Cumberland and Scotland: and that there is even extant a coin of king Offa, with a Runic legend ^e. But the conversion of the Saxons to christianity, which happened before the seventh century, entirely banished the common use of those characters ^f, which were esteemed unhallowed and necromantic; and with their antient superstitions, which yet prevailed for some time in the popular belief, abolished in some measure their native and original vein of poetic fabling ^g. They suddenly became a mild and polished people, addicted to the arts of peace, and the exercise of devotion; and the poems they have left us are chiefly moral rhapsodies, scriptural histories, or religious invocations ^h. Yet even in these pieces they have frequent allusions to the old scaldic fables and heroes. Thus, in an Anglo-Saxon poem on Judith, Holofernes is

^d See Hickes's *Theaur.* Par. i. pag. 135. 136. 148. Par. iii. Tab. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. It may be conjectured, that these characters were introduced by the Danes. It is certain that they never grew into common use. They were at least inconvenient, as consisting of capitals. We have no remains of Saxon writing so old as the sixth century. Nor are there any of the seventh, except a very few charters. [Bibl. Bodl. NE. D. 11. 19. seq.] See Hickes's *Theaur.* Par. i. pag. 169. See also *CHARTA ODILREDI AD MONASTERIUM DE BERKING.* Tab. i. Casley's *Cat. Bibl. Reg.* In the British Museum.

^e See *ARCHÆOL.* vol. ii. p. 131. A. D. 1773. 4to.

^f But see Hickes, *ubi sup.* i. p. 140.

^g It has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend, that GUY and sir BEVIS, the first of which lived in the reign of Athelstan, and the latter, as some suppose, in that of Edgar, both christian champions against the pagan Danes, were originally subjects of the genuine Saxon bards. But I rather think, they begun to be celebrated in or after the crusades; the

nature of which expeditions dictated to the romance-writers, and brought into vogue, stories of christians fighting with infidel heroes. The cause was the same, and the circumstances partly parallel; and this being once the fashion, they consulted their own histories for heroes, and combats were feigned with Danish giants, as well as with the Saracen. See *infr.* SECT. iii. p. 142. 143. 145. There is the story of BEVIS in British, *YSTORI BOUN O HAMTUN.* Lhuyd's *Arch. Brit.* p. 264.

^h Except an ode on Athelstan, translated below. See SECT. i. p. 2. See also the description of the city of Durham. Hickes, p. 179. It has nothing of the wild strain of poetry. The saints and relics of Durham church seem to have struck the poet most, in describing that city. I cannot discern the supposed sublimity of those mysterious dithyrambics, which close the Saxon *MENOLOGE*, or poetic calendar, written about the tenth century, printed by Hickes, *Gramm. Anglo-Sax.* p. 207. They seem to be prophecies and proverbs; or rather, splendid fragments from different poems, thrown together without connection.

called

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called BALDER, or *leader and prince of warriors*. And in a poetical paraphrase on Genesis, Abimelech has the same appellation¹. This Balder was a famous chieftain of the Asiatic Goths, the son of Odin, and supposed to inhabit a magnificent hall in the future place of rewards. The same Anglo-Saxon paraphrast, in his prosopopea of Satan addressing his companions plunged in the infernal abyss, adopts many images and expressions used in the very sublime description of the Eddic hell²: Henry of Huntingdon complains of certain *extraneous words and uncommon figures* of speech, in a Saxon ode on a victory of king Athelstan³. These were all scaldic expressions or allusions. But I will give a literal English translation of this poem, which cannot be well understood without premising its occasion. In the year 938, Anlaff, a pagan king of the Hybernians and the adjacent isles, invited by Constantine king of the Scots, entered the river Abi or Humber with a strong fleet. Our Saxon king Athelstan, and his brother Eadmund Clito, met them with a numerous army, near a place called Brunenburgh; and after a most obstinate and bloody resistance, drove them back to their ships. The battle lasted from day-break till the evening. On the side of Anlaff were slain six petty kings, and seven chiefs or generals. “ King Adelstan, “ the glory of leaders, the giver of gold chains to his nobles, “ and his brother Eadmund, both shining with the brightness of a long train of ancestors, struck [the adversary] “ in war; at Brunenburgh, with the edge of the sword, “ they clove the wall of shields. The high banners fell. “ The earls of the departed Edward fell; for it was born “ within them, even from the loins of their kindred, to “ defend the treasures and the houses of their country, and

¹ See Hickes. *Thesaur.* i. p. 10. Who adds many more instances.

² Fab. xlix. See Hickes, *ubi sup.* p. 116.

³ Who has greatly misrepresented the sense by a bad Latin translation. *Hist. Lib.* v. p. 203.

“ their

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“ their gifts, against the hatred of strangers. The nation
“ of the Scots, and the fatal inhabitants of ships, fell. The
“ hills resounded, and the armed men were covered with
“ sweat. From the time the sun, the king of stars, the
“ torch of the eternal one, rose chearful above the hills, till
“ he returned to his habitation. There lay many of the
“ northern men, pierced with lances ; they lay wounded,
“ with their shields pierced through : and also the Scots,
“ the hateful harvest of battle. The chosen bands of the
“ West-Saxons, going out to battle, pressed on the steps of
“ the detested nations, and flew their flying rear with sharp
“ and bloody swords. The soft effeminate men yielded up
“ their spears. The Mercians did not fear or fly the rough
“ game of the hand. There was no safety to them, who
“ fought the land with Anlaff in the bosom of the ship, to
“ die in fight. Five youthful kings fell in the place of
“ fight, slain with swords ; and seven captains of Anlaff,
“ with the innumerable army of Scottish mariners : there
“ the lord of the Normans [Northern-men] was chased ;
“ and their army, now made small, was driven to the prow
“ of the ship. The ship founded with the waves ; and the
“ king, marching into the yellow sea, escaped alive. And
“ so it was, the wise northern king Constantine, a veteran
“ chief, returning by flight to his own army, bowed down
“ in the camp, left his own son worn out with wounds in
“ the place of slaughter ; in vain did he lament his earls, in
“ vain his lost friends. Nor less did Anlaff, the yellow-
“ haired leader, the battle-ax of slaughter, a youth in war,
“ but an old man in understanding, boast himself a con-
“ queror in fight, when the darts flew against Edward’s
“ earls, and their banners met. Then those northern fol-
“ diers, covered with shame, the sad refuse of darts in
“ the resounding whirlpool of Humber, departed in their
“ ships with rudders, to seek through the deep the Irish
“ city and their own land. While both the brothers, the
“ king

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“ king and Clito, lamenting even their own victory, toge-
 “ ther returned home; leaving behind them the flesh-de-
 “ vouring raven, the dark-blue toad greedy of slaughter,
 “ the black crow with horny bill, and the hoarse toad, the
 “ eagle a companion of battles with the devouring kite,
 “ and that brindled savage beast the wolf of the wood, to
 “ be glutted with the white food of the slain. Never was
 “ so great a slaughter in this island, since the Angles and
 “ Saxons, the fierce beginners of war, coming hither from
 “ the east, and seeking Britain through the wide sea, over-
 “ came the Britons excelling in honour, and gained pos-
 “ session of their land ^m.”

This piece, and many other Saxon odes and songs now remaining, are written in a metre much resembling that of the scaldic dialogue at the tomb of Angantyr, which has been beautifully translated into English, in the true spirit of the original, and in a genuine strain of poetry, by Gray. The extemporaneous effusions of the glowing bard seem naturally to have fallen into this measure, and it was probably more easily suited to the voice or harp. Their versification for the most part seems to have been that of the Runic poetry.

As literature, the certain attendant, as it is the parent, of true religion and civility, gained ground among the Saxons, poetry no longer remained a separate science, and the profession of bard seems gradually to have declined among them: I mean the bard under those appropriated characteristics, and that peculiar appointment, which he sustained among the Scandinavian pagans. Yet their national love of verse and music still so strongly predominated, that in the place of their old scalders a new rank of poets arose, called GLEEMEN or Harpers ⁿ. These probably gave

^m The original was first printed by Whetloc in the Saxon Chronicle, p. 555. Cant. 1644. See Hicet. Thef. Prælat. p. xiv. And *ibid.* Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 181.

ⁿ GLEEMAN answers to the Latin JOCULATOR. Fabian, speaking of Blage-
 bride, an ancient British king, famous for
 his skill in poetry and music, calls him “ a
 “ conyng”

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rise to the order of English Minstrels, who flourished till the sixteenth century.

And here I stop to point out one of the principal reasons, why the Scandinavian bards have transmitted to modern times so much more of their native poetry, than the rest of their southern neighbours. It is true, that the inhabitants of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, whether or no from their Asiatic origin, from their poverty which compelled them to seek their fortunes at foreign courts by the exercise of a popular art, from the success of their bards, the nature of their republican government, or their habits of unsettled life, were more given to verse than any other Gothic, or even Celtic, tribe. But this is not all: they remained pagans, and retained their original manners, much longer than any of their Gothic kindred. They were not completely converted to christianity till the tenth century °. Hence, under the concurrence however of some of the causes just mentioned, their scaldic profession acquired greater degrees of strength and of maturity: and from an uninterrupted possession through many ages of the most romantic religious superstitions, and the preservation of those rough manners which are so favourable to the poetical spirit, was enabled to produce, not only more genuine, but more numerous, compositions. True religion would have checked the impetuosity of their passions, suppressed their wild exertions of fancy, and banished that striking train of imagery, which their

“ conynge musicyan, called of the Britons god of GLEEMEN.” CHRON. f. xxxii. ed. 1533. This, Fabian translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth’s account of the same British king, “ ut DEUS “ JOCULATORUM videretur.” Hist Brit. lib. i. cap. 22. It appears from the injunctions given to the British church in the year 680, that female harpers were not then uncommon. It is decreed that no bishop, or any ecclesiastic, shall keep or have CITHARÆDAS, and it is added QUÆCUMQUE

SYMPHONIACA; nor permit plays or sports, LUDOS VEL JOCOS, undoubtedly mimical and gesticulatory entertainments, to be exhibited in his presence. Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. lib. iii. p. 263. edit. vet. And Concil. Spelman. tom. i. p. 159. edit. 1639. fol.

° See bishop Lloyd’s Hist. Account of Church Government in Great Britain, &c. chap. i. §. 11. pag. 4to. Lond. 1684. And Crymog. Arngrim. L. i. cap. 10. p. 104.

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poetry derived from a barbarous theology. This circumstance also suggests to our consideration, those superior advantages and opportunities arising from leisure and length of time, which they enjoyed above others, of circulating their poetry far and wide, of giving a general currency to their mode of fabling, of rendering their skill in versification more universally and familiarly known, and a more conspicuous and popular object of admiration or imitation to the neighbouring countries. Hence too it has happened, that modern times have not only attained much fuller information concerning their historical transactions, but are so intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of their character.

It is probable, that the Danish invasions produced a considerable alteration in the manners of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Although their connections with England were transient and interrupted, and on the whole scarcely lasted two hundred years, yet many of the Danish customs began to prevail among the inhabitants, which seem to have given a new turn to their temper and genius. The Danish fashion of excessive drinking, for instance, a vice almost natural to the northern nations, became so general among the Anglo-Saxons, that it was found necessary to restrain so pernicious and contagious a practice by a particular statute ^p. Hence it seems likely, that so popular an entertainment as their poetry gained ground; especially if we consider, that in their expeditions against England they were of course attended by many northern scalds, who constantly made a part of their military retinue, and whose language was understood by the Saxons. Rogwald, lord of the Orcades, who was also himself a poet, going on an expedition into Palestine, carried with him two Islandic bards ^q. The noble ode, called

^p See Lambarde's *Archaionom.* And Bartholin. ii. c. xii. p. 542.

^q Ol. Worm. *Lit. Run.* p. 195. edit. 1636.

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in the northern chronicles the ELOGIUM OF HACON¹, king of Norway, was composed on a battle in which that prince, with eight of his brothers fell, by the scald Eyvynð; who for his superior skill in poetry was called the CROSS OF POETS, and fought in the battle which he celebrated. Hacon earl of Norway was accompanied by five celebrated bards in the battle of Jomsburgh; and we are told, that each of them sung an ode to animate the soldiers before the engagement began². They appear to have been regularly brought into action. Olave, a king of Norway, when his army was prepared for the onset, placed three scalds about

¹ In this ode are these very sublime imageries and prosopopeas.

“The goddesses who preside over battles come, sent forth by Odin. They go to chuse among the princes of the illustrious race of Yngvon a man who is to perish, and to go to dwell in the palace of the gods.”

“Gondula leaned on the end of her lance, and thus bespoke her companions. The assembly of the gods is going to be increased: the gods invite Hacon, with his numerous host, to enter the palace of Odin.”

“Thus spake these glorious nymphs of war: who were seated on their horses, who were covered with their shields and helmets, and appeared full of some great thought.”

“Hacon heard their discourse. Why, said he, why hast thou thus disposed of the battle? Were we not worthy to have obtained of the gods a more perfect victory? It is we, she replied, who have given it thee. It is we who have put thine enemies to flight.”

“Now, added she, let us push forward our steeds across those green worlds, which are the residence of the gods. Let us go tell Odin that the king is coming to visit him in his palace.”

“When Odin heard this news, he said, Hermode and Brago, my sons, go to meet the king: a king, admired by

“all men for his valour, approaches to our hall.”

“At length king Hacon approaches; and arriving from the battle is still all besprinkled and running down with blood. At the sight of Odin he cries out, Ah! how severe and terrible does this god appear to me!”

“The hero Brago replies, Come, thou that wast the terror of the bravest warriors: Come hither, and rejoin thine eight brothers: the heroes who reside here shall live with thee in peace: Go, drink Ale in the circle of heroes.”

“But this valiant king exclaims, I will still keep my arms: a warrior ought carefully to preserve his mail and helmet: it is dangerous to be a moment without the spear in one’s hand.”—

“The wolf Fenris shall burst his chains and dart with rage upon his enemies, before so brave a king shall again appear upon earth, &c.”

Snorron. Hist. Reg. Sept. i. p. 163. This ode was written so early as the year 960. There is a great variety and boldness in the transitions. An action is carried on by a set of the most awful ideal personages, finely imagined. The goddesses of battle, Odin, his sons Hermode and Brago, and the spectre of the deceased king, are all introduced, speaking and acting as in a drama. The panegyric is nobly conducted, and arises out of the sublimity of the fiction.

² Bartholin. p. 172.

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him, and exclaimed aloud, " You shall not only record in
 " your verses what you have HEARD, but what you have
 " SEEN." They each delivered an ode on the spot [†]. These
 northern chiefs appear to have so frequently hazarded their
 lives with such amazing intrepidity, merely in expecta-
 tion of meriting a panegyric from their poets, the judges,
 and the spectators of their gallant behaviour. That scalds
 were common in the Danish armies when they invaded
 England, appears from a stratagem of Alfred; who, availing
 himself of his skill in oral poetry and playing on the
 harp, entered the Danish camp habited in that character,
 and procured a hospitable reception. This was in the year
 878 [‡]. Anlaff, a Danish king, used the same disguise for re-
 connoitring the camp of our Saxon monarch Athelstan: tak-
 ing his station near Athelstan's pavilion, he entertained the
 king and his chiefs with his verses and music, and was dis-
 missed with an honourable reward [§]. As Anlaff's dialect
 must have discovered him to have been a Dane; here is a
 proof, of what I shall bring more, that the Saxons, even in
 the midst of mutual hostilities, treated the Danish scalds
 with favour and respect. That the Islandic bards were com-
 mon in England during the Danish invasions, there are
 numerous proofs. Egill, a celebrated Islandic poet, having
 murdered the son and many of the friends of Eric Blodaxe,
 king of Denmark or Norway, then residing in Northum-
 berland, and which he had just conquered, procured a pardon
 by singing before the king, at the command of his queen
 Gunhilde, an extemporaneous ode ^{*}. Egill compliments the
 king, who probably was his patron, with the appellation of the

[†] Olaf. Sag. apud Verel. ad HERV.
 SAG. p. 178. Bartholin. p. 172.

[‡] Ingulph. Hist. p. 869. Malmesb. ii.
 c. 4. p. 43.

[§] Malmesb. ii. 6 I am aware, that the
 truth of both these anecdotes respecting
 Alfred and Anlaff has been controverted.

But no sufficient argument has yet been of-
 fered for pronouncing them spurious, or
 even suspicious. See an ingenious Disserta-
 tion in the ARCHÆOLOGIA, vol. ii. p. 100.
 seq. A. D. 1773. 4to.

^{*} See Crymog. Anglim. Jon. Lib. ii.
 pag. 125 edit. 1609.

English

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English chief. "I offer my freight to the king. I owe a poem for my ransom. I present to the ENGLISH CHIEF the mead of Odin ^y." Afterwards he calls this Danish conqueror the commander of the Scottish fleet. "The commander of the Scottish fleet fattened the ravenous birds. The sister of Nera [Death] trampled on the foe: she trampled on the evening food of the eagle." The Scots usually joined the Danish or Norwegian invaders in their attempts on the northern parts of Britain ^z: and from this circumstance a new argument arises, to shew the close communication and alliance which must have subsisted between Scotland and Scandinavia. Egill, although of the enemy's party, was a singular favourite of king Athelstan. Athelstan once asked Egill how he escaped due punishment from Eric Blodaxe, the king of Northumberland, for the very capital and enormous crime which I have just mentioned. On which Egill immediately related the whole of that transaction to the Saxon king, in a sublime ode still extant ^a. On another occasion Athelstan presented Egill with two rings, and two large cabinets filled with silver; promising at the same time, to grant him any gift or favour which he should chuse to request. Egill, struck with gratitude, immediately composed a panegyrical poem in the Norwegian language, then common to both nations, on the virtues of Athelstan, which the latter as generously requited with two marks of pure gold ^b. Here is likewise another argument that the Saxons had no small esteem for the scaldic poetry. It is highly reasonable to conjecture, that our Danish king Canute, a potentate of most extensive jurisdiction, and not only king of

^y See Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 227. 195. All the chiefs of Eric were also present at the recital of this ode, which is in a noble strain.

^z See the Saxon epinicion in praise of king Athelstan. *supr. citat.* Hen. Hunting. L. v. p. 203. 204.

^a Torfæus Hist. Orcad. Præfat. "Rei statim ordinem metro nunc satis obscuro exposuit." Torfæus adds, which is much to our purpose, "nequaquam ita narraturus NON INTELLIGENTI."

^b Crymog. Arn. Jon. p. 129. *ut supr.*

England,

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England, but of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, was not without the customary retinue of the northern courts, in which the scalds held so distinguished and important a station. Human nature, in a savage state, aspires to some species of merit; and in every stage of society is alike susceptible of flattery, when addressed to the reigning passion. The sole object of these northern princes was military glory. It is certain that Canute delighted in this mode of entertainment, which he patronised and liberally rewarded. It is related in *KNYTLINGA-SAGA*, or Canute's History, that he commanded the scald Loftunga to be put to death, for daring to comprehend his achievements in too concise a poem. "Nemo, said he, ante te, ausus est de me BREVES "CANTILENAS componere." A curious picture of the tyrant, the patron, and the barbarian, united! But the bard extorted a speedy pardon, and with much address, by producing the next day before the king at dinner an ode of more than thirty strophes, for which Canute gave him fifty marks of purified silver^c. In the mean time, the Danish language began to grow perfectly familiar in England. It was eagerly learned by the Saxon clergy and nobility, from a principle of ingratiating themselves with Canute: and there are many manuscripts now remaining, by which it will appear, that the Danish runes were much studied among our Saxon ancestors, under the reign of that monarch^d.

The songs of the Irish bards are by some conceived to be strongly marked with the traces of scaldic imagination; and these traces, which will be reconsidered, are believed still to survive among a species of poetical historians, whom they call *TALE-TELLERS*, supposed to be the descendants of the original Irish bards^e. A writer of equal elegance and vera-

^c Bartholin. *Antiquit. Danic. Lib. i. cap. 10. p. 169. 170.* See *KNYTLINGA SAGA*, in *Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Holm. Hickef. Thesaur. ii. 312.*

^d Hickef, *ubi sup.* i. 134. 136.

^e We are informed by the Irish historians, that saint Patrick, when he converted Ireland to the Christian faith, destroyed
three

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city relates, " that a gentleman of the north of Ireland has
 " often told me of his own experience, that in his wolf-
 " huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the moun-
 " tains three or four days together, and laid very ill in the
 " night, so as he could not well sleep, they would bring
 " him one of these TALE-TELLERS, that when he lay down
 " would begin a story of a KING, or a GIANT, a DWARF,
 " and a DAMSEL '." These are topics in which the Runic
 poetry is said to have been greatly conversant.

Nor is it improbable that the Welsh bards^s might have
 been acquainted with the Scandinavian scalds. I mean be-

three hundred volumes of the songs of the Irish bards. Such was their dignity in this country, that they were permitted to wear a robe of the same colour with that of the royal family. They were constantly summoned to a triennial festival: and the most approved songs delivered at this assembly were ordered to be preserved in the custody of the king's historian or antiquary. Many of these compositions are referred to by Keating, as the foundation of his history of Ireland. Ample estates were appropriated to them, that they might live in a condition of independence and ease. The profession was hereditary: but when a bard died, his estate devolved not to his eldest son, but to such of his family as discovered the most distinguished talents for poetry and music. Every principal bard retained thirty of inferior note, as his attendants; and a bard of the secondary class was followed by a retinue of fifteen. They seem to have been at their height in the year 558. See Keating's History of Ireland, p. 127. 132. 370. 380. And Pref. p. 23. None of their poems have been translated.

There is an article in the LAWS of Kenneth king of Scotland, promulged in the year 850, which places the bards of Scotland, who certainly were held in equal esteem with those of the neighbouring countries, in the lowest station. "Fugitivus, BARDOS, otio addictus, scurras et hujusmodi hominum genus, loris et flagris cadunt." Apud Hæctor. Boeth. Lib. x. p. 201. edit. 1574. But Salma-

sius very justly observes, that for BARDOS we should read VARGOS, or VERGOS, i. e. Vagabonds..

^f Sir W. Temple's Essays, part iv. p. 349.

^s The bards of Britain were originally a constitutional appendage of the druidical hierarchy. In the parish of Llanidan in the isle of Anglesey, there are still to be seen the ruins of an arch-druid's mansion, which they call TREK DREW, that is the DRUID'S MANSION. Near it are marks of the habitations of the separate conventual societies, which were under his immediate orders and inspection. Among these is TREK BEIRD, or, as they call it to this day, the HAMLET OF THE BARDS. Rowlands's MONA, p. 83. 88. But so strong was the attachment of the Celtic nations, among which we reckon Britain, to poetry, that, amidst all the changes of government and manners, even long after the order of Druids was extinct, and the national religion altered, the bards, acquiring a sort of civil capacity, and a new establishment, still continued to flourish. And with regard to Britain, the bards flourished most in those parts of it, which most strongly retained their native Celtic character. The Britons living in those countries that were between the Trent or Humber and the Thames, by far the greatest portion of this island, in the midst of the Roman garri-sons and colonies, had been so long inured to the customs of the Romans, that they preserved very little of the British; and from
 this

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fore their communications with Armorica, mentioned at large above. The prosody of the Welsh bards depended much on alliteration^h. Hence they seem to have paid an attention to the scaldic versification. The Islandic poets are said to have carried alliteration to the highest pitch of exactness in their earliest periods: whereas the Welsh bards of the sixth century used it but sparingly, and in a very imperfect degree. In this circumstance a proof of imitation, at least of emulation, is impliedⁱ. There are moreover, strong instances of conformity between the manners of the two nations; which, however, may be accounted for on general principles arising from our comparative observations on rude life. Yet it is remarkable that mead, the northern nectar, or favourite liquor of the Goths^k, who seem to have stamped it with the character of a poetical drink, was no less celebrated among the Welsh^l. The songs of both nations abound

this long and habitual intercourse, before the fifth century, they seem to have lost their original language. We cannot discover the slightest trace, in the poems of the bards, the *LIVES* of the British saints, or any other antient monument, that they held any correspondence with the Welsh, the Cornish, the Cumbrian, or the Strathclyud Britons. Among other British institutions grown obsolete among them, they seem to have lost the use of Bards; at least there are no memorials of any they had, nor any of their songs remaining: nor do the Welsh or Cumbrian poets ever touch upon any transactions that passed in those countries, after they were relinquished by the Romans.

And here we see the reason why the Welsh bards flourished so much and so long. But moreover the Welsh, kept in awe as they were by the Romans, harassed by the Saxons, and eternally jealous of the attacks, the encroachments, and the neighbourhood of aliens, were on this account attached to their Celtic manners: this situation, and these circumstances, inspired them with a pride and an obstinacy for man-

taining a national distinction, and for preserving their antient usages, among which the bardic profession is so eminent.

^h See *infr.* SECT. X. p. 32.

ⁱ I am however informed by a very intelligent antiquary in British literature, that there are manifest marks of alliteration in some druidical fragments still remaining, undoubtedly composed before the Britons could have possibly mixed in the smallest degree with any Gothic nation. Rhyme is likewise found in the British poetry at the earliest period, in those druidical triplets called *ENGLYN MILWR*, or the *WARRIOR'S SONG*, in which every verse is closed with a consonant syllable. See a metrical Druid oracle in *Borlase's Antiquit. Cornwall.* B. iii. ch. 5. p. 185. edit. 1769.

^k And of the antient Franks. Gregory of Tours mentions a Frank drinking this liquor; and adds, that he acquired this habit from the BARBAROUS or Frankish nations. *Hist. Franc. lib. viii. c. 33. p. 404. ed. 1699. Paris. fol.*

^l See *infr.* SECT. XVI. p. 430.

with

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with its praises : and it seems in both to have been alike the delight of the warrior and the bard. Talieffin, as Lhuyd informs us, wrote a panegyric ode on this inspiring beverage of the bee ; or, as he translates it, *De Mulforum HYDROMELI*^k. In Hoel Dha's Welsh laws, translated by Wootton, we have, " In omni convivio in quo MULSUM bibitur^l." From which passage, it seems to have been served up only at high festivals. By the same constitutions, at every feast in the king's castle-hall, the prefect or marshal of the hall is to receive from the queen, by the hands of the steward, a HORN OF MEAD. It is also ordered, among the privileges annexed to the office of prefect of the royal hall, that the king's bard shall sing to him as often as he pleases^m. One of the stated officers of the king's household is CONFECTOR MULSI : and this officer, together with the master of the horseⁿ, the master of the hawks, the smith of the palace^o, the royal bard^p, the first

^k Tanner Bibl. p. 706.

^l LEG. WALL. L. i. cap. xxiv. p. 45.

^m Ibid. L. i. cap. xii. p. 17.

ⁿ When the king makes a present of a horse, this officer is to receive a fee ; but not when the present is made to a bishop, the master of the hawks, or to the Mimus. The latter is exempt, on account of the entertainment he afforded the court at being presented with a horse by the king : the horse is to be led out of the hall with *capistrum testiculis alligatum*. Ibid. L. i. cap. xvii. p. 31. *MIMUS* seems here to be a MIMIC, or a gesticulator. Carpentier mentions a "*JOCULATOR qui sciebat TOMBARE, to tumble.*" Cang. Lat. Gloss. Suppl. V. *TOMBARE*. In the Saxon canons given by king Edgar, about the year 960, it is ordered, that no priest shall be a POET, or exercise the MIMICAL or histrionical art in *any degree*, either in public or private. Can. 58. Concil. Spelman, tom. i. p. 455. edit. 1639. fol. In Edgar's Oration to Dunstan, the *MIMI*, Minstrels, are said both to sing and dance. Ibid. p. 477. Much the same injunction occurs in the Saxon Laws of the NORTHUMBRIAN PRIESTS, given in 988. Cap. xli. ibid. p. 498. *MIMUS* seems sometimes to have

signified THE FOOL. As in Gregory of Tours, speaking of the *MIMUS* of Miro a king of Gallicia. "*Erat enim MIMUS REGIS, qui ei per VERBA JOCULARIA LÆTITIAM erat solitus EXCITARE. Sed non cum adjuvit aliquis CACHINNUS, neque præstigiis artis suæ, &c.*" Gregor. Turonens. *MIRACUL. S. Martin. lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 1119. Opp. Paris. 1699. fol. edit. Ruinart.*

^o He is to work free : except for making the king's cauldron, the iron bands, and other furniture for his castle-gate, and the iron-work for his mills. LEG. WALL. L. i. cap. xlv. p. 67.

^p By these constitutions, given about the year 940, the bard of the Welsh kings is a domestic officer. The king is to allow him a horse and a woollen robe ; and the queen a linen garment. The prefect of the palace, or governor of the castle, is privileged to sit next him in the hall, on the three principal feast days, and to put the harp into his hand. On the three feast days he is to have the steward's robe for a fee. He is to attend, if the queen desires a song in her chamber. An ox or cow is to be given out of the booty or prey (chiefly consisting of cattle) taken from

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musician^a, with some others, have a right to be seated in the hall. We have already seen, that the Scandinavian scalds were well known in Ireland: and there is sufficient evidence to prove, that the Welsh bards were early connected with the Irish. Even so late as the eleventh century, the practice continued among the Welsh bards, of receiving instructions in the bardic profession from Ireland. The Welsh bards were reformed and regulated by Gryffyth ap Conan, king of Wales, in the year 1078. At the same time he brought over with him from Ireland many Irish bards, for the information and improvement of the Welsh^b. Powell acquaints us, that this prince “brought over with him from Ireland “divers cunning musicians into Wales, who devised in a “manner all the instrumental music that is now there used: “as appeareth, as well by the bookes written of the same,

from the English by the king's domestics: and while the prey is dividing, he is to sing the praises of the BRITISH KINGS or KINGDOM. If, when the king's domestics go out to make depredations, he sings or plays before them, he is to receive the best bullock. When the king's army is in array, he is to sing the Song of the BRITISH KINGS. When invested with his office, the king is to give him a harp, (other constitutions say a chess-board,) and the queen a ring of gold: nor is he to give away the harp on any account. When he goes out of the palace to sing with other bards, he is to receive a double portion of the largesse or gratuity. If he ask a gift or favour of the king, he is to be fined by singing an ode or poem: if of a nobleman or chief, three; if of a vassal, he is to sing him to sleep. LEG. WALL. L. i. cap. xix. p. 35. Mention is made of the bard who gains the CHAIR in the hall. Ibid. ARTIC. 5. After a contest of bards in the hall, the bard who gains the chair, is to give the JUDGE OF THE HALL, another officer, a horn, (*cornu bubalinum*) a ring, and the cushion of his chair. Ibid. L. i. cap. xvi. p. 26. When the king rides out of his castle, five bards are to accompany him. Ibid.

L. i. cap. viii. p. 11. The *Cornu Bubalinum* may be explained from a passage in a poem, composed about the year 1160, by Owain Cyveiliog prince of Powis, which he entitled HIRLAS, from a large drinking horn so called, used at feasts in his castle-hall. “Pour out, o cup-bearer, sweet “and pleasant mead (the spear is red in “the time of need) from the horns of “wild oxen, covered with gold, to the souls “of those departed heroes.” Evans, p. 12.

By these laws the king's harp is to be worth one hundred and twenty pence: but that of a gentleman, or one not a vassal, sixty pence. The king's chess-board is valued at the same price: and the instrument for fixing or tuning the strings of the king's harp, at twenty-four pence. His drinking-horn, at one pound. Ibid. L. iii. cap. vii. p. 265.

^a There are two musicians: the *Musicus PRIMARIUS*, who probably was a teacher, and certainly a superintendant over the rest; and the *HALL-MUSICIAN*. LEG. ut supr. L. i. cap. xlv. p. 68.

^b “Jus cathedræ.” Ibid. L. i. cap. x. p. 13.

^c See Selden, Drayt. POLYOLB. S. ix. pag. 156. S. iv. pag. 67. edit. 1613. fol.

“ as

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“ as also by the names of the tunes and measures used “ among them to this daie ‘.” In Ireland, to kill a bard was highly criminal: and to seize his estate, even for the public service and in time of national distress, was deemed an act of sacrilege *. Thus in the old Welsh laws, whoever even slightly injured a bard, was to be fined six cows and one hundred and twenty pence. The murderer of a bard was to be fined one hundred and twenty-six cows *. Nor must I pass over, what reflects much light on this reasoning, that the establishment of the household of the old Irish chiefs, exactly resembles that of the Welsh kings. For, besides the bard, the musician, and the smith, they have both a physician, a huntsman, and other corresponding officers *. We must also remember, that an intercourse was necessarily produced between the Welsh and Scandinavians, from the piratical irruptions of the latter: their scalds, as I have already remarked, were respected and patronised in the courts of those princes, whose territories were the principal objects of the Danish invasions. Torfaeus expressly affirms this of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish kings; and it is

* Hist. of Cambr. p. 191. edit. 1584.

* Keating's Hist. Ireland, pag. 132.

“ LEG. WALL. ut supr. L. i. cap. xix. pag. 35. seq. See also cap. xlv. p. 68. We find the same respect paid to the bard in other constitutions. “ QUI HARPATOREM, &c. whoever shall strike a HARPER who can harp in a public assembly, shall compound with him by a composition of four times more, than for any other man of the same condition.” Legg. Ripuariorum et Wefinorum. Lindenbroch. Cod. LL. Antiq. Wifigoth. etc. A. D. 1613. Tit. 5. §. ult.

The caliphs, and other eastern potentates, had their bards: whom they treated with equal respect. Sir John Maundeville, who travelled in 1340, says, that when the emperor of Cathay, or great Cham of Tartary, is seated at dinner in high pomp with his lords, “ no man is so hardi to speak

“ to him except it be MUSICIANS to solace the emperor.” chap. lxvii. p. 106. Here is another proof of the correspondence between the eastern and northern customs: and this instance might be brought as an argument of the bardic institution being fetched from the east. Leo Afer mentions the *Pœtæ curiæ* of the Caliph's court at Bagdad, about the year 990. De Med. et Philos. Arab. cap. iv. These poets were in most repute among the Arabians, who could speak extemporaneous verses to the Caliph. Euseb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. p. 249. Thomson, in the CASTLE of INDOLENCE, mentions the BARD IN WAITING being introduced to lull the Caliph asleep. And Maundeville mentions MINSTRELLES as established officers in the court of the emperor of Cathay.

* See Temple, ubi supr. p. 346.

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at least probable, that they were entertained with equal regard by the Welsh princes, who so frequently concurred with the Danes in distressing the English. It may be added, that the Welsh, although living in a separate and detached situation, and so strongly prejudiced in favour of their own usages, yet from neighbourhood, and unavoidable communications of various kinds, might have imbibed the ideas of the Scandinavian bards from the Saxons and Danes, after those nations had occupied and overspread all the other parts of our island.

Many pieces of the Scottish bards are still remaining in the high-lands of Scotland. Of these a curious specimen, and which considered in a more extensive and general respect, is a valuable monument of the poetry of a rude period, has lately been given to the world, under the title of the *WORKS OF OSSIAN*. It is indeed very remarkable, that in these poems, the terrible graces, which so naturally characterise, and so generally constitute, the early poetry of a barbarous people, should so frequently give place to a gentler set of manners, to the social sensibilities of polished life, and a more civilised and elegant species of imagination. Nor is this circumstance, which disarranges all our established ideas concerning the savage stages of society, easily to be accounted for, unless we suppose, that the Celtic tribes, who were so strongly addicted to poetical composition, and who made it so much their study from the earliest times, might by degrees have attained a higher vein of poetical refinement, than could at first sight or on common principles be expected among nations, whom we are accustomed to call barbarous; that some few instances of an elevated strain of friendship, of love, and other sentimental feelings, existing in such nations, might lay the foundation for introducing a set of manners among the bards, more refined and exalted than the real manners of the country: and that panegyrics on those virtues, transmitted with improvements from

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from bard to bard, must at length have formed characters of ideal excellence, which might propagate among the people real manners bordering on the poetical. These poems, however, notwithstanding the difference between the Gothic and the Celtic rituals, contain many visible vestiges of Scandinavian superstition. The allusions in the songs of Ossian to spirits, who preside over the different parts and direct the various operations of nature, who send storms over the deep, and rejoice in the shrieks of the shipwrecked mariner, who call down lightning to blast the forest or cleave the rock, and diffuse irresistible pestilence among the people, beautifully conducted indeed, and heightened, under the skilful hand of a master bard, entirely correspond with the Runic system, and breathe the spirit of its poetry. One fiction in particular, the most EXTRAVAGANT in all Ossian's poems, is founded on an essential article of the Runic belief. It is where Fingal fights with the spirit of Loda. Nothing could aggrandise Fingal's heroism more highly than this marvellous encounter. It was esteemed among the antient Danes the most daring act of courage to engage with a ghost¹. Had Ossian found it convenient, to have introduced religion into his compositions², not only a new source had

¹ Bartholin. De Contemptu Mortis apud Dan. L. ii. c. 2. p. 258. And *ibid.* p. 260. There are many other marks of Gothic customs and superstitions in Ossian. The fashion of marking the sepulchres of their chiefs with circles of stones, corresponds with what Olaus Wormius relates of the Danes. *Monum. Danic. Hafn.* 1634. p. 38. See also *Ol. Magn. Hist.* xvi. 2. In the *HERVARER SAGA*, the sword of Suarfulama is forged by the dwarfs, and called Tirsing. *Hickes*, vol. i. p. 193. So Fingal's sword was made by an enchanter, and was called the son of LUNO. And, what is more, this LUNO was the Vulcan of the north, lived in Juteland, and made complete suits of armour for many of the Scandinavian heroes. See *TEMORA*, B.

vii. p. 159. *OSSIAN*, vol. ii. edit. 1765. Hence the bards of both countries made him a celebrated enchanter. By the way, the names of sword-smiths were thought worthy to be recorded in history. Hoveden says, that when Geoffrey of Plantagenet was knighted, they brought him a sword from the royal treasure, where it had been laid up from old times, "being the workmanship of GALAN, the most excellent of all sword-smiths." Hoved. f. 444. ii. SECT. 50. The mere mechanic, who is only mentioned as a skilful artist in history, becomes a magician or a preternatural being in romance.

² This perplexing and extraordinary circumstance, I mean the absence of all religious ideas from the poems of Ossian, is accounted

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been opened to the sublime, in describing the rites of sacrifice, the horrors of incantation, the solemn evocations of infernal beings, and the like dreadful superstitions, but probably many stronger and more characteristical evidences would have appeared, of his knowledge of the imagery of the Scandinavian poets.

Nor must we forget, that the Scandinavians had conquered many countries bordering upon France in the fourth century ^a. Hence the Franks must have been in some measure used to their language, well acquainted with their manners, and conversant in their poetry. Charlemagne is said to have delighted in repeating the most antient and barbarous odes, which celebrated the battles of antient kings ^b.

accounted for by Mr. Macpherson with much address. See DISSERTATION prefixed, vol. i. p. viii. ix. edit. 1765. See also the elegant CRITICAL DISSERTATION of the very judicious Dr. Blair, vol. ii. p. 379.

^a Hicet. Thef. i. part ii. p. 4.

^b Eginhart. cap. viii. n. 34. Bartholin. i. c. 10. p. 154. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls, who were Celts, delivered the spoils won in battle, yet reeking with blood, to their attendants: these were carried in triumph, while an epinical song was chanted, *παραινέσεις καὶ ἀδόνες ὑμνον ἐπινίκιον*. Lib. 5. p. 352. See also p. 308. "The Celts, says Ælian, I hear, are the most enterprising of men: they make those warriors who die bravely in fight the subject of songs, τῶν Ἀγαθῶν." Var. Hist. Lib. xxii. c. 23. Posidonius gives us a specimen of the manner of a Celtic bard. He reports, that Luernius, a Celtic chief, was accustomed, out of a desire of popularity, to gather crowds of his people together, and to throw them gold and silver from his chariot. Once he was attended at a sumptuous banquet by one of their bards, who received in reward for his song a purse of gold. On this the bard renewed his song, adding, to express his patron's excessive generosity, this hyperbolical panegyric, "The earth over which his chariot-wheels pass, instantly brings forth

"gold and precious gifts to enrich mankind." Athen. vi. 184.

Tacitus says, that Arminius, the conqueror of Varus, "is yet sung among the barbarous nations." That is, probably among the original Germans. Annal. ii. And Mor. Germ. ii. 3. Joannes Aventinus, a Bavarian, who wrote about the year 1520, has a curious passage, "A great number of verses in praise of the virtues of Attila, are still extant among us, *patrio sermone more majorum perscripta*." Annal. Boior. L. ii. p. 130. edit. 1627. He immediately adds, "Nam et adhuc VULGO CANTATUR, et est popularibus nostris, etsi LITERARUM RUDIBUS, notissimus." Again, speaking of Alexander the Great, he says, "Boios eidem bellum indixisse ANTIQUIS CANTATUR CARMINIBUS." *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 25. Concerning king Brennus, says the same historian, "Carmina vernaculo sermone facta legi in bibliothecis." *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 16. and p. 26. And again, of Ingeram, Adalogerion, and others of their ancient heroes, "Ingerami et Adalogerionis nomina frequentissime in fastis referuntur; ipsos, more majorum, antiqui proavi celebrarunt carminibus, quæ in bibliothecis extant. Subsequuntur, quos patrio sermone adhuc canimus, Laertes atque Ulysses." *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 15. The same historian also relates, that his countrymen

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But we are not informed whether these were Scandinavian, Celtic, or Teutonic poems.

About the beginning of the tenth century, France was invaded by the Normans, or NORTHERN-MEN, an army of adventurers from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. And although the conquerors, especially when their success does not solely depend on superiority of numbers, usually assume

trymen had a poetical history called the *Book of Heroes*, containing the achievements of the German warriors. *ibid.* Lib. i. p. 18. See also *ibid.* Lib. vii. p. 432. Lib. i. p. 9. And many other passages to this purpose. Suffridus Petrus cites some old Frisian rhymes, *De Orig. Frisior.* l. iii. c. 2. Compare Robertson's *Hist. Charles V.* vol. i. p. 235. edit. 1772. From Trithemius a German abbot and historian, who wrote about 1490, we learn, that among the antient Franks and Germans, it was an exercise in the education of youth, for them to learn to repeat and to sing verses of the achievements of their heroes. *Compend. Annal. L. i. p. 11.* edit. Francof. 1601. Probably these were the poems which Charlemagne is said to have committed to memory.

The most antient Theotisc or Teutonic ode I know, is an Epinicion published by Schilter, in the second volume of his *THESAURUS ANTIQUITATUM TEUTONICARUM*, written in the year 883. He entitles it *EPINICTION rhythmo Teutonico Ludovico regi acclamatum cum Northmannos anno DCCCCXXXIII vicisset.* It is in rhyme, and in the four-lined stanza. It was transcribed by Mabillon from a manuscript in the monastery of Saint Amand in Holland. I will give a specimen from Schilter's Latin interpretation, but not on account of the merit of the poetry. "The king seized
" his shield and lance, galloping hastily.
" He truly wished to revenge himself on
" his adversaries. Nor was there a long
" delay: he found the Normans. He
" said, thanks be to God, at seeing what
" he desired. The king rushed on boldly,
" he first begun the customary song *Kyrie*
" *eleison*, in which they all joined. The
" song was sung, the battle begun. The

" blood appeared in the cheeks of the im-
" patient Franks. Every soldier took his
" revenge, but none like Louis. Impe-
" tuous, bold, &c." As to the military
chorus *Kyrie eleison*, it appears to have
been used by the christian emperors before
an engagement. See Bona, *Rer. Liturg.*
ii. c. 4. Vossius, *Theolog. Gentil.* i. c. 2.
3. Matth. Brouerius de Niedeke, *De Po-
pulo.* vet. et recent. *Adorationibus*, p. 31.
And, among the antient Norwegians, Er-
lingus Scacchius before he attacked earl
Sigund, commanded his army to pronounce
this formulary aloud, and to strike their
shields. See Dolmerus ad *HIRD-SKRAAN*,
five *Jus Aulicum antiq. Norvegic.* p. 51.
p. 413. edit. Hafn. 1673. Engelhusius,
in describing a battle with the Huns in the
year 934, relates, that the christians at the
onset cried, *Kyrie eleison*, but on the other
side, *diabolica vox* *hiu, hiu, auditur.*
Chronic. p. 1073. in tom. ii. *Scriptor.*
Brunf. Leibnit. Compare Bed. *Hist. Ec-
clesi. Anglican.* lib. ii. c. 20. And Schil-
terus, *ubi sup.* p. 17. And Sarbiev. *Od.*
1. 24. The Greek church appears to have
had a set of military hymns, probably for
the use of the soldiers, either in battle or
in the camp. In a Catalogue of the manu-
scripts of the library of Berne, there is
" *Sylloge Tacticorum Leonis Imperatoris*
" *cui operi finem imponunt HYMNI MI-*
" *LITARES quibus ille titulus, Ακολούθια*
" *ψαλλόμενα ἐπὶ κατενώδῃσι καὶ συμμαχία*
" *ᾠδαῖς, &c.*" *Catal. Cod. &c.* p. 600.
See Meursius's edit. of *Leo's TACTICS*,
c. xii. p. 155. Lugd. Bat. 1612. 4to. But
to return to the main subject of this tedious
note. Wagenfeil, in a letter to Cuperus,
mentions a treatise written by one Ernest
Casimir Wassenback, I suppose a German,
with this title, " *De Bardis ac Barditu, five*
" *antiquis*

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the manners of the conquered, yet these strangers must have still further familiarised in France many of their northern fictions.

From this general circulation in these and other countries, and from that popularity which it is natural to suppose they must have acquired, the scaldic inventions might have taken deep root in Europe ^c. At least they seem to have prepared the way for the more easy admission of the Arabian fabling about the ninth century, by which they were, however, in great measure, superseded. The Arabian fictions were of a more splendid nature, and better adapted to the increasing civility of the times. Less horrible and gross, they had a novelty, a variety, and a magnificence, which carried with them the charm of fascination. Yet it is probable, that many of the scaldic imaginations might have been blended with the Arabian. In the mean time, there is great reason to believe, that the Gothic scalds enriched their vein of fabling from this new and fruitful source of fiction, opened by the Arabians in Spain, and afterwards propagated by the crusades. It was in many respects congenial with their own ^d: and the northern bards, who visited the coun-

“ antiquis Carminibus ac Cantilenis veterum Germanorum Dissertatio, cui junctus est de S. Annone Coloniensi archiepiscopo vetustissimus omnium Germanorum rhythmus et monumentum.” See Polen. Supplem. Thesaur. Gronov. et Grav. tom. iv. p. 24. I do not think it was ever published. See Joach. Swabius, de Semnotheis veterum Germanorum philosophis. p. 8. And SECT. i. infr. p. 7. 8. Pelloutier, sur la Lang. Celt. part i. tom. i. ch. xii. p. 20.

We must be careful to distinguish between the poetry of the Scandinavians, the Teutonics, and the Celts. As most of the Celtic and Teutonic nations were early converted to christianity, it is hard to find any of their native songs. But I must except the poems of Ossian, which are noble and genuine remains of the Celtic poetry.

^c Of the long continuance of the Celtic superstitions in the popular belief, see what is said in the most elegant and judicious piece of criticism which the present age has produced, Mrs. Montague's ESSAY ON SHAKESPEARE. p. 145. edit. 1772.

^d Besides the general wildness of the imagery in both, among other particular circumstances of coincidence which might be mentioned here, the practice of giving names to swords, which we find in the scaldic poems, occurs also among the Arabians. In the HERVARER SAGA, the sword of Suarfulama is called TIRFING. Hicckel. Thef. i. p. 193. The names of swords of many of the old northern chiefs are given us by Olaus Wormius, Lit. Run. cap. xix. p. 110. 4to. ed. Thus, Herbelot recites a long catalogue of the names of the swords of the most famous Arabian and

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tries where these new fancies were spreading, must have been naturally struck with such wonders, and were certainly fond of picking up fresh embellishments, and new strokes of the marvellous, for augmenting and improving their stock of poetry. The earliest scald now on record is not before the year 750. From which time the scalds flourished in the northern countries, till below the year 1157^e. The celebrated ode of Regner Lodbrog was composed about the end of the ninth century^f.

And that this hypothesis is partly true, may be concluded from the subjects of some of the old Scandic romances, manuscripts of which now remain in the royal library at Stockholm. The titles of a few shall serve for a specimen; which I will make no apology for giving at large. “SAGAN
“AF HIALMTER OC OLWER. The History of Hialmter
“king of Sweden, son of a *Syrian* princess, and of Olver
“Jarl. Containing their expeditions into Hunland, and
“*Arabia*, with their numerous encounters with the Vikings
“and the giants. Also their leagues with Alsola, daughter
“of Ringer king of *Arabia*, afterwards married to Hervor
“king of Hunland, &c.—SAGAN AF SIOD. The History
“of Siod, son of Ridgare king of England; who first was
“made king of England, afterwards of *Babylon* and *Niniveh*.

and Persian warriors. V. SAIF. p. 736. b. Mahomet had nine swords, all which are named. As were also his bows, quivers, cuirasses, helmets, and lances. His swords were called *The Piercing, Ruin, Death, &c.* Mod. Univ. Hist. i. p. 253. This is common in the romance-writers and Ariosto. Mahomet's horses had also pompous or heroic appellations. Such as the *Swift, The Thunderer, Shaking the earth with his hoof, The Red, &c.* As likewise his mules, asses, and camels. Horses were named in this manner among the Runic heroes. See Ol. Worm. ut sup. p. 110. Odin's horse was called SLEIPNER. See EDDA Island. fab. xxi. I could give other proofs. But we have already wandered too far, in what

Spenser calls, *this delightful londe of Faerie*. Yet I must add, that from one, or both, of these sources, king Arthur's sword is named in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lib. ix. cap. 11. Ron is also the name of his lance. *ibid.* cap. 4. And Turpin calls Charlemagne's sword *Gaudiosa*. See Obs. Spens. i. §. vi. p. 214. By the way, from these correspondencies, an argument might be drawn, to prove the oriental origin of the Goths. And some perhaps may think them proofs of the doctrine just now suggested in the text, that the scalds borrowed from the Arabians.

^e Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 241.

^f *Id.* *Ibid.* p. 196.

h

“Compre-

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“ Comprehending various occurrences in Saxland, *Babylon*,
 “ *Greece*, *Africa*, and especially in Eirice ^g the region of the
 “ giants.—SAGAN AF ALEFLECK. The History of Alefleck,
 “ a king of England, and of his expeditions into *India* and
 “ *Tartary*.—SAGAN AF ERIK WIDFORLA. The History of
 “ Eric the traveller, who, with his companion Eric, a Danish
 “ prince, undertook a wonderful journey to Odin’s Hall,
 “ or Oden’s Aker, near the river *Pifon* in *India* ^h.” Here
 we see the circle of the Islandic poetry enlarged; and the
 names of countries and cities belonging to another quarter
 of the globe, Arabia, India, Tartary, Syria, Greece, Babylon,
 and Niniveh, intermixed with those of Hunland, Sweden,
 and England, and adopted into the northern romantic nar-
 ratives. Even Charlemagne and Arthur, whose histories, as
 we have already seen, had been so lavishly decorated by the
 Arabian fablers, did not escape the Scandinavian scalds ⁱ.
 Accordingly we find these subjects among their Sagas.
 “ SAGAN AF ERIK EINGLANDS KAPPE. The History of
 “ Eric, son of king Hiac, king Arthur’s chief wrestler.—
 “ HISTORICAL RHYMES of king Arthur, containing his
 “ league with Charlemagne.—SAGAN AF IVENT. The
 “ History of Ivent, king Arthur’s principal champion,
 “ containing his battles with the giants ^k.—SAGAN AF

^g In the Latin EIRICÆA REGIONE.
^f Erse or Irish land.

^h Wanley, apud Hickes, iii. p. 314. seq.

ⁱ It is amazing how early and how uni-
 versally this fable was spread. G. de la
 Flamma says, that in the year 1339, an
 ancient tomb of a king of the Lombards
 was broke up in Italy. On his sword was
 written, “ C’el est l’espée de Mefer Trifant,
 “ un qui occist l’Amoroyt d’Yrlant.”—
 i. e. “ This is the sword of sir Trifram,
 “ who killed Amoroyt of Ireland.”
 SCRIPT. ITAL. tom. xii. 1028. The
 Germans are said to have some very an-
 cient narrative songs on our old British
 heroes, Trifram, Gawain, and the rest of
 the knights *Von der Tafel-ronde*. See Gol-

daft. Not. Vit. Carol. Magn. p. 207. edit.
 1711.

^k They have also, “ BRETO MANNA
 “ SAGA, The History of the Britons,
 “ from Encas the Trojan to the emperor
 “ Constantius.” Wanl. ibid. There are
 many others, perhaps of later date, re-
 lating to English history, particularly the
 history of William the Bastard and other
 christians, in their expedition into the holy
 land. The history of the destruction of
 the monasteries in England, by William
 Rufus. Wanl. ibid.

In the history of the library at Upsal,
 I find the following articles, which are left
 to the conjectures of the curious enquirer.
 Historia Biblioth. Upsaliens. per Celsium.
 Upf.

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“ KARLAMAGNUSE OF HOPPUM HANS. *The History of Charle-*
 “ *agne, of his champions, and captains.* Containing all his
 “ actions in several parts. 1. Of his birth and coronation :
 “ and the combat of Carvetus king of Babylon, with Od-
 “ degir the Dane ¹. 2. Of Aglandus king of Africa, and of
 “ his son Jatmund, and their wars in Spain with Charle-
 “ magne. 3. Of Roland, and his combat with Villaline king
 “ of Spain. 4. Of Ottuel’s conversion to christianity, and
 “ his marriage with Charlemagne’s daughter. 5. Of Hugh
 “ king of Constantinople, and the memorable exploits of
 “ his champions. 6. Of the wars of Ferracute king of
 “ Spain. 7. Of Charlemagne’s atchievements in Rounce-
 “ valles, and of his death ^m.” In another of the Sagas,
 Jarl, a magician of Saxland, exhibits his feats of necro-
 mancy before Charlemagne. We learn from Olaus Magnus,
 that Roland’s magical horn, of which archbishop Turpin relates
 such wonders, and among others that it might be heard at
 the distance of twenty miles, was frequently celebrated in
 the songs of the Islandic bards ⁿ. It is not likely that these
 pieces, to say no more, were composed till the Scandinavian
 tribes had been converted to christianity ; that is, as I have
 before observed, about the close of the tenth century. These
 barbarians had an infinite and a national contempt for the
 christians, whose religion inculcated a spirit of peace, gen-
 tleness, and civility ; qualities so dissimilar to those of their own

Upf. 1745. 8vo.—pag. 88. Artic. vii. *Varia Britannorum fabulæ, quas in carmine conversas olim, atque in convivii ad citharam decantari solitas fuisse, perhibent. Sunt autem relationes de GUIAMARO equite Britannia meridionalis Æskeliold Britannis veteribus dictæ. De Nobilium duorum conjugibus gemellos enixis ; et id genus alia.*—pag. 87. Artic. v. *Drama ερωλικον, fol. in membran. Res continet amatorias, olim, ad jocos concitandum Islandica lingua scriptum.*—ibid. Artic. vii. The history of Duke Julianus, son of S.

Giles. Containing many things of Earl William and Rosamund. In the antient Islandic. See OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAIRY QUEEN, i. pag. 203. 204. §. vi.

¹ Mabillon thinks, that Turpin first called this hero a Dane. But this notion is refuted by Bartholinus, *Antiq. Danic.* ii. 13. p. 578. His old Gothic sword, SPATHA, and iron shield, are still preserved and shewn in a monastery of the north. Bartholin. *ibid.* p. 579.

^m Wanley, *ut sup.* p. 314.

ⁿ See *infr.* SECT. iii. p. 132.

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ferocious and warlike disposition, and which they naturally interpreted to be the marks of cowardice and pusillanimity *. It has, however, been urged, that as the irruption of the Normans into France, under their leader Rollo, did not take place till towards the beginning of the tenth century, at which period the scaldic art was arrived to the highest perfection in Rollo's native country, we can easily trace the descent of the French and English romances of chivalry from the Northern Sagas. It is supposed, that Rollo carried with him many scalds from the north, who transmitted their skill to their children and successors: and that these, adopting the religion, opinions, and language, of the new country, substituted the heroes of christendom, instead of those of their pagan ancestors, and began to celebrate the feats of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver, whose true history they set off and embellished with the scaldic figments of dwarfs, giants, dragons, and enchantments †. There is, however, some reason to believe, that these fictions were current among the French long before; and, if the principles advanced in the former part of this dissertation be true, the fables adhering to Charlemagne's real history must be referred to another source.

Let me add, that the enchantments of the Runic poetry are very different from those in our romances of chivalry. The former chiefly deal in spells and charms, such as would preserve from poison, blunt the weapons of an enemy, procure victory, allay a tempest, cure bodily diseases, or call the dead from their tombs: in uttering a form of mysterious words, or inscribing Runic characters. The magicians of romance are chiefly employed in forming and conducting a train of deceptions. There is an air of barbaric horror in the

* Regner Lodbrog, in his *DYING ODE*, speaking of a battle fought against the christians, says, in ridicule of the eucharist,

“ There we celebrated a *MASS* [*Missu*,
“ *Island.*] of weapons.”

† Percy's *Ess. Metr. Rom.* p. viii.

incantations

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incantations of the scaldic fablers : the magicians of romance often present visions of pleasure and delight ; and, although not without their alarming terrors, sometimes lead us through flowery forests, and raise up palaces glittering with gold and precious stones. The Runic magic is more like that of Canidia in Horace, the romantic resembles that of Armida in Tasso. The operations of the one are frequently but mere tricks, in comparison of that sublime solemnity of necromantic machinery which the other so awefully displays.

It is also remarkable, that in the earlier scaldic odes, we find but few dragons, giants, and fairies. These were introduced afterwards, and are the progeny of Arabian fancy. Nor indeed do these imaginary beings often occur in any of the compositions which preceded the introduction of that species of fabling. On this reasoning, the Irish tale-teller mentioned above, could not be a lineal descendant of the elder Irish bards. The absence of giants and dragons, and, let me add, of many other traces of that fantastic and brilliant imagery which composes the system of Arabian imagination, from the poems of Ossian, are a striking proof of their antiquity. It has already been suggested, at what period, and from what origin, those fancies got footing in the Welsh poetry : we do not find them in the odes of Talieffin or Aneurin⁹. This reasoning explains an observa-

⁹ Who flourished about the year 570. He has left a long spirited poem called *Gododin*, often alluded to by the later Welsh bards, which celebrates a battle fought against the Saxons near Cattraeth, under the conduct of Mynnydawe Eiddin, in which all the Britons, three only excepted, among which was the bard Aneurin himself, were slain. I will give a specimen. “ The men whose drink was mead, comely
“ in shape, hastened to Cattraeth. These
“ impetuous warriors in ranks, armed with
“ red spears, long and bending, began
“ the battle. Might I speak my revenge
“ against the people of the Deiri, I would
“ overwhelm them, like a deluge, in one

“ slaughter : for unheeding I have lost a
“ friend, who was brave in resisting his
“ enemies. I drank of the wine and
“ metheglin of Mordai, whose spear was
“ of huge size. In the shock of the battle,
“ he prepared food for the eagle. When
“ Cydwal hastened forward, a shout arose :
“ before the yellow morning, when he
“ gave the signal, he broke the shield
“ into small splinters. The men hastened
“ to Cattraeth, noble in birth : their drink
“ was wine and mead, out of golden cups.
“ There were three hundred and sixty three
“ adorned with chains of gold ; but of
“ those, who filled with wine, rushed on to
“ the fight, only three escaped, who hewed
“ their

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tion of an ingenious critic in this species of literature, and who has studied the works of the Welsh bards with much attention. "There are not such extravagant FLIGHTS in any poetic compositions, except it be in the EASTERN; to which, as far as I can judge by the few translated specimens I have seen, they *bear a near resemblance*." I will venture to say he does not meet with these flights in the elder Welsh bards. The beautiful romantic fiction, that king Arthur, after being wounded in the fatal battle of Cam-lan, was conveyed by an Elfin princess into the land of Faery, or spirits, to be healed of his wounds, that he reigns there still as a mighty potentate in all his pristine splendour, and will one day return to resume his throne in Britain, and restore the solemnities of his champions, often occurs in the antient Welsh bards'. But not in the most antient. It

"their way with the sword, the warrior
 "of Acron, Conan Dacarawd, and I the
 "bard Aneurin, red with blood, otherwise
 "I should not have survived to compose
 "this song. When Caradoc hastened to
 "the war, he was the son of a wild boar,
 "in hewing down the Saxons; a bull in
 "the conflict of fight, he twisted the wood
 "[spear] from their hands. Gurien saw
 "not his father after he had lifted the
 "glistening mead in his hand. I praise
 "all the warriors who thus met in the
 "battle, and attacked the foe with one
 "mind. Their life was short, but they
 "have left a long regret to their friends.
 "Yet of the Saxons they slew more than
 "seven There was many a mo-
 "ther shedding tears. The song is due to
 "thee who hast attained the highest
 "glory: thou who wast like fire, thunder
 "and storm: O Rudd Fedell, warlike
 "champion, excellent in might, you still
 "think of the war. The noble chiefs
 "deserve to be celebrated in verse, who
 "after the fight made the rivers to over-
 "flow their banks with blood. Their
 "hands glutted the throats of the dark-
 "brown eagles, and skilfully prepared food
 "for the ravenous birds. Of all the chiefs
 "who went to Cattraeth with golden
 "chains," &c. This poem is extremely

difficult to be understood, being written, if not in the Pictish language, at least in a dialect of the Britons very different from the modern Welsh. See the learned and ingenious Mr. Evans's DISSERTATIO DE BARDIS, p. 68.---75.

^r Evans, ubi sup. Pref. p. iv.

^s The Arabians call the Fairies *Ginn*, and the Persians *Peri*. The former calls Fairy-land *Ginnistan*, many beautiful cities of which they have described in their fabulous histories. See Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. GIAN. p. 306. a. GENN. p. 375. a. PERI. p. 701. b. They pretend that the fairies built the city of Esthekar, or Persepolis. Id. in. V. p. 327. a. One of the most eminent of the oriental fairies was MERGIAN PERI, or *Mergian the Fairy*. Herbel. ut sup. V. PERI. p. 702. a. THAHAMURATH, p. 1017. a. This was a good fairy, and imprisoned for ages in a cavern by the giant Demrusch, from which she was delivered by Thahamurath, whom she afterwards assisted in conquering another giant, his enemy. Id. ibid. And this is the fairy or elfin queen, called in the French romances MORGAIN LE FAY, Morgain the fairy, who preserved king Arthur. See Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. 63. 65. §. ii.

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is found in the compositions of the Welsh bards only, who flourished after the native vein of British fabling had been tinged by these FAIRY TALES, which the Arabians had propagated in Armorica, and which the Welsh had received from their connection with that province of Gaul. Such a fiction as this is entirely different from the cast and completion of the ideas of the original Welsh poets. It is easy to collect from the Welsh odes, written after the tenth century, many signatures of this EXOTIC imagery. Such as, “ Their assault was like strong lions. He is valourous as a lion, who can resist his lance? The dragon of Mona’s sons were so brave in fight, that there was horrible contestation, and upon Tal Moelvre a thousand banners. Our lion has brought to Trallwng three armies. A dragon he was from the beginning, unterrified in battle. A dragon of Ovain. Thou art a prince firm in battle, like an elephant. Their assault was as of strong lions. The lion of Cemais fierce in the onset, when the army rusheth to be covered with red. He saw Llewellyn like a burning dragon in the strife of Arfon. He is furious in fight like an outrageous dragon. Like the roaring of a furious lion, in the search of prey, is thy thirst of praise.” Instead of producing more proofs from the multitude that might be mentioned, for the sake of illustration of our argument, I will contrast these with some of their natural unadulterated thoughts. “ Fetch the drinking horn, whose gloss is like the wave of the sea. Tudor is like a wolf rushing on his prey. They were all covered with blood when they returned, and the high hills and the dales enjoyed the sun equally. O thou virgin, that shinest like the snow on the brows of Aran: like the fine spiders webs on the grass on a summer’s day. The army at Offa’s dike panted

[†] The high mountains in Merionethshire.

[•] A beautiful periphrasis for noon day,

and extremely natural in so mountainous a country as Wales. This circumstance of time added to the merit of the action.

for

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“ for glory, the foldiers of Venedotia, and the men of Lon-
 “ don, were as the alternate motion of the waves on the fea-
 “ shore, where the fea-mew screams. The hovering crows
 “ were numberlefs: the ravens croaked, they were ready to
 “ fuck the prostrate carcafes. His enemies are fcattered as
 “ leaves on the fide of hills driven by hurricanes. He is a
 “ warrior, like a furge on the beach that covers the wild
 “ falmons. Her eye was piercing like that of the hawk ^w:
 “ her face fhone like the pearly dew on Eryri ^x. Llewellyn
 “ is a hero who fetteth caftles on fire. I have watched all
 “ night on the beach, where the fea-gulls, whofe plumes
 “ glitter, fport on the bed of billows; and where the herbage,
 “ growing in a folitary place, is of a deep green ^y.” Thefe
 images are all drawn from their own country, from their
 fituation and circumftances; and, although highly poetical,
 are in general of a more fober and temperate colouring. In
 a word, not only that elevation of allufion, which many
 fuppofe to be peculiar to the poetry of Wales, but that
 fertility of fiction, and thofe marvellous fables recorded in
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, which the generality of readers, who
 do not fufficiently attend to the origin of that hiftorian’s ro-
 mantic materials, believe to be the genuine offspring of the
 Welch poets, are of foreign growth. And, to return to the
 ground of this argument, there is the ftrongeft reafon to
 fufpect, that even the Gothic EDDA, or fystem of poetic
 mythology of the northern nations, is enriched with thofe
 higher ftrokes of oriental imagination, which the Arabians
 had communicated to the Europeans. Into this extravagant
 tiffue of unmeaning allegory, falfe philofophy, and falfe
 theology, it was eafy to incorporate their moft wild and
 romantic conceptions ^z.

^w See infr. SECT. xiii. p. 380.

^x Mountains of fnow, from *Ery*, fnow.

^y See Evans, ubi fupr. p. 8. 10. 11.

15. 16. 21. 22. 23. 26. 28. 34. 37. 39.

40. 41. 42. And his Diff. de Bard. p. 84.

Compare Aneurin’s ode, cited above.

^z Huet is of opinion, that the EDDA is
 entirely the production of Snorro’s fancy.
 But this is faying too much. See Orig.
 Roman. p. 116. The firft Edda was com-
 piled

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It must be confessed, that the ideas of chivalry, the appendage and the subject of romance, subsisted among the Goths. But this must be understood under certain limitations. There is no peculiarity which more strongly discriminates the manners of the Greeks and Romans from those of modern times, than that small degree of attention and respect with which those nations treated the fair sex, and that inconsiderable share which they were permitted to take in conversation, and the general commerce of life. For the truth of this observation, we need only appeal to the classic writers: in which their women appear to have been devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity. One is surprised that barbarians should be greater masters of complaisance than the most polished people that ever existed. No sooner was the Roman empire overthrown, and the Goths had overpowered Europe, than we find the female character assuming an unusual importance and authority, and distinguished with new privileges, in all the European governments established by the northern conquerors. Even amidst the confusions of savage war, and among the almost incredible enormities committed by the Goths at their invasion of the empire, they forbore to offer any violence to the women. This perhaps is one of the most striking features in the new state of manners, which took place about the seventh century: and it is to this period, and to this people, that we must refer the origin of gallantry in Europe. The Romans never introduced these sentiments into their European provinces.

piled, undoubtedly with many additions and interpolations, from fictions and traditions in the old Runic poems, by Soemund Sigfusson, surnamed the Learned, about the year 1057. He seems to have made it his business to select or digest into one body such of these pieces as were best calculated to furnish a collection of poetic phrases and figures. He studied in Germany, and chiefly at Cologne. This first Edda, being not only prolix, but perplexed and obscure, a second, which is that now

extant, was compiled by Snorro Sturleson, born in the year 1179.

It is certain, and very observable, that in the EDDA we find much more of giants, dragons, and other imaginary beings, undoubtedly belonging to Arabian romance, than in the earlier Scaldic odes. By the way, there are many strokes in both the EDDAS taken from the REVELATIONS of Saint John, which must come from the compilers who were Christians.

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The Goths believed some divine and prophetic quality to be inherent in their women; they admitted them into their councils, and consulted them on the public business of the state. They were suffered to conduct the great events which they predicted. Ganna, a prophetic virgin of the Marcomanni, a German or Gaulish tribe, was sent by her nation to Rome, and admitted into the presence of Domitian, to treat concerning terms of peace¹. Tacitus relates, that Velleda, another German prophetess, held frequent conferences with the Roman generals; and that on some occasions, on account of the sacredness of her person, she was placed at a great distance on a high tower, from whence, like an oracular divinity, she conveyed her answers by some chosen messenger². She appears to have preserved the supreme rule over her own people and the neighbouring tribes³. And there are other instances, that the government among the antient Germans was sometimes vested in the women⁴. This practice also prevailed among the Sitones or Norwegians⁵. The Cimbri, a Scandinavian tribe, were accompanied at their assemblies by venerable and hoary-headed prophetesses, apparelled in long linen vestments of a splendid white⁶. Their matrons and daughters acquired a reverence from their skill in studying simples, and their knowledge of healing wounds, arts reputed mysterious. The wives frequently attended their husbands in the most perilous expeditions, and fought with great intrepidity in the most bloody engagements⁷. These nations dreaded

¹ Dio. lib. lxxvii. p. 761.

² Hist. lib. iv. p. 953. edit. D'Orlean. fol.

³ He says just before, "*ea virgo late imperitabat.*" Ibid. p. 951. He saw her in the reign of Vespasian. De Morib. German. p. 972. Where he likewise mentions Aurinia.

⁴ See Tacit. Hist. lib. v. p. 969. ut supr.

⁵ De Morib. German. p. 983. ut supr.

⁶ Strab. Geograph. lib. viii. p. 205. edit. H. Cas. 1587. fol. Compare Keyser, Antiquit. Sel. Septentrional. p. 371. viz.

DISSERTATIO de Mulieribus Fatidicis veterum Celtae gentiumque Septentrionalium. See also Cluverius's GERMANIA ANTIQVA, lib. i. cap. xxiv. pag. 165. edit. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1631. It were easy to trace the WEIRD sisters, and our modern witches, to this source.

⁷ See SECT. vii. infr. p. 254. Diodorus Siculus says, that among the Scythians the women are trained to war as well as the men, to whom they are not inferior in strength and courage. L. ii. p. 90.

captivity,

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captivity, more on the account of their women, than on their own: and the Romans, availing themselves of this apprehension, often demanded their noblest virgins for hostages^f. From these circumstances, the women even claimed a sort of precedence, at least an equality subsisted between the sexes, in the Gothic constitutions.

But the deference paid to the fair sex, which produced the spirit of gallantry, is chiefly to be sought for in those strong and exaggerated ideas of female chastity which prevailed among the northern nations. Hence the lover's devotion to his mistress was increased, his attentions to her service multiplied, his affection heightened, and his sollicitude aggravated, in proportion as the difficulty of obtaining her was enhanced: and the passion of love acquired a degree of delicacy, when controlled by the principles of honour and purity. The highest excellence of character then known was a superiority in arms; and that rival was most likely to gain his lady's regard, who was the bravest champion. Here we see valour inspired by love. In the mean time, the same heroic spirit which was the surest claim to the favour of the ladies, was often exerted in their protection: a protection much wanted in an age of rapine, of plunder, and piracy; when the weakness of the softer sex was exposed to continual dangers and unexpected attacks^g. It is easy to suppose the officious emulation and ardour of many a gallant young warrior, pressing forward to be foremost in this honourable service, which flattered the most agreeable of all passions, and which gratified every enthusiasm of the times,

^f Tacit. de Morib. Germ. pag. 972. ut supr.

^g See instances of this sort of violence in the antient HISTORY of HIALMAR, a Runic romance, p. 135. 136. 140. Diff. Epist. Ad calc. Hicet. Thesaur. vol. i. Where also is a challenge between two champions for king Hialmar's daughter. But the king composes the quarrel by giving to one of them, named Ulfo, among

other rich presents, an inestimable horn, on which were inlaid in gold the images of Odin, Thor, and Freya: and to the other, named Hramur, the lady herself, and a drum, embossed with golden imagery, which foretold future events. This piece, which is in Runic capital characters, was written before the year 1000. Many stories of this kind might be produced from the northern chronicles.

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especially the fashionable fondness for a wandering and military life. In the mean time, we may conceive the lady thus won, or thus defended, conscious of her own importance, affecting an air of stateliness: it was her pride to have preserved her chastity inviolate, she could perceive no merit but that of invincible bravery, and could only be approached in terms of respect and submission.

Among the Scandinavians, a people so fond of cloathing adventures in verse, these gallantries must naturally become the subject of poetry, with its fictitious embellishments. Accordingly, we find their chivalry displayed in their odes; pieces, which at the same time greatly confirm these observations. The famous ode of Regner Lodbrog, affords a striking instance; in which, being imprisoned in a loathsome dungeon, and condemned to be destroyed by venomous serpents, he solaces his desperate situation by recollecting and reciting the glorious exploits of his past life. One of these, and the first which he commemorates, was an achievement of chivalry. It was the delivery of a beautiful Swedish princess from an impregnable fortress, in which she was forcibly detained by one of her father's captains. Her father issued a proclamation, promising that whoever would rescue the lady, should have her in marriage. Regner succeeded in the attempt, and married the fair captive. This was about the year 860^b. There are other strokes in Regner's ode, which, although not belonging to this particular story, deserve to be pointed out here, as illustrative of our argument. Such as, "It was like being placed near a beautiful virgin on a couch.---It was like kissing a young widow in the first seat at a feast. I made to struggle in the twilight that golden-haired chief, who passed his mornings among the young maidens, and loved to converse with

^b See Torf. Hist. Norw. tom. i. lib. 10. Saxo Grammat. p. 152. And Ol. Worm. Lit. Rom. p. 221. edit. 4^{to}. I suspect that the romantic amour between Regner and

Aflauga is the forgery of a much later age. See REGNARA LODBROG's Saga. C. 5. apud Bionneri Histor. Reg. Her. et Pugil. Res. præclar. gest. Stockholm. 1737.

" widows.

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“ widows.---He who aspires to the love of young virgins, ought always to be foremost in the din of arms ¹.” It is worthy of remark, that these sentiments occur to Regner while he is in the midst of his tortures, and at the point of death. Thus many of the heroes in Froissart, in the greatest extremities of danger, recollect their amours, and die thinking of their mistresses. And by the way, in the same strain, Boh, a Danish champion, having lost his chin, and one of his cheeks, by a single stroke from Thurstein Midlang, only reflected how he should be received, when thus maimed and disfigured, by the Danish girls. He instantly exclaimed in a tone of savage gallantry, “ The Danish virgins will not now willingly or easily give me kisses, if I should perhaps return home ^k.” But there is an ode, in the KNYTLINGA-SAGA, written by Harald the VALIANT, which is professedly a song of chivalry; and which, exclusive of its wild spirit of adventure, and its images of savage life, has the romantic air of a set of stanzas, composed by a Provencal troubadour. Harald, appears to have been one of the most eminent adventurers of his age. He had killed the king of Drontheim in a bloody engagement. He had traversed all the seas, and visited all the coasts, of the north; and had carried his piratical enterprises even as far as the Mediterranean, and the shores of Africa. He was at length taken prisoner, and detained for some time at Constantinople. He complains in this ode, that the reputation he had acquired by so many hazardous exploits, by his skill in single combat, riding, swimming, gliding along the ice, darting, rowing, and guiding a ship through the rocks, had not been able to make any impression on Elissif, or Elisabeth, the beautiful daughter of Jarilas, king of Russia ¹.

Here, however, chivalry subsisted but in its rudiments. Under the feudal establishments, which were soon afterwards erected in Europe, it received new vigour, and was invested

¹ St., 13. 14. 19. 23.

^k Chron. Norveg. p. 136.

¹ Bartholin. p. 54.

with.

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with the formalities of a regular institution. The nature and circumstances of that peculiar model of government, were highly favourable to this strange spirit of fantastic heroism; which, however unmeaning and ridiculous it may seem, had the most serious and salutary consequences in assisting the general growth of refinement, and the progression of civilisation, in forming the manners of Europe, in inculcating the principles of honour, and in teaching modes of decorum. The genius of the feudal policy was perfectly martial. A numerous nobility, formed into separate principalities, affecting independence, and mutually jealous of their privileges and honours, necessarily lived in a state of hostility. This situation rendered personal strength and courage the most requisite and essential accomplishments. And hence, even in time of peace, they had no conception of any diversions or public ceremonies, but such as were of the military kind. Yet, as the courts of these petty princes were thronged with ladies of the most eminent distinction and quality, the ruling passion for war was tempered with courtesy. The prize of contending champions was adjudged by the ladies; who did not think it inconsistent to be present or to preside at the bloody spectacles of the times; and who, themselves, seem to have contracted an unnatural and unbecoming ferocity, while they softened the manners of those valorous knights who fought for their approbation. The high notions of a noble descent, which arose from the condition of the feudal constitution, and the ambition of forming an alliance with powerful and opulent families, cherished this romantic system. It was hard to obtain the fair feudatary, who was the object of universal adoration. Not only the splendor of birth, but the magnificent castle surrounded with embattelled walls, guarded with massy towers, and crowned with lofty pinnacles, served to inflame the imagination, and to create an attachment to some illustrious heiress, whose point of honour it was to be chaste and inaccessible. And the difficulty

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culty of success on these occasions, seems in great measure to have given rise to that sentimental love of romance, which acquiesced in a distant respectful admiration, and did not aspire to possession. The want of an uniform administration of justice, the general disorder, and state of universal anarchy, which naturally sprung from the principles of the feudal policy, presented perpetual opportunities of checking the oppressions of arbitrary lords, of delivering captives injuriously detained in the baronial castles, of punishing robbers, of succouring the distressed, and of avenging the impotent and the unarmed, who were every moment exposed to the most licentious insults and injuries. The violence and injustice of the times gave birth to valour and humanity. These acts conferred a lustre and an importance on the character of men professing arms, who made force the substitute of law. In the mean time, the crusades, so pregnant with enterprize, heightened the habits of this warlike fanaticism. And when these foreign expeditions were ended, in which the hermits and pilgrims of Palestine had been defended, nothing remained to employ the activity of adventurers but the protection of innocence at home. Chivalry by degrees was consecrated by religion, whose authority tinged every passion, and was engrafted into every institution, of the superstitious ages; and at length composed that singular picture of manners, in which the love of a god and of the ladies were reconciled, the saint and the hero were blended, and charity and revenge, zeal and gallantry, devotion and valour, were united.

Those who think that chivalry started late, from the nature of the feudal constitution, confound an improved effect with a simple cause. Not having distinctly considered all the particularities belonging to the genius, manners, and usages of the Gothic tribes, and accustomed to contemplate nations under the general idea of barbarians, they cannot look for the seeds of elegance amongst men, distinguished
only

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only for their ignorance and their inhumanity. The rude origin of this heroic gallantry was quickly overwhelmed and extinguished, by the superior pomp which it necessarily adopted from the gradual diffusion of opulence and civility, and that blaze of splendor with which it was surrounded, amid the magnificence of the feudal solemnities. But above all, it was lost and forgotten in that higher degree of embellishment, which at length it began to receive from the representations of romance.

From the foregoing observations taken together, the following general and comprehensive conclusion seems to result.

Amid the gloom of superstition, in an age of the grossest ignorance and credulity, a taste for the wonders of oriental fiction was introduced by the Arabians into Europe, many countries of which were already seasoned to a reception of its extravagancies, by means of the poetry of the Gothic scalds, who perhaps originally derived their ideas from the fame fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of troubadours and minstrels, seem to have centered about the eleventh century in the ideal histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious achievements of Charlemagne and king Arthur, where they formed the ground-work of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose, which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser.

DISSER-

ON THE
INTRODUCTION
OF
LEARNING into ENGLAND.

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THE irruption of the northern nations into the western empire, about the beginning of the fourth century, forms one of the most interesting and important periods of modern history. Europe, on this great event, suffered the most memorable revolutions in its government and manners; and from the most flourishing state of peace and civility, became on a sudden, and for the space of two centuries, the theatre of the most deplorable devastation and disorder. But among the disasters introduced by these irresistible barbarians, the most calamitous seems to have been the destruction of those arts which the Romans still continued so successfully to cultivate in their capital, and which they had universally communicated to their conquered provinces. Towards the close of the fifth century, very few traces of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, sciences, and literature

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terature, remained. Some faint sparks of knowledge were kept alive in the monasteries ; and letters and the liberal arts were happily preserved from a total extinction during the confusions of the Gothic invaders, by that slender degree of culture and protection which they received from the prelates of the church, and the religious communities.

But notwithstanding the famous academy of Rome ^a with other literary seminaries had been destroyed by Alaric in the fourth century ; yet Theodoric the second, king of the Ostrogoths, a pious and humane prince, restored in some degree the study of letters in that city, and encouraged the pursuits of those scholars who survived this great and general desolation of learning ^b. He adopted into his service Boethius, the most learned and almost only Latin philosopher of that period. Cassiodorus, another eminent Roman scholar, was Theodoric's grand secretary : who retiring into a monastery in Calabria, passed his old age in collecting books, and practising mechanical experiments ^c. He was the author of many valuable pieces which still remain ^d. He wrote with little elegance, but he was the first that ever digested a series of royal charts or instruments ; a monument of singular utility to the historian, and which has served to throw the

^a Theodosius the younger, in the year 425, founded an academy at Constantinople, which he furnished with able professors of every science, intending it as a rival institution to that at Rome. Gianon. Hist. Napl. ii. ch. vi. sect. 1. A noble library had been established at Constantinople by Constantius and Valens before the year 380, the custody of which was committed to four Greek and three Latin antiquaries or curators. It contained sixty thousand volumes. Zonaras relates, that among other treasures in this library, there was a roll one hundred feet long, made of a dragon's gutt or intestine, on which Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were written in golden letters. See Bibl. Hist.

Literar. Select. &c. Ienæ, 1754. p. 164. seq. Literature flourished in the eastern empire, while the western was depopulated by the Goths ; and for many centuries afterwards. The Turks destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand volumes, I suppose in the imperial library, when they sacked Constantinople in the year 1454. HOD. DE GRÆC. ILLUSTR. ii. 1. p. 192.

^b He died A. D. 526. See Cassiodor. Epist. lib. i. 39. See also Func. de inerti et decrep. Latin. Linguae Senectut. cap. ii. p. 81.

^c Func. ut supr. xiii. p. 471. xi. p. 595.

^d Cave. Sæcul. Eutychn. Hist. Lit. p. 391.

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most authentic illustration on the public transactions and legal constitutions of those times. Theodoric's patronage of learning is applauded by Claudian, and Sidonius Apollinaris. Many other Gothic kings were equally attached to the works of peace; and are not less conspicuous for their justice, prudence, and temperance, than for their fortitude and magnanimity. Some of them were diligent in collecting the scattered remains of the Roman institutes, and constructing a regular code of jurisprudence^a. It is highly probable, that those Goths who became masters of Rome, sooner acquired ideas of civility, from the opportunity which that city above all others afforded them of seeing the felicities of polished life, of observing the conveniencies arising from political economy, of mixing with characters respectable for prudence and learning, and of employing in their counsels men of superior wisdom, whose instruction and advice they found it their interest to follow. But perhaps these northern adventurers, at least their princes and leaders, were not even at their first migrations into the south, so totally savage and uncivilised as we are commonly apt to suppose. Their enemies have been their historians, who naturally painted these violent disturbers of the general repose in the warmest colours. It is not easy to conceive, that the success of their amazing enterprises was merely the effect of numbers and tumultuary depredation: nor can I be persuaded, that the lasting and flourishing governments which they established in various parts of Europe, could have been framed by brutal force alone, and the blind efforts of unreflecting savages. Superior strength and courage must have contributed in a considerable degree to their rapid and extensive conquests; but at the same time, such mighty achievements could not have been planned and executed without some extraordinary vigour of mind, uniform principles of conduct, and no common talents of political sagacity.

^a Gianon. Hist. Nap. iii. c. 4.

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Although these commotions must have been particularly unfavourable to the more elegant literature, yet Latin poetry, from a concurrence of causes, had for some time begun to relapse into barbarism. From the growing encrease of christianity, it was deprived of its old fabulous embellishments, and chiefly employed in composing ecclesiastical hymns. Amid these impediments however, and the necessary degeneration of taste and style, a few poets supported the character of the Roman muse with tolerable dignity, during the decline of the Roman empire. These were Ausonius, Paulinus, Sidonius, Sedulius, Arator, Juvencus, Prosper, and Fortunatus. With the last, who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century, and was bishop of Poitiers, the Roman poetry is supposed to have expired.

In the sixth century Europe began to recover some degree of tranquillity. Many barbarous countries during this period, particularly the inhabitants of Germany, of Friesland, and other northern nations, were converted to the christian faith[†]. The religious controversies which at this time divided the Greek and Latin churches, roused the minds of men to literary enquiries. These disputes in some measure called forth abilities which otherwise would have been unknown and unemployed; and, together with the subtleties of argumentation, insensibly taught the graces of style, and the habits of composition. Many of the popes were persons of distinguished talents, and promoted useful knowledge no less by example than authority. Political union was by degrees established; and regular systems of government, which alone can ensure personal security, arose in the various provinces of Europe occupied by the Gothic tribes. The Saxons had taken possession of Britain, the Franks became masters of Gaul, the Huns of Pannonia, the Goths of

[†] Cave. *Sæcul. Monoth.* p. 440.

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Spain, and the Lombards of Italy. Hence leisure and repose diffused a mildness of manners, and introduced the arts of peace; and, awakening the human mind to a consciousness of its powers, directed its faculties to their proper objects.

In the mean time, no small obstruction to the propagation or rather revival of letters, was the paucity of valuable books. The libraries, particularly those of Italy, which abounded in numerous and inestimable treasures of literature, were every where destroyed by the precipitate rage and undistinguishing violence of the northern armies. Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that pope Saint Martin requested Sanctamand bishop of Maestricht, if possible to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany^s. In the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres in France, sent two of his monks to pope Benedict the third, to beg a copy of CICERO DE ORATORE, and QUINTILIAN'S INSTITUTES^h, and some other books: "for, says the abbot,

^s Concil. Tom. xv. pag. 285. edit. Paris, 1641.

^h There are very early manuscripts of Quintilian's Institutes, as we shall see below; and he appears to have been a favorite author with some writers of the middle ages. He is quoted by John of Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century. Polycrat. vii. 14. iii. 7. x. 1. &c. And by Vincent of Beauvais, a writer of the thirteenth. Specul. Hist. x. 11. ix. 125. His declamations are said to have been abridged by our countryman Adelardus Bathoniensis, and dedicated to the bishop of Bayeux, about the year 1130. See Catal. Bibl. Leidenf. p. 381. A. D. 1716. Poggius Florentinus, an eminent restorer of classical literature, says, that in the year 1446, he found a much more correct copy of Quintilian's Institutes than had been yet seen in Italy, almost perishing, at the bottom of a dark neglected tower of the monastery of saint

Gall, in France, together with the three first books, and half the fourth of Valerius Flaccus's Argonautics, and Asconius Pedianus's comment on eight orations of Tully. See Poggii Op. p. 309. Amst. 1720. 8vo. The very copy of Quintilian, found by Poggius, is said to have been in lord Sunderland's noble library now at Blenheim. Poggius, in his Dialogue De Infelicitate Principum, says of himself, that he travelled all over Germany in search of books. It is certain that by his means Quintilian, Tertullian, Asconius Pedianus, Lucretius, Sallust, Silius Italicus, Columella, Manilius, Tully's Orations, Ammianus Marcellinus, Valerius Flaccus, and some of the Latin grammarians, and other antient authors, were recovered from oblivion, and brought into general notice by being printed in the fifteenth century. Fr. Babarus Venetus, Collaudat. ad Pogg. dat. Venet. 1417. 7 Jul. See also *Giornale*
at

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“ although we have part of these books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France ”. Albert abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immense expence had collected an hundred volumes on theological and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library ^k. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the abbot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books ^l. We may imagine that these religious were more fond of hunting than reading. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt before they could read: and at least it is probable, that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the bible, Saint Jerom’s Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries ^m. Among the constitutions given to the monks of England by archbishop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious: a whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book: and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the

de Letterati d’ Italia, tom. ix. p. 178. x. p. 417. And Leonard. Aretin. Epist. lib. iv. p. 160. Chaucer mentions the Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus, as I have observed, SECT. iii. p. 126. infr. Colomesius affirms, that Silius Italicus, is one of the classics discovered by Poggius in the tower of the monastery of Saint Gaul. Ad Gyrald. de Poet. Dial. iv. p. 240. But Philippo Rosio, in his *Ritratto di Roma antica*, mentions a very antient manuscript

of this poet brought from Spain into the Vatican, having a picture of Hannibal, *il quale hoggi si ritrova nella preditta libreria*, p. 83.

ⁱ Murator. Antiq. Ital. iii. p. 835. And Lup. Ep. ad Baron. ad an. 856. n. 8, 9, 10.

^k Fleury. Hist. Eccl. l. lviii. c. 52.

^l Mabillon. De Re Dipl. p. 611.

^m Fleury, ubi supr. l. liv. c. 54. See other instances in Hist. Lit. Fr. par Rel. Benedict. vii. 3.

abbot,

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abbot, and to supplicate his indulgenceⁿ. This regulation was partly occasioned by the low state of literature which Lanfranc found in the English monasteries. But at the same time it was a matter of necessity, and is in great measure to be referred to the scarcity of copies of useful and suitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontiffara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his capital palace of Wolvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than “*Septendecem pecie librorum de diversis Scienciis* °.” This was in the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1299, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, BIBLIAM BENE GLOSSATAM, that is, the Bible, with marginal Annotations, in two large folio volumes: but gives a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity^p. This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the same year by Pontiffara’s predecessor, bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, that is, “*pro bona Biblia dicti episcopi bene glosata*,” and one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass for the soul of the donor^q. When a single book was be-

ⁿ “Unusquisque reddat librum qui ad legendum sibi alio anno fuerat commensus: et qui cognoverat se non legisse librum, quem recepit, prostratus culpam dicat, et indulgentiam petat. Iterum librorum custos unicuique fratrum alium librum tribuat ad legendum.” Wilkins. Concil. i. 332. See also the order of the Provincial chapter, *De occupatione monachorum*. Reyner, Append. p. 129.

^o Registr. Pontiffar. f. 126. MS.

^p “Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas visuris vel inspecturis, Johannes dei gracia Wynton episcopus, salutem in domino. Noveritis nos ex commodato recepisse a dilectis filiis nostris Priore et conventu ecclesie nostre Wynton, unam Bibliam in duobus voluminibus bene glosatam, que aliquando fuit bone memorie domini Nicolai Wynton episcopi

predecessoris nostri, termino perpetuo, seu quamdiu nobis placuerit, inspiciendam, tenendam, et habendam. Ad cujus Restitutionem eisdem fideliter et sine dolo faciendam, obligamus nos per presentes: quam si in vita nostra non restituerimus eisdem, obligamus executores nostros, et omnia bona nostra mobilia et immobilia, ecclesiastica et mundana, coercioni et districtioni cujuscunque judicis ecclesiastici et secularis quem predictus Prior et conventus duxerit eligendum, quod possint eosdem executores per omnimodam districtiorem compellere, quousque dicta Biblia dictis filiis et fratribus sit restituta. In cujusrei testimonium, sigillum, &c. Dat. apud Wolvesey, vi. Kal. Maii, anno 1299.” Registr. Pontiffar. ut supr. f. 193.

^q Ibid. f. 19.

queathed

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queathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom without many restrictions and stipulations¹. If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The most formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book presented to the cloister or library of a religious house. The prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle's *PHYSICS*, or even obliterate the title². Sometimes a book was given to a monastery on condition that the donor should have the use of it during his life: and sometimes to a private person, with the reservation that he who receives it should pray for the soul of his benefactor. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by bishop Repyndon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under these curious circumstances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the bishop's own hand, which I will give in English, at the beginning of Peter's *BREVIARY OF THE BIBLE*. "I Philip of Repyndon, late bishop of Lincoln, give this
 " book called Peter de Aureolis to the new library to be
 " built within the church of Lincoln: reserving the use and
 " possession of it to Richard Tryfely, clerk, canon and pre-
 " bendary of Miltoun, in fee, and to the term of his life:
 " and afterwards to be given up and restored to the said
 " library, or the keepers of the same, for the time being,
 " faithfully and without delay. Written with my own
 " hand, A. D. 1422³." When a book was bought, the

¹ As thus: "Do Henrico Morie scolari
 " meo, si contingat cum presbyterari:
 " aliter erit liber domini Johannis Sory,
 " sic quod non vendatur, sed transeat inter
 " cognatos meos, si fuerint aliqui inventi:
 " sin autem, ab uno presbytero ad alium."

Written at the end of Latin *Honellies on the Canticles*, MSS. Reg. 5. C. iii. 24. Brit. Mus.

² MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii.

³ MSS. Reg. 8 G. fol. iii. Brit. Mus.

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affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present on this occasion. Among the royal manuscripts, in the book of the SENTENCES of Peter Lombard, an archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry ^u. “ This book of the SENTENCES belongs to master “ Robert, archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of Geofrey the chaplain, brother of Henry vicar of Northelkington, in the presence of master Robert de Lee, master “ John of Lirling, Richard of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the said Henry the vicar and his clerk, and others : “ and the said archdeacon gave the said book to God and “ saint Oswald, and to Peter abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden ^w.” The disputed property of a book often occasioned the most violent altercations. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuscript of Matthew Paris, belonging to the last-mentioned library : in which John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of possession. “ If this book can be proved “ to be or to have been the property of the exempt monastery “ of saint Alban in the diocese of Lincoln, I declare this to “ be my mind, that, in that case, I use it at present as a “ loan under favour of those monks who belong to the “ said monastery. Otherwise, according to the condition “ under which this book came into my possession, I will “ that it shall belong to the college of the blessed Winchester Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. Written with my own hand at Bukdane, “ 1 Jan. A. D. 1488. JO. LINCOLN. Whoever shall obliterate “ or destroy this writing, let him be anathema ^x.” About

^u It is in Latin.

^w 9 B. ix. 1.

^x Written in Latin. Cod. MSS. Reg. 14 C. viii. 2. fol. In this manuscript is

written by Matthew Paris in his own hand, *Hunc Librum aedit frater Matthaeus Parisiensis*—Perhaps, *deo et ecclesiae S. Albani*, since erased.

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the year 1225, Roger de Infala, dean of York, gave several Latin bibles to the university of Oxford, with a condition that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge¹. The library of that university, before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church². In the year 1327, the scholars and citizens of Oxford assaulted and entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neighbouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they found there, were one hundred psalters, as many grayles, and forty missals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church: but besides these, there were only twenty-two CODICES, which I interpret books on common subjects³.

¹ Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. 48. col. 1. It was common to lend money on the deposit of a book. There were public chests in the universities, and perhaps some other places, for receiving the books so deposited; many of which still remain, with an inscription in the blank pages, containing the conditions of the pledge. I will throw together a few instances in this note. In Peter Comestor's SCHOLASTICAL HISTORY, "Cautio Thomæ Wybaurn excepta in Cilla de Chichele, A. D. 1468, 20 die mens. Augusti. Et est liber M. Petri, &c. Et jacet pro xxvi s. viii d." Mus. Brit. MSS. Reg. 2 C. fol. i. In a PSALTER cum glossa, "A. D. 1326, 1ste Liber impignoratur Mag. Jacobo de Hispania canonico S. Pauli London, per fratrem Willielmum de Rokeffe de ordine et conventu Prædicatorum Londonic, pro xx s. quem idem frater Willielmus recepit mutuo de predicto Jacobo ad opus predicti conventus, solvendo in quindena S. Michaeli proxime ventura. Condonatur quia pauper." Ibid. 3 E vii. fol. In Bernard's HOMILIES ON THE CANTICLES, "Cautio Thome Mylling imposita die de Redbury, 10 die Decemb. A. D. 1491. Et jacet pro xx s." Ibid. 6 C. ix. These pledges, among other particulars, shew the

prices of books in the middle ages, a topic which I shall touch upon below.

² Registr. Univ. Oxon. C. 64. a.

³ Wood, Hist. ut supr. i. 103. col. 1. Leland mentions this library, but it is just before the dissolution of the monastery. "Cum excuterem pulverem et blattas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ." Script. Brit. p. 238. See also J. Twyne, Comm. de Reb. Albion. lib. ii. p. 130. edit. Lond. 1590. I have mentioned the libraries of many monasteries below. See also what is said of the libraries of the Mendicant Friars, SECT. ix. p. 292. infr. That of Grey Friars in London was filled with books at the cost of five hundred and fifty-six pounds in the year 1432. Leland. Coll. i. 109. In the year 1482, the library of the abbey of Leicester contained eight large stalls which were filled with books. Gul. Charyte, Registr. Libr. et Jocal. omnium in monast. S. Mar. de pratiis prope Lecestriam. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud l. 75. fol. membr. See f. 139. There is an account of the library of Dover priory, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. B. 24. Leland says, that the library of Norwich priory was "bonis refertissima libris." Script. Brit. p. 247. See also Leland's account of St. Austin's library at Canterbury, ibid. p. 299. Concerning which, compare *Liber Thoma Sprotti de libreria*

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And although the invention of paper, at the close of the eleventh century, contributed to multiply manuscripts, and consequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even so late as the reign of our Henry the sixth, I have discovered the following remarkable instance of the inconveniencies and impediments to study, which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the statutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Osney abbey in the year 1446. "Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at most; so that others shall be hindered from the use of the same^b". The famous library established in the university of Oxford, by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey duke of Gloucester, contained only six hundred volumes^c. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris. These were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers: many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French: pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the fifth, who began his reign

libraria S. Augustini Cantuariæ, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 125. And Bibl. Cotton. Brit. Mus. Jul. C. vi. 4. And Leland, Coll. iii. 10. 120. Leland who was librarian to Henry the eighth, removed a large quantity of valuable manuscripts from St. Austin's Canterbury and from other monasteries at the dissolution, to that king's library at Westminster. See Script. Brit. Ethelstanus. And MSS. Reg. 1 A. xviii. For the sake of connection I will observe, that among our cathedral libraries of secular canons, that of the church of Wells was most magnificent: it was built about the year 1420, and contained twenty-five windows on either side. Leland, Coll. i. p. 109. In which state, I believe, it continues at present. Nor is it quite fo-

reign to the subject of this note to add, that king Henry the sixth intended a library at Eton college, fifty-two feet long, and twenty-four broad: and another at King's college in Cambridge of the same breadth, but one hundred and two feet in length. Ex Testam. dat. xii. Mar. 1447.

^a "Nullus occupet unum librum, vel occupari faciat, ultra unam horam et duas ad majus: sic quod ceteri retrahantur a visu et studio ejusdem." Statut. Coll. S. Mariæ pro Osney. DE LIBRARIIS. f. 21. MSS. Rawlinf. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

^c Wood, ubi supr. ii. 49. col. ii. It was not opened till the year 1480. Ibid. p. 50. col. 1.

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in 1365. This monarch was passionately fond of reading, and it was the fashion to send him presents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. These he ordered to be elegantly transcribed, and richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called, *la toure de la libraire*. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers; which, on this occasion, were wainscotted with Irish oak, and cieled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425. On which event the duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent this whole library, then consisting of only eight hundred and fifty-three volumes, and valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of duke Humphrey's library just mentioned^c. Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis the eleventh of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhafis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited by way of pledge a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed^f, by which he bound himself to return it under a considerable forfeiture^g. The excessive prices of books in the middle ages, afford numerous and curious proofs. I will mention a few only. In the year 1174, Walter prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, afterwards elected abbot of Westminster, a writer in Latin of the lives of the bishops who were his patrons^h, purchased of the monks of

^c See M. Boivin, Mem. Lit. ii. p. 747. 4to. Who says, that the regent presented to his brother in law Humphrey duke of Gloucester a rich copy of a translation of Livy into French, which had been presented to the king of France.

^f See Bury's PHILOBIBLON, mentioned at large below, *De modo communicandi studentibus libros nostros*. cap. xix.

^g Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. i. p. 281. edit. 8vo.

^h William Giffard and Henry de Blois, bishops of Winchester.

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Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Bede's Homilies, and saint Austin's Psalter, for twelve measures of barley, and a pall on which was embroidered in silver the history of saint Birinus converting a Saxon king ^b. Among the royal manuscripts in the British museum there is COMESTOR'S SCHOLASTIC HISTORY in French; which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the king of France at the battle of Poitiers; and being purchased by William Montague earl of Salisbury for one hundred mars, was ordered to be sold by the last will of his countess Elizabeth for forty livres ^c. About the year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's ROMAN DE LA ROSE, was sold before the palace-gate at Paris for forty crowns or thirty-three pounds six and six-pence ^d. But in pursuit of these anecdotes, I am

^b Registr. Priorat. S. Swithun. Winton. ut supr. MS. quatern. . . " Pro duodecim
" mens. (or mod.) cerei, et una palla
" bruidata in argento cum historia sancti
" Birini convertentis ad fidem Kynegylum
" regem Gewysecram: necnon Oswaldi
" regis Northumbrorum suscipientis de
" fonte Kynegylsum." Gewysecorum is
the West Saxons. This history, with others
of saint Birinus, is represented on the an-
cient font of Norman workmanship in Win-
chester cathedral: on the windows of the
abbey-church of Dorchester near Oxford:
and in the western front and windows of
Lincoln cathedral. With all which churches
Birinus was connected. He was buried in
that of Dorchester, Whart. Angl. Sacr. i.
190. And in Bever's manuscript Chronicle,
or his Continuator, cited below, it is
said, that a marble cenotaph of marvellous
sculpture was constructed over his grave in
Dorchester church about the year 1320. I
find no mention of this monument in any
other writer. Bever. Chron. MSS. Coll.
Trin. Oxon. Num. x. f. 66.

^c MSS. 19 D ii. LA BIBLE HYSTO-
RIAUS, ou LES HISTORIES ESCOLAS-
TRES. The transcript is of the fourteenth
century. This is the entry, " Cest livre

" fust pris oue le roy de France a la ba-
" taille de Peyters: et le bon counte de Sa-
" resbirs William Montagu la achata pur
" cent mars, et le dona a sa compaignie
" Elizabeth la bone countesse, que dieux
" assoile.—Lequele lyvre le dite countesse
" assigna a ses executours de le rendre pur
" xl. livres."

^d It belonged to the late Mr. Ames,
author of the TYPOGRAPHICAL ANTI-
QUITIES. In a blank leaf was written,
" Cest lyvir cost a palas du Parys quarante
" coronas d' or sans mentyr." I have ob-
served in another place, that in the year
1430, Nicholas de Lyra was transcribed at
the expence of one hundred marks. SECT. ix.
p. 292. infra. I add here the valuation of
books bequeathed to Merton college at
Oxford, before the year 1300. A Scholast-
ical History, 20 s. A Concordantia, 10 s.
The four greater Prophets, with glosses,
5 s. Liber Anselmi cum questionibus Tho-
mæ de Malo, 12 s. Quodlibetæ H. Gan-
davenfis et S. Thomæ Aquinatis, 10 s. A
Psalter with glosses, 10 s. Saint Austin on
Genesis, 10 s. MS. HIST. OF MERTON
COLLEGE, by A. Wood. Bibl. Bodl.
Cod. Rawlins. I could add a variety of
other instances. The curious reader who
seeks

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imperceptibly seduced into later periods, or rather am deviating from my subject.

After the calamities which the state of literature sustained in consequence of the incursions of the northern nations, the first restorers of the antient philosophical sciences in Europe, the study of which, by opening the faculties and extending the views of mankind, gradually led the way to other parts of learning, were the Arabians. In the beginning of the eighth century, this wonderful people, equally famous for their conquests and their love of letters, in ravaging the Asiatic provinces, found many Greek books, which they read with infinite avidity: and such was the gratification they received from this fortunate acquisition, and so powerfully their curiosity was excited to make further discoveries in this new field of knowledge, that they requested their caliphs to procure from the emperor at Constantinople the best Greek writers. These they carefully translated into Arabic^k. But every part of the Grecian literature did not equally gratify their taste. The Greek poetry they rejected, because it inculcated polytheism and idolatry, which were inconsistent with their religion. Or perhaps it was too cold and too correct for their extravagant and romantic conceptions^l.

seeks farther information on this small yet not unentertaining branch of literary history, is referred to Gabr. Naud. *Addit. à l'Hist. de Louys xi. par Cominac. edit. Presn. tom. iv. 281, &c.*

^k See Abulfuag. per Pocock, *Dynast.* p. 160. Greek was a familiar language to the Arabians. The accounts of the caliph's treasury were always written in Greek till the year of Christ 715. They were then ordered to be drawn in Arabic. Many proofs of this might be mentioned. Greek was a familiar language in Mahomet's household. Zaid, one of Mahomet's secretaries, to whom he dictated the Koran, was a perfect master of Greek. Sale's *Prelim. Disc.* p. 124, 125. The Arabic gold coins

were always inscribed with Greek legends till about the year 700.

^l Yet it appears from many of their fictions, that some of the Greek poets were not unfamiliar among them, perhaps long before the period assigned in the text. Theophilus Edessenus, a Maronite, by profession an astronomer, translated Homer into Syriac about the year 770. Theophan. *Chronogr.* p. 376. Abulfarag. *ut sup.* p. 217. Reinesius, in his very curious account of the *manuscript collection of Greek chemists* in the library of Saxe-Gotha, relates, that soon after the year 750, the Arabians translated Homer and Pindar, amongst other Greek books. Ernest. Salom. *Cyprian. Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Gothan.* p. 71. 87.

Apud

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Of the Greek history they made no use, because it recorded events which preceded their prophet Mahomet. Accustomed to a despotic empire, they neglected the political systems of the Greeks, which taught republican freedom. For the same reasons they despised the eloquence of the Athenian orators. The Greek ethics were superseded by their Alcoran, and on this account they did not study the works of Plato^m. Therefore no other Greek books engaged their attention but those which treated of mathematical, metaphysical, and physical knowledge. Mathematics coincided with their natural turn to astronomy and arithmetic. Metaphysics, or logic, suited their speculative genius, their love of tracing intricate and abstracted truths, and their ambition of being admired for difficult and remote researches. Physics, in which I include medicine, assisted the chemical experiments to which they were so much addictedⁿ: and medicine, while it was connected with chemistry and botany, was a practical art of immediate utility^o. Hence they studied Aristotle, Galen,

Apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 753. It is however certain, that the Greek philosophers were their objects. Compare Euseb. Renaudot. de Barb. Aristotel. Versionib. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 252. 258.

^m Yet Reinesius says, that about the year 750, they translated Plato into Arabic: together with the works of S. Austin, Ambrose, Jerom, Leo, and Gregory the Great. Ubi supr. p. 260. Leo Africanus mentions, among the works of Averroes, *EXPOSITIONES REIPUBLICÆ PLATONIS*. But he died so late as the year 1206. *De Med. et Philosoph. Arab. cap. xx.*

ⁿ The earliest Arab chemist, whose writings are now extant, was Jeber. He is about the seventh century. His book, called by Golius his Latin translator, *Lapis Philosophorum*, was written first in Greek, and afterwards translated by its author into Arabic. For Jeber was originally a Greek and a christian, and afterwards went into Asia, and embraced Mohammedism. See Leo African. lib. iii. c. 106. The learned Boerhaave asserts, that many of Jeber's

experiments are verified by present practice, and that several of them have been revived as modern discoveries. Boerhaave adds, that, except the fancies about the philosopher's stone, the exactness of Jeber's operations is surprising. *Hist. Chémistr. p. 14. 15. Lond. 1727.*

^o Their learning, but especially their medical knowledge, flourished most in Salerno, a city of Italy, where it formed the famous *Schola Salernitana*. The little book of medical precepts in leonine heroics, which bears the name of that school, is well known. This system was composed at the desire of Robert duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror's brother: who returning from Jerusalem in one of the crusades, and having heard of the fame of those Salernitan physicians, applied to them for the cure of a wound made by a poisoned arrow. It was written not only in verse, but in rhyming verse, that the prince might more easily retain the rules in his memory. It was published 1100. The author's name is Giovanni di Milano, a celebrated Salernitan

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and Hippocrates, with unremitted ardour and assiduity: they translated their writings into the Arabic tongue^p, and by degrees illustrated them with voluminous commentaries^q. These Arabic translations of the Greek philosophers produced new treatises of their own, particularly in medicine and metaphysics. They continued to extend their conquests, and their frequent incursions into Europe before and after the ninth century, and their absolute establishment in Spain, imported the rudiments of useful knowledge into nations involved in the grossest ignorance, and unpossessed of the

lernitan physician. The monks of Cassino, hereafter mentioned, much improved this study. See Chron. Cassin. l. iii. c. 35. Medicine was at first practised by the monks or the clergy, who adopted it with the rest of the Arabian learning. See P. Diac. De Vir. illustr. cap. xiii. et ibid. Not. Mar. See also Ab. De Nuce ad Chron. Cassin. l. i. c. 9. And Leon. Ostiens. Chron. l. iii. c. 7. See SECT. xvii. p. 442. infr.

^p Compare Renaudot. ubi sup. p. 258.

^q Their caliph Al-manun, was a singular encourager of these translations. He was a great master of the speculative sciences; and for his better information in them, invited learned men from all parts of the world to Bagdat. He favoured the learned of every religion: and in return they made him present of their works, collected from the choicest pieces of eastern literature, whether of Indians, Jews, Magians, or oriental christians. He expended immense sums in purchasing valuable books written in Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, that they might be translated into Arabic. Many Greek treatises of medicine were translated into that language by his orders. He hired for this purpose persons from all quarters of the world, and sent them to the translators. He employed also physicians of all nations, and made them write down the secrets of their art, which was him self to add to the Arabic language. This was done in the year of Christ 1000. See Leo African. de Med. et Phil. Arab. cap. i. Al-Buhārī, in Hist. Arab. Fasc. II. p. 474. 475.

A curious circumstance of the envy with which the Greeks at Constantinople treated this growing philosophy of the Arabians, is mentioned by Cedrenus. Al-Manun hearing of one Leo, an excellent mathematician at Constantinople, wrote to the emperor, requesting that Leo might be permitted to settle in his dominions, with a most ample salary, as a teacher in that science. The emperor by this means being made acquainted with Leo's merit, established a school, in which he appointed Leo a professor, for the sake of a specious excuse. The caliph sent a second time to the emperor, entreating that Leo might reside with him for a short time only; offering likewise a large sum of money, and terms of lasting peace and alliance. On which the emperor immediately created Leo bishop of Thessalonica. Cedren. Hist. Comp. 528. seq. Herbelot also relates, that the same caliph, so universal was his search after Greek books, procured a copy of Apollonius Pergæus, the mathematician. But this copy contained only seven books. In the mean time, finding by the Introduction that the whole consisted of eight books, and that the eighth book was the foundation of the rest, and being informed that there was a complete copy in the emperor's library at Constantinople, he applied to him for a transcript. But the Greeks, nearly seized a principle of jealousy, would not suffer the application to reach the emperor, and it did not take effect. Biblioth. Oriental. p. 978. col. a.

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means of instruction. They founded universities in many cities of Spain and Africa'. They brought with them their books, which Charlemagne, emperor of France and Germany, commanded to be translated from Arabic into Latin^r : and which, by the care and encouragement of that liberal prince, being quickly disseminated over his extensive dominions, soon became familiar to the western world. Hence it is, that we find our early Latin authors of the dark ages chiefly employed in writing systems of the most abstruse sciences : and from these beginnings the Aristotelic philosophy acquired such establishment and authority, that from long prescription it remains to this day the sacred and uncontroverted doctrine of our schools'. From this fountain the infatuations of astrology took possession of the middle ages, and were continued even to modern times. To the peculiar genius of this people it is owing, that chemistry became blended with so many extravagancies, obscured with unintelligible jargon, and filled with fantastic notions, myste-

^r See Hotting. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. ix. sect. ii. lit. Gg. According to the best writers of oriental history, the Arabians had made great advances on the coasts communicating with Spain, I mean in Africa, about the year of Christ 692. And they became actually masters of Spain itself in the year 712. See Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 168. 179. edit. 1759. It may be observed, that Sicily became part of the dominion of the Saracens, within sixty years after Mahomet's death, and in the seventh century, together with almost all Asia and Africa. Only part of Greece and the lesser Asia then remained to the Grecian empire at Constantinople. Conring. De Script. &c. Comment. p. 101. edit. Wratissl. 1727. See also, Univ. Hist. ut suprà.

^s Cuspinian. de Cæsariis. p. 419.

^t Yet it must not be forgot, that S. Austin had translated part of Aristotle's logic from the original Greek into Latin before the fifth century; and that the peripatetic phi-

losophy must have been partly known to the western scholars from the writings and translations of Boethius, who flourished about the year 520. Alcuine, Charlemagne's master, commends S. Austin's book De Prædicamentis, which he calls, DECEM NATURÆ VERBA. Rog. Bacon, de Util. Scient. cap. xiv. See also Op. Maj. An ingenious and learned writer, already quoted, affirms, that in the age of Charlemagne there were many Greek scholars who made translations of Aristotle, which were in use below the year 1100. I will not believe that any Europeans, properly so called, were competently skilled in Greek for this purpose in the time of Charlemagne: nor, if they were, is it likely that of themselves they should have turned their thoughts to Aristotle's philosophy. Unless, by *viri Græce docti*; this writer means the learned Arabs of Spain, which does not appear from his context. See Euseb. Renaudot. ut suprà. p. 247.

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rious pretensions, and superstitious operations. And it is easy to conceive, that among these visionary philosophers, so fertile in speculation, logic, and metaphysics, contracted much of that refinement and perplexity, which for so many centuries exercised the genius of profound reasoners and captious disputants, and so long obstructed the progress of true knowledge. It may perhaps be regretted, in the mean time, that this predilection of the Arabian scholars for philosophic enquiries, prevented them from importing into Europe a literature of another kind. But rude and barbarous nations would not have been polished by the history, poetry, and oratory of the Greeks. Although capable of comprehending the solid truths of many parts of science, they are unprepared to be impressed with ideas of elegance, and to relish works of taste. Men must be instructed before they can be refined; and, in the gradations of knowledge, polite literature does not take place till some progress has first been made in philosophy. Yet it is at the same time probable; that the Arabians, among their literary stores, brought into Spain and Italy many Greek authors not of the scientific species*:

* It must not be forgot, that they translated Aristotle's *POETICS*. There is extant "Averrois Summa in Aristotelis poeticiam ex Arabico sermone in Latinum traducta ab Hermanno Alemanno; Pre-mittitur determinatio Ibinrosdin in poetica Aristotelis. Venet. 1515." There is a translation of the *POETICS* into Arabic by Abou Muschar Metta, entitled, *ABO-TIKA*. See Herbel. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 18. col. a. p. 971. b. p. 40. col. 2. p. 337. col. 2. Farabi, who studied at Bagdad about the year 930, one of the translators of Aristotle's *ANALYTICS*, wrote sixty books on that philosopher's *Rhetoric*; declaring that he had read it over two hundred times, and yet was equally desirous of reading it again. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiii. 265. Herbelot mentions Aristotle's *MORALS*, translated by Honain. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 963. a. See also p. 971. a. 973. p. 974. b. Compare

Mosheim. *Hist.* ch. i. p. 217. 283. Note C, p. 2. ch. 1. Averrois also paraphrased Aristotle's *RHETORIC*. There are also translations into Arabic of Aristotle's *ANALYTICS*, and his treatise of *INTERPRETATION*. The first they called *ANALUTHICA*, and the second, *BARI ARMENIAS*. But Aristotle's logic, metaphysics, and physics pleased them most; particularly the eight books of his physics, which exhibit a general view of that science. Some of our countrymen were translators of these Arabic books into Latin. Athelard, a monk of Bath, translated the Arabic *Euclid* into Latin, about 1000. Leland. *Script.* Brit. p. 200. There are some manuscripts of it in the Bodleian library, and elsewhere. But the most beautiful and elegant copy I have seen is on vellum, in Trinity college library at Oxford. Cod. MSS. Num. 10.

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and that the migration of this people into the western world, while it proved the fortunate instrument of introducing into Europe some of the Greek classics at a very early period, was moreover a means of preserving those genuine models of composition, and of transmitting them to the present generation". It is certain, that about the close of the ninth century, polite letters, together with the sciences, began in some degree to be studied in Italy, France, and Germany. Charlemagne, whose munificence and activity in propagating the Arabian literature has already been mentioned, founded the universities of Bononia, Pavia, Paris, and Osnaburgh. Charles the Bald seconded the salutary endeavours of Charlemagne. Lothaire, the brother of the latter, erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy*. The number of monasteries and collegiate churches in those countries was daily encreasing*: in which the youth, as a preparation to the

" See what I have said concerning the destruction of many Greek classics at Constantinople, in the Preface to Theocritus, Oxon. 1770. tom. i. Prefat. p. xiv. xv. To which I will add, that so early as the fourth century, the christian priests did no small injury to antient literature, by prohibiting and discouraging the study of the old pagan philosophers. Hence the story, that Jerom dreamed he was whipped by the devil for reading Cicero. Compare what is said of Livy below.

" A. D. 823. See Murator. Scriptor. Rer. Italicar. i. p. 151.

* Cave mentions, "*Cænobia Italica*, " Cassinense, Ferrariense: *Germanica*, Fuldense, Sangellense, Augiense, Lobienne: "*Gallia*, Corbienne, Rhemensis, Orbacense, Floriacense," &c. Hist. Lit. Sæc. Photian. p. 503. edit. 1688. Charlemagne also founded two archbishopricks and nine bishopricks in the most considerable towns of Germany. Aub. Miræi Op. Diplom. i. p. 16. Charlemagne seems to have founded libraries. See J. David. Kœler, Diss. De Bibliotheca Caroli Mag. Altorg. 1727. And Aët. Erudic. et cu-

riof. Francon. P. x. p. 716. seq. 60. And Hist. Lit. Franc. tom. iv. 4to. p. 223. Compare Laun. c. iv. p. 30. Eginhart mentions his private library. Vit. Car. Mag. p. 41. a. edit. 1565. He even founded a library at Jerusalem, for the use of those western pilgrims who visited the holy sepulchre. Hist. Lit. ut supr. p. 373. His successor also, Charles the Bald, erected many libraries. Two of his librarians, Holduin and Ebbo, occur under that title in subscriptions. Bibl. Hist. Liter. Struvii et Jugl. cap. ii. sect. xvii. p. 172. This monarch, before his last expedition into Italy about the year 870, in case of his decease, orders his large library to be divided into three parts, and disposed of accordingly. Hist. Lit. ut supr. tom. v. p. 514. Launoy justly remarks, that many noble public institutions of Charles the Bald, were referred, by succeeding historians, to their more favorite hero Charlemagne. Ubi supr. p. 53. edit. Fabric. Their immediate successors, at least of the German race, were not such conspicuous patrons of literature.

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study of the sacred scriptures, were exercised in reading profane authors, together with the antient doctors of the church, and habituated to a Latin style. The monks of Cassino in Italy were distinguished before the year 1000, not only for their knowledge of the sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics. Their learned abbot Desiderius collected the best of the Greek and Roman writers. This fraternity not only composed learned treatises in music, logic, astronomy, and the Vitruvian architecture, but likewise employed a portion of their time in transcribing Tacitus^y, Jornandes, Josephus, Ovid's Fasti, Cicero, Seneca, Donatus the grammarian, Virgil, Theocritus, and Homer^z.

^y Lipsius says, that Leo the tenth gave five hundred pieces of gold for the five first books of Tacitus's Annals, to the monks of a convent in Saxony. This Lipsius calls the resurrection of Tacitus to life. *Ad Annal. Tacit. lib. ii. c. 9.* At the end of the edition of Tacitus, published under Leo's patronage by Beroaldus in 1515, this edict is printed, "Nomine Leonis X. *proposita sunt præmia non mediocria his qui ad eum libros veteres neque hætenus editos adtulerint.*"

^z Chron. Cassin. Monast. lib. iii. c. 35. Poggius Florentinus found a *STRATAGEMATA* of Frontinus, about the year 1420, in this monastery. Mabillon. *Mus. Ital. tom. i. p. 133.* Manuscripts of the following classics now in the Harleian collection, appear to have been written between the eighth and tenth centuries inclusively. Two copies of Terence, *Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 2670. 2750.* Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, the first book *De Natura Deorum*, Orations against Cataline, *De Oratore*, *De Inventione Rhetorica*, *Ad Herennium*, n. 2622. 2716. 2623. And the Epistles, with others of his works, n. 2682. A fragment of the *Æneid*, n. 2772. Livy, n. 2672. Lucius Florus, n. 2620. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, n. 2737.

Quintilian, n. 2664. Horace, the Odes excepted, n. 2725. Many of the same and other classic authors occur in the British Museum, written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See n. 5443. 2656. 2475. 2624. 2591. 2668. 2533. 2770. 2492. 2709. 2655. 2654. 2664. 2728. 5534. 2609. 2724. 5412. 2643. 5304. 2633. There are four copies of Statius, one of the twelfth century, n. 2720. And three others of the thirteenth, n. 2608. 2636. 2665. Plautus's Comedies are among the royal manuscripts, written in the tenth, 15 C. xi. 4. And some parts of Tully in the same, *ibid.* 1. Suetonius, 15 C. iv. 1. Horace's Art of Poetry, Epistles, and Satires, with Eutropius, in the same, 15 B. vii. 1. 2. 3. xvi. 1. &c. Willibold, one of the learned Saxons whose literature will be mentioned in its proper place, having visited Rome and Jerusalem, retired for some time to this monastery, about the year 730. Vit. Williboldi, *Canis. Antiq. Lect. xv. 695.* And Pantal. *de Vir. Illustr. par. ii. p. 263.* And Birinus, who came into England from Rome about the year 630, with a design of converting the Saxons, brought with him one Benedict, a monk of Cassino, whom he placed over the monks or church of Winchester. Wharton, *Angl. Sacr. i. 190.*

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In the mean time England shared these improvements in knowledge: and literature, chiefly derived from the same sources, was communicated to our Saxon ancestors about the beginning of the eighth century ^c. The Anglo-Saxons were converted to christianity about the year 570. In consequence of this event, they soon acquired civility and learning. Hence they necessarily established a communication with Rome, and acquired a familiarity with the Latin language. During this period, it was the prevailing practice among the Saxons, not only of the clergy but of the better sort of laity, to make a voyage to Rome ^d. It is natural to imagine with what ardour the new converts visited the holy see, which at the same time was fortunately the capital of literature. While they gratified their devotion, undesignedly and imperceptibly they became acquainted with useful science.

In return, Rome sent her emissaries into Britain. Theodore, a monk of Rome, originally a Greek priest, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into England by pope Vitellian, in the year 688 ^e. He was skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church-music, and the Greek and Latin languages ^f. The new prelate brought with him a large library, as it was called and esteemed, consisting of numerous Greek and Latin authors; among which were Homer in a large volume, written on paper with most exquisite elegance, the homilies of saint Chrysostom on parchment, the psalter, and Josephus's Hypomnesticon, all in Greek ^g. Theodore was ac-

^c Cave, *Sæcul. Eutychn.* p. 382.

^d "Hiis temporibus multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles viri et foemine, duces et privati, divini numinis instinctu, Romam venire consueverant." &c. Bede, *De Temp.* Apud Leland, *Script. Brit.* CEOLFRIDUS.

^e Birchington, apud Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 2. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 464. Parker, *Antiquitat. Brit.* p. 53.

^f Bed. *Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Angl.* iv.

2. Bede says of Theodore and of Adrian mentioned below, "Usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam, æque ut propriam in qua nati sunt, norunt." See also *ibid.* c. 1.

^g Parker, *ut supr.* p. 80. See also Lambard's *Peramb. Kent*, p. 233. A transcript of the Josephus 500 years old was given to the public library at Cambridge, by the archbishop. See Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 109.

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accompanied into England by Adrian, a Neapolitan monk, and a native of Africa, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, and at the same time appointed by the pope to the abbacy of saint Austin's at Canterbury. Bede informs us, that Adrian requested pope Vitellian to confer the archbishoprick on Theodore, and that the pope consented on condition that Adrian, "who had been *twice in France*, and "on that account was *better acquainted* with the nature and "difficulties of so long a journey," would conduct Theodore into Britain^h. They were both escorted to the city of Canterbury by Benedict Biscop, a native of Northumberland, and a monk, who had formerly been acquainted with them in a visit which he made to Romeⁱ. Benedict seems at this time to have been one of the most distinguished of the Saxon ecclesiastics; availing himself of the arrival of these two learned strangers, under their direction and assistance, he procured workmen from France, and built the monastery of Weremouth in Northumberland. The church he constructed of stone, after the manner of the Roman architecture; and adorned its walls and roof with pictures, which he purchased at Rome, representing among other sacred subjects the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles, the evangelical history, and the visions of the Apocalypse^k. The windows were glazed by artists brought from France. But I mention this foundation to introduce an anecdote much to our pur-

^h Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 1. "Et ob id majorem notitiam hujus itineris, &c."

ⁱ See Math. Westmon. sub. an. 703. Lel. Script. Brit. p. 109.

^k See Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 295. 297. edit. Cantab. In one of his expeditions to Rome, he brought over John, arch-chantor of St. Peter's at Rome, who introduced the Roman method of singing mass. Bed. ibid. p. 295. He taught the monks of Benedict's abbey; and all the singers of the monasteries of that province came from various parts to hear him

sing. Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 18. He likewise brought over from Rome two filken palls of exquisite workmanship, with which he afterwards purchased of king Aldfrid, successor of Elfrid, two pieces of land for his monastery. Bed. Vit. Abb. ut supr. p. 297. Bale censures Benedict for being the first who introduced into England painters, glassiers, *et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices*. Cent. i. 82. This is the language of a PURITAN in LIFE, as well as in Religion.

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pose. Benedict added to his monastery an ample library, which he stored with Greek and Latin volumes, imported by himself from Italy¹. Bede has thought it a matter worthy to be recorded, that Ceolfrid, his successor in the government of Weremouth-abbey, augmented this collection with three volumes of pandects, and a book of cosmography wonderfully enriched with curious workmanship, and bought at Rome^m. The example of the pious Benedict was immediately followed by Acca bishop of Hexham in the same province: who having finished his cathedral church by the help of architects, masons, and glaziers hired in Italy, adorned it, according to Leland, with a valuable library of Greek and Latin authorsⁿ. But Bede, Acca's cotemporary, relates, that this library was entirely composed of the histories of those apostles and martyrs to whose relics he had dedicated several altars in his church, and other ecclesiastical treatises, which he had collected with infinite labour^o. Bede however calls it a most copious and noble library^p. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to add, that Acca invited from Kent into Northumberland, and retained in his service during the space of twelve years, a celebrated chantor named Maban: by the assistance of whose instructions and superintendance he not only regulated the church music of his diocese, but introduced the use of many Latin hymns hitherto unknown in the northern churches of England^q. It appears that be-

¹ Lel. ubi supr. 110.

^m Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 299.
Op. Bed. edit. Cantab.

ⁿ Lel. ibid. p. 105.

^o Bed. Hist. v. 21.

^p Hist. v. c. 20.

^q Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. c. 21. Maban had been taught to sing in Kent by the successors of the disciples of saint Gregory. Compare Bed. iv. 2. If we may believe William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the year 1120, they had organs in the Saxon churches before the conquest. He says that archbishop Dunstan, in king Ed-

gar's reign, gave an organ to the abbey-church of Malmesbury; which he describes to have been like those in use at present. "Organa, ubi per areas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras." William, who was a monk of this abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunstan was inscribed in a Latin distich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes. Vit. Aldhelm. Whart. Ang. Sacr. ii. p. 33. See what is said of Dunstan below. And Osb. Vit. S. Dunst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 93.

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fore the arrival of Theodore and Adrian, celebrated schools for educating youth in the sciences had been long established in Kent[†]. Literature, however, seems at this period to have flourished with equal reputation at the other extremity of the island, and even in our most northern provinces. Ecbert bishop of York, founded a library in his cathedral, which, like some of those already mentioned, is said to have been replenished with a variety of Latin and Greek books[‡]. Alcuine, whom Ecbert appointed his first librarian, hints at this library in a Latin epistle to Charlemagne. “ Send me
“ from France some learned treatises, of equal excellence
“ with those which I preserve here in England under my
“ custody, collected by the industry of my master Ecbert:
“ and I will send to you some of my youths, who shall carry
“ with them the flowers of Britain into France. So that
“ there shall not only be an *enclosed garden* at York, but
“ also at Tours some sprouts of Paradise[§],” &c. William of Malmesbury judged this library to be of sufficient importance not only to be mentioned in his history, but to be styled, “ *Omnium liberalium artium armarium, nobilissimam
“ bibliothecam*.” This repository remained till the reign of king Stephen, when it was destroyed by fire, with great part of the city of York[¶]. Its founder Ecbert died in the year 767^{*}. Before the end of the eighth century, the monasteries of Westminster, Saint Alban’s, Worcester, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, with some others, were founded, and opulently endowed. That of Saint Alban’s was filled with one hundred monks by king Offa[†]. Many new bishopricks were also established in England: all which institutions, by multiplying

[†] See Bed. Op. per Smith, p. 724.
^{seq.} Append.

[‡] I. cl. p. 114.

[§] Bale, ii. 15.

[¶] De Reg. i. 1.

[¶] Pits, p. 154.

^{*} Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 486.

[†] A. D. 793. See Dudg. Mon. i. p.
177.

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his native tongue: and with a view of inviting the people in general to a love of reading, and to a knowledge of books which they could not otherwise have understood, he translated many Latin authors into Saxon. These, among others, were Boethius OF THE CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a manuscript of which of Alfred's age still remains ^a, Orosius's HISTORY OF THE PAGANS, saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, the venerable Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, and the SOLILOQUIES of saint Austin. Probably saint Austin was selected by Alfred, because he was the favorite author of Charlemagne ^b. Alfred died in the year 900, and was buried at Hyde abbey, in the suburbs of Winchester, under a sumptuous monument of porphyry ^c.

Aldhelm, nephew of Ina king of the West Saxons, frequently visited France and Italy. While a monk of Malmesbury in Wiltshire, he went from his monastery to Canterbury, in order to learn logic, rhetoric, and the Greek language, of archbishop Theodore, and of Albin abbot of saint Austin's ^d, the pupil of Adrian ^e. But he had before acquired

them to the keepers of his chapel, who from time to time gave due notice how the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were more wasted; to remedy this inconvenience he invented lanthorns, there being then no glass to be met with in his dominions. Asser. Menev. Vit. Alfr. p. 68. edit. Wise. In the mean time, and during this very period, the Persians imported into Europe a machine, which presented the first rudiments of a striking clock. It was brought as a present to Charlemagne, from Abdella king of Persia, by two monks of Jerusalem, in the year 800. Among other presents, says Eginhart, was an horologe of brass, wonderfully constructed by some mechanical artifice, in which the course of the twelve hours *ad elepsydram vertebatur*, with as many little brazen balls, which at the close of each hour dropped down on a sort of bells underneath, and sounded the end of the hour. There were also twelve figures of horsemen, who, when the twelve hours were

completed, issued out at twelve windows, which till then stood open, and returning again, shut the windows after them. He adds, that there were many other curiosities in this instrument, which it would be tedious to recount. Eginhart, Kar. Magn. p. 108. It is to be remembered, that Eginhart was an eye-witness of what is here described; and that he was an abbot, a skilful architect, and very learned in the sciences.

^a MSS. Cott. Oth. A. 6. 8vo. membr.

^b He was particularly fond of Austin's book *DE CIVITATE DEI*. Eginhart. Vit. Car. Magn. p. 29.

^c Asser. Menev. p. 72. ed. Wise.

^d Bede says, that Theodore and Adrian taught Tobias bishop of Rochester the Greek and Latin tongues so perfectly, that he could speak them as fluently as his native Saxon. Hist. Eccl. v. 23.

^e Lel. p. 97. Thorn says, that Albin learned Greek of Adrian. Chron. Dec. Script. p. 1771.

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some knowledge of Greek and Latin under Maidulf, an Hibernian or Scot, who had erected a small monastery or school at Malmesbury^f. Camden affirms, that Aldhelm was the first of the Saxons who wrote in Latin, and that he taught his countrymen the art of Latin versification^g. But a very intelligent antiquarian in this sort of literature, mentions an anonymous Latin poet, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in verse; and adds, that he was the first of the Saxons that attempted to write Latin verse^h. It is however certain, that Aldhelm's Latin compositions, whether in verse or prose, as novelties were deemed extraordinary performances, and excited the attention and admiration of scholars in other countries. A learned cotemporary, who lived in a remote province of a Frankish territory, in an epistle to Aldhelm has this remarkable expression, "*VESTRÆ LATINITATIS PANEGYRICUS RUMOR* has reached us even at this distanceⁱ, &c." In reward of these uncommon merits he was made bishop of Shirburn in Dorsetshire in the year 705^k. His writings are chiefly theological: but he has likewise left in Latin verse a book of *ÆNIGMATA*, copied from a work of the same title under the name of Symposius^l, a poem de *VIRGINITATE* hereafter cited, and treatises on arithmetic, astrology, rhetoric, and metre. The last treatise is a proof that the ornaments of composition now began to be studied. Leland mentions his *CANTIONES SAXONICÆ*, one of which continued to be commonly sung in William of Malmesbury's time: and, as it was artfully interspersed with many allusions

^f W. Malmfb. ubi infr. p. 3.

^g Wiltsh. p. 116. But this Aldhelm affirms of himself in his treatise on Metre. See W. Malmfb. apud. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 4. seq.

^h Conringius, Script. Comment. p. 108. This poem was printed by Reineccius at Helmstadt many years ago, with a large commentary. Compare Voss. Hist. Lat. iii. 4.

ⁱ W. Malmfb. ut. supr. p. 4.

^k Cave, p. 466.

^l See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat. iv. p. 693. And Bibl. Lat. i. p. 681. And W. Malm. ubi supr. p. 7. Among the manuscripts of Exeter cathedral is a book of *ÆNIGMATA* in Saxon, some of which are written in Runic characters, 11. fol. 98.

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to passages of Scripture, was often sung by Aldhelm himself to the populace in the streets, with a design of alluring the ignorant and idle, by so specious a mode of instruction, to a sense of duty, and a knowledge of religious subjects *. Malmesbury observes, that Aldhelm might be justly deemed “ ex acumine Græcum, ex nitore Romanum, et ex pompa Anglum †.” It is evident, that Malmesbury, while he here characterises the Greeks by their acuteness, took his idea of them from their scientific literature, which was then only known. After the revival of the Greek philosophy by the Saracens, Aristotle and Euclid were familiar in Europe long before Homer and Pindar. The character of Aldhelm is thus drawn by an antient chronicler, “ He was “ an excellent harper, a most eloquent Saxon and Latin “ poet, a most expert chantor or singer, a DOCTOR EGREGIUS, “ and admirably versed in the scriptures and the liberal “ sciences ‡.”

* Malmesb. ubi supr. p. 4.

† Ubi supr. p. 4.

‡ Chron. Anon. Leland. Collectan. ii. 278. To be skilled in singing is often mentioned as an accomplishment of the antient Saxon ecclesiastics. Bede says, that Edda a monk of Canterbury, and a learned writer, was “ primus cantendi magister.” Hist. lib. iv. cap. 2. Wulfstan, a learned monk of Winchester, of the same age, was a celebrated singer, and even wrote a treatise de TONORUM HARMONIA, cited by William of Malmesbury, De Reg. lib. ii. c. 39. Lel. Script. Brit. p. 165. Their skill in playing on the harp is also frequently mentioned. Of saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 988, it is said, that among his sacred studies, he cultivated the arts of writing, harping, and painting. Vit. S. Dunstan. MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. FAUSTIN. B. 13. Hickes has engraved a figure of our Saviour drawn by saint Dunstan, with a specimen of his writing, both remaining in the Bodleian library. Gram. Saxon. p. 104. cap. xxii.

The writing and many of the pictures and illuminations in our Saxon manuscripts were executed by the priests. A book of the gospel, preserved in the Cotton library, is a fine specimen of the Saxon calligraphy and decorations. It is written by Eadfrid bishop of Durham, in the most exquisite manner. Ethelwold his successor did the illuminations, the capital letters, the picture of the cross, and the evangelists, with infinite labour and elegance: and Bilfrid, the anachorete covered the book, thus written and adorned, with gold and silver plates and precious stones. All this is related by Aldred, the Saxon glossator, at the end of St. John's gospel. The work was finished about the year 720. MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. NERO. D. 4. Cod. membr. fol. quadrat. Ælfsin, a monk, is the elegant scribe of many Saxon pieces chiefly historical and scriptural in the same library, and perhaps the painter of the figures, probably soon after the year 978. Ibid. TIRUS. D. 26. Cod. membr. 8vo. The Saxon copy of the four evangelists, which king Athelstan gave

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Alcuine, bishop Ecbert's librarian at York, was a cotemporary pupil with Aldhelm under Theodore and Adrian at Canterbury¹. During the present period, there seems to have been a close correspondence and intercourse between the French and Anglo-Saxons in matters of literature. Alcuine was invited from England into France, to superintend the studies of Charlemagne, whom he instructed in logic, rhetoric, and astronomy². He was also the master of Rabanus Maurus, who became afterwards the governor and preceptor of the great abbey of Fulda in Germany, one of

gave to Durham church, remains in the same library. It has the painted images of S. Cuthbert, radiated and crowned, blessing king Athelstan, and of the four evangelists. This is undoubtedly the work of the monks; but Wanley believed it to have been done in France. *Отно. В. 9. Cod. membran. fol.* At Trinity college in Cambridge is a Psalter in Latin and Saxon, admirably written, and illuminated with letters in gold, silver, miniated, &c. It is full of a variety of historical pictures. At the end is the figure of the writer Eadwin, supposed to be a monk of Canterbury, holding a pen of metal, undoubtedly used in such sort of writing; with an inscription importing his name, and excellence in the calligraphic art. It appears to be performed about the reign of king Stephen. *Cod. membr. fol. post Class. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5.* [among the *Single Codices.*] Eadwin was a famous and frequent writer of books for the library of Christ-church at Canterbury, as appears by a catalogue of their books taken A. D. 1315. In *Bibl. Cott. GALB. E 4.* The eight historical pictures richly illuminated with gold of the *Annunciation*, the *Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth*, &c. in a manuscript of the gospel, are also thought to be of the reign of king Stephen, yet perhaps from the same kind of artists. The Saxon clergy were ingenious artificers in many other respects. S. Dunstan above-mentioned, made two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands. *Monast. Anglic. tom. i. p. 104.*

John of Glastonbury, who wrote about the year 1400, relates, that there remained in the abbey at Glastonbury, in his time, crosses, incense-vessels, and vestments, made by Dunstan while a monk there. *cap. 161.* He adds, that Dunstan also handled, "sculpellum ut sculperet." It is said, that he could model any image in brass, iron, gold, or silver. *Ofb. Vit. S. Dunstan. apud Whart. ii. 94.* Ervene, one of the teachers of Wolstan bishop of Worcester, perhaps a monk of Bury, was famous for calligraphy, and skill in colours. To invite his pupils to read, he made use of a Psalter and Sacramentary, whose capital letters he had richly illuminated with gold. This was about the year 980. *Will. Malmesb. Vit. Wulfst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. p. 244.* William of Malmesbury says, that Elfric, a Saxon abbot of Malmesbury, was a skilful architect, *ædificandi gnarus.* *Vit. Aldhelm. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. p. 33.* Herman, one of the Norman bishops of Salisbury, about 1080, condescended to write, bind, and illuminate books, *Monast. Angl. tom. iii. p. 375.*

In some of these instances I have wandered below the Saxon times. It is indeed evident from various proofs which I could give, that the religious practised these arts long afterwards. But the object of this note was the existence of them among the the Saxon clergy,

¹ *Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed.*

² *Eginhart. Vit. Kar. Magn. p. 30. ed. 1565. 4to.*

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the most flourishing seminaries in Europe, founded by Charlemagne, and inhabited by two hundred and seventy monks *. Alcuine was likewise employed by Charlemagne to regulate the lectures and discipline of the universities †, which that prudent and magnificent potentate had newly constituted ‡. He is said to have joined to the Greek and Latin, an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, which perhaps in some degree was known sooner than we may suspect; for at Trinity college in Cambridge there is an Hebrew Psalter, with a Normanno-Gallic interlinear version of great antiquity §. Homilies, lives of saints, commentaries on the bible, with the usual systems of logic, astronomy, rhetoric, and grammar, compose the formidable catalogue of Alcuine's numerous writings. Yet in his books of the sciences, he sometimes ventured to break through the pedantic formalities of a systematical teacher: he has thrown one of

* Rabanus instructed them not only in the scriptures, but in profane literature. A great number of other scholars frequented these lectures. He was the first founder of a library in this monastery. Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 540. Sæc. Phot. His leisure hours being entirely taken up in reading or transcribing; he was accused by some of the idle monks of attending so much to his studies, that he neglected the public duties of his station, and the care of the revenues of the abbey. They therefore removed him, yet afterwards in vain attempted to recall him. Serrar. Rer. Mogunt. lib. iv. p. 625.

† John Mailros, a Scot, one of Bede's scholars, is said to have been employed by Charlemagne in founding the university of Pavia. Dempst. vii. 904.

‡ See Op. Alcuin. Paris. 1617. fol. Præfat. Andr. Quercetan. Mabillon says, that Alcuine pointed the homilies, and St. Austin's epistles, at the instance of Charlemagne. CARL. MAGN. R. Diplom. p. 12. a. Charlemagne was most fond of astronomy. He learned also arithmetic.

In his treasury he had three tables of silver, and a fourth of gold, of great weight and size. One of these, which was square, had a picture or representation of Constantinople: another, a round one, a map of Rome: a third, which was of the most exquisite workmanship, and greatest weight, consisting of three orbs, contained a map of the world. Eginhart, ubi sup. p. 29. 31. 41.

§ MSS. Cod. Coll. S. S. Trin. Cant. Class. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5. membran. 4to. Bede says, that he compiled part of his CHRONICON, EX HEBRAICA VERITATE, that is from S. Jerom's Latin translation of the bible; for he adds, "nos qui per beati interpretis Hieronymi *industriam* puro HEBRAICÆ VERITATIS fonte potamur," &c. And again, "Ex Hebraica veritate, quæ ad nos *per memoratam interpretem* pure pervenisse," &c. He mentions on this occasion the Greek Septuagint translation of the bible, but not as if he had ever seen or consulted it. Bed. CHRON. p. 34. edit. Cant. Op. Bed.

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his treatises in logic, and I think, another in grammar, into a dialogue between the author and Charlemagne. He first advised Bede to write his ecclesiastical history of England; and was greatly instrumental in furnishing materials for that early and authentic record of our antiquities^y.

In the mean time we must not form too magnificent ideas of these celebrated masters of science, who were thus invited into foreign countries to conduct the education of mighty monarchs, and to plan the rudiments of the most illustrious academies. Their merits are in great measure relative. Their circle of reading was contracted, their systems of philosophy jejune; and their lectures rather served to stop the growth of ignorance, than to produce any positive or important improvements in knowledge. They were unable to make excursions from their circumscribed paths of scientific instruction, into the spacious and fruitful regions of liberal and manly study. Those of their hearers, who had passed through the course of the sciences with applause, and aspired to higher acquisitions, were exhorted to read Cassiodorus and Boethius; whose writings they placed at the summit of profane literature, and which they believed to be the great boundaries of human erudition.

I have already mentioned Ceolfrid's presents of books to Benedict's library at Weremouth abbey. He wrote an account of his travels into France and Italy. But his principal work, and I believe the only one preserved, is his dissertation concerning the clerical tonsure, and the rites of celebrating Easter^z. This was written at the desire of Naiton, a Pictish king, who dispatched ambassadors to Ceolfrid for information concerning these important articles; requesting Ceolfrid at the same time to send him some skilful architects, who could build in his country a church of stone, after the

^y Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed. To king
Ceolwulphus, p. 37. 38. edit. Op. Cant.

^z Bed, Hist. Eccl. v. 22. And Concil.
Gen. vi. p. 1423.

fashion

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fashion of the Romans ^a. Ceolfrid died on a journey to Rome, and was buried in a monastery of Navarre, in the year 706 ^b.

But Bede, whose name is so nearly and necessarily connected with every part of the literature of this period, and which has therefore been often already mentioned, emphatically styled the Venerable by his cotemporaries, was by far the most learned of the Saxon writers. He was of the northern school, if it may be so called; and was educated in the monastery of saint Peter at Weremouth, under the care of the abbots Ceolfrid and Biscop ^c. Bale affirms, that Bede learned physics and mathematics from the purest sources, the original Greek and Roman writers on these subjects ^d. But this hasty assertion, in part at least, may justly be doubted. His knowledge, if we consider his age, was extensive and profound: and it is amazing, in so rude a period, and during a life of no considerable length, he should have made so successful a progress, and such rapid improvements, in scientific and philological studies, and have composed so many elaborate treatises on different subjects ^e. It is diverting to see the French critics censuring Bede for credulity: they might as well have accused him of superstition ^f. There is much

^a Bed. Hist. Eccl. ib. c. 21. iv. 18.

^b Bed. Hist. Abb. p. 300.

^c Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 24.

^d ii. 94.

^e "Libros septuaginta octo edidit, quos
"ad finem HISTORIÆ suæ ANGLICANÆ
"edidit. [See Op. edit. Cant. p. 222.
"223. lib. v. c. 24.] Hic succumbit
"ingenium, deficit eloquium, sufficienter
"admirari hominem a scholastico exercitio
"tam procul amotum, tam sobrio sermone
"tanta elaborasse volumina," &c. Chron.
Præf. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. ut
supr. f. 65. [Bever was a monk of West-
minster circ. A. D. 1400.] For a full and
exact list of Bede's works, the curious reader
is referred to Mabillon, Sæc. iii. p. i.
p. 539. Or Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. p.
242.

^f It is true, that Bede has introduced many miracles and visions into his history. Yet some of these are pleasing to the imagination: they are tinged with the gloom of the cloister, operating on the extravagancies of oriental invention. I will give an instance or two. A monk of Northumberland died, and was brought again to life. In this interval of death, a young man in shining apparel came and led him, without speaking, to a valley of infinite depth, length, and breadth: one side was formed by a prodigious sheet of fire, and the opposite side filled with hail and ice. Both sides were swarming with souls of departed men; who were for ever in search of rest, alternately shifting their situation to these extremes of heat and cold. The monk supposing this place to be hell, was told by his

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perspicuity and facility in his Latin style. But it is void of elegance, and often of purity; it shews with what grace and propriety he would have written, had his mind been formed on better models. Whoever looks for digestion of materials, disposition of parts, and accuracy of narration, in this writer's historical works, expects what could not exist at that time. He has recorded but few civil transactions: but besides that his history professedly considers ecclesiastical affairs, we should remember, that the building of a church, the preferment of an abbot, the canonisation of a martyr, and the importation into England of the shin-bone of an apostle, were necessarily matters of much more importance in Bede's conceptions than victories or revolutions. He is fond of minute description; but particularities are the fault and often the merit of early historians'. Bede wrote many

his guide that he was mistaken. The guide then led him, greatly terrified with this spectacle, to a more distant place, where he says, "I saw on a sudden a darkness come on, and every thing was obscured. When I entered this place I could discern no object, on account of the encreasing darkness, except the countenance and glittering garments of my conductor. As we went forward I beheld vast torrents of flame spouting upwards from the ground, as from a large well, and falling down into it again. As we came near it my guide suddenly vanished, and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrible vision. Deformed and uncouth spirits arose from this blazing chafin, and attempted to draw me in with fiery forks." But his guide here returned, and they all retired at his appearance. Heaven is then described with great strength of fancy. I have seen an old ballad, called the *Dead Man's Song*, on this story. And Milton's hell may perhaps be taken from this idea. Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 13. Our historian in the next chapter relates, that two most beautiful youths came to a person lying sick on his death-bed, and offered him a book to read, richly or-

namented, in which his good actions were recorded. Immediately after this, the house was surrounded and filled with an army of spirits of most horrible aspect. One of them, who by the gloom of his darksome countenance appeared to be their leader, produced a book, *codicem horrendæ visionis, et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis pæne importabilis*, and ordered some of his attendant demons to bring it to the sick man. In this were contained all his sins, &c. ib. cap. 14.

An ingenious author, who writes under the name of M. de Vigneul Marville, observes, that Bede, "when he speaks of the Magi who went to worship our Saviour, is very particular in the account of their names, age, and respective offerings. He says, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard; and that it was he who offered gold to Christ, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty. That Gaspar, the second of the magi, was young, and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincense, in recognition of our Lord's divinity: and that Balthasar the third, was of a dark complexion, had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our Sa-

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pieces of Latin poetry. The following verses from his *MEDITATIO DE DIE JUDICII*, a translation of which into Saxon verse is now preserved in the library of Bennet college at Cambridge^a, are at least well turned and harmonious.

Inter florigeras fœcundi cespitis herbas,
Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis^c.

Some of Aldhelm's verses are exactly in this cast, written on the Dedication of the abbey-church at Malmesbury to saint Peter and saint Paul.

Hic celebranda rudis^b floreat gloria templi,
Limpida quæ sacri celebrat vexilla triumphî.
Hic Petrus et Paulus, tenebrofî lumina mundi,
Præcipui patres populi qui frena gubernant,
Carminibus crebris alma celebrantur in aula.
Claviger o cæli, portam qui pandis in æthra,
Candida qui meritis recludis limina cæli,
Exaudi clemens populorum vota tuorum,
Marcida qui riguis humectant fletibus ora^d.

The strict and superabundant attention of these Latin poets to prosodic rules, on which it was become fashionable to write didactic systems, made them accurate to excess in the metrical conformation of their hexameters, and produced a faultless and flowing monotony. Bede died in the monastery of Weremouth, which he never had once quitted, in the year 735^e.

"viour's humanity." He is likewise very circumstantial in the description of their dresses. *Melanges d' l'Hist. et de Lit.* Paris, 1725. 12mo. tom. iii. p. 283, &c. What was more natural than this in such a writer and on such a subject? In the mean time it may be remarked, that this description of Bede, taken perhaps from constant tradition, is now to be seen in the

old pictures and popular representations of the *Wise Men's Offspring*.

^a Cod. MSS. lxxix. P. 161.

^b Malmfb. apud Whart. ut suprà. p. 8.

^c Recent. Newly built.

^d W. Malmfb. ut suprà. Apud Whart. p. 8.

^e Cave, ubi suprà. p. 473. Sæc. Eiconocl.

I have

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I have already observed, and from good authorities, that many of these Saxon scholars were skilled in Greek. Yet scarce any considerable monuments have descended to modern times, to prove their familiarity with that language. I will, however, mention such as have occurred to me. Archbishop Parker, or rather his learned scribe Jocelin, affirms, that the copy of Homer, and of some of the other books imported into England by archbishop Theodore, as I have above related, remained in his time ¹. There is however no allusion to Homer, nor any mention made of his name, in the writings of the Saxons now existing ². In the Bodleian library are some extracts from the books of the Prophets in Greek and Latin: the Latin is in Saxon, and the Greek in Latino-greek capital characters. A Latino-greek alphabet is prefixed. In the same manuscript is a chapter of Deuteronomy, Greek and Latin, but both are in Saxon characters ³. In the curious and very valuable library of Bennet college in Cambridge, is a very antient copy of Aldhelm DE LAUDE VIRGINITATIS. In it is inserted a specimen of Saxon poetry full of Latin and Greek words, and at the end of the manuscript some Runic letters occur ⁴. I suspect that their Grecian literature was a matter of ostentation rather than use. William of Malmesbury, in his life of Aldhelm, censures an affectation in the writers of this age; that they were fond of introducing in their Latin compositions a difficult and abstruse word latinised from the Greek^c. There are many instances of this pedantry in the early charters of Dugdale's Monasticon. But it is no where more visible than in the LIFE of Saint WILFRID, archbishop of Canterbury, written by Fridegode a monk of Canterbury, in Latin

¹ Antiquitat. Brit. p. 80.

² See SECT. iii. p. 124. *infr.* Where it is observed, that Homer is cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But he is not mentioned in Geoffrey's Armorican original.

³ NE. D. 19. MSS. membr. 8vo. fol. 24. 19.

⁴ Cod. MSS. K 12.

^c Ubi *supr.* p. 7-

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heroics, about the year 960 ^d. Malmesbury observes of this author's style, "*Latinitatem perofus, Græcitatem amat, Græcula verba frequentat*." Probably to be able to read Greek at this time was esteemed a knowledge of that language. Eginhart relates, that Charlemagne could speak Latin as fluently as his native Frankish: but slightly passes over his accomplishment in Greek, by artfully saying, that he understood it better than he could pronounce it ^e. Nor, by the way, was Charlemagne's boasted facility in the Latin so remarkable a prodigy. The Latin language was familiar to the Gauls when they were conquered by the Franks; for they were a province of the Roman empire till the year 485. It was the language of their religious offices, their laws, and public transactions. The Franks who conquered the Gauls at the period just mentioned, still continued this usage, imagining there was a superior dignity in the language of imperial Rome: although this incorporation of the Franks with the Gauls greatly corrupted the latinity of the latter, and had given it a strong tincture of barbarity before the reign of Charlemagne. But while we are bringing proofs which tend to extenuate the notion that Greek was now much known or cultivated, it must not be dissembled, that John Erigena, a native of Aire in Scotland, and one of king Alfred's first lecturers at Oxford ^f, translated into Latin from the Greek original four large treatises of Dionysius the Areopagite, about the year 860 ^h. This translation, which

^d Printed by Mabillon, Sæc. Benedictin. iii. p. 1. P. 169.

^e Gest. Pontific. i. f. 114.

^f Vit. Kar. Magn. p. 30.

^g Wood Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. i. 15.

^h This translation, with dedications in verse and prose to Charles the Bald, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. Mus. 148. And Hyper. Bodl. 148. p. 4. seq. See also Laud. I. 59. And in Saint

John's college Oxford, A. xi. 2. 3. William of Malmesbury says, that he wrote a book entitled, *PERIPHISMERISMUS*, (that is, *Περὶ φύσεως μερισμοῦ*) and adds, that in this piece "a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit." Vit. Aldhelm. p. 28. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. ii. It was printed at Oxford by Gale. Erigena, in one of the dedications above-mentioned, says, that he had translated into Latin ten of Dionysius's Epistles.

Hoveden

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is dedicated to Charles the Bald, abounds with Greek phraseology and is hardly intelligible to a mere Latin reader. He also translated into Latin the Scholia of saint Maximus on the difficult passages of Gregory Nazianzen ⁱ. He frequently visited his munificent patron Charles the Bald, and is said to have taken a long journey to Athens, and to have spent many years in studying not only the Greek but the Arabic and Chaldee languages ^k.

As to classic authors, it appears that not many of them were known or studied by our Saxon ancestors. Those with which they were most acquainted, either in prose or verse, seem to have been of the lower empire; writers who, in the declension of taste, had superseded the purer and more ancient Roman models, and had been therefore more recently and frequently transcribed. I have mentioned Alfred's translations of Boethius and Orosius. Prudentius was also perhaps one of their favorites. In the British Museum there is a manuscript copy of that poet's *PSYCOMACHIA*. It is illustrated with drawings of historical figures, each of which have an explanatory legend in Latin and Saxon letters; the Latin in large red characters, and the Saxon in black, of great antiquity ^l. Prudentius is likewise in Bennet college library at Cambridge, transcribed in the time of Charles the Bald, with several Saxon words written into the text ^m. Sedulius's hymns are in the same repository in Saxon characters, in a volume containing other Saxon manuscripts ⁿ. Bede says,

Hoveden and Matthew Paris have literally transcribed the words of Malmesbury just cited, and much more, *Hov. fol. 234.* And *M. Paris, p. 253.* It is doubtful whether the *VERSIO MORALIUM ARISTOTELIS* is from the Greek: it might be from the Arabic. Or whether our author's. See *Præfat. Op. nonnull. Oxon. edit. per Gale, cum Not. 1681. fol.*

ⁱ Printed at Oxford as above. Erigena died at Malmesbury, where he had opened

a school in the year 883. *Cave, Hist. Lit. Sæc. Phot. p. 548. 549.* William of Malmesbury says, that Erigena was one of the wits of Charles the Bald's table, and his constant companion. *Ubi supr. p. 27.*

^k *Spelm. Vit. Ælfred. Bale xiv. 32. Pittf. p. 168.*

^l *MSS. Cott. CLEOPATR. C. 8. membr. 8vo.*

^m *Miscellan. MSS. M. membran.*

ⁿ *MSS. S. 11. Cod. membran.*

that

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that Aldhelm wrote his book *DE VIRGINITATE*, which is both prose and verse, in imitation of the manner of Sedulius^o. We learn from Gregory of Tours, what is not foreign to our purpose to remark, that king Chilperic, who began to reign in 562, wrote two books of Latin verses in imitation of Sedulius. But it was without any idea of the common quantities^p. A manuscript of this poet in the British Museum is bound up with Nennius and Felix's *MIRACLES OF SAINT GUTHLAC*, dedicated to Alfwold king of the East Angles, and written both in Latin and Saxon^q. But these classics were most of them read as books of religion and morality. Yet Aldhelm, in his tract *de METRORUM GENERIBUS*, quotes two verses from the third book of Virgil's *Georgics*^r: and in the Bodleian library we find a manuscript of the first book of Ovid's *Art of Love*, in very antient Saxon characters, accompanied with a British gloss^s. And the venerable Bede, having first invoked the Trinity, thus begins a Latin panegyrical hymn on the miraculous virginity of Ethildryde. "Let Virgil sing of wars, I celebrate the gifts of peace. My verses are of chastity, not of the rape of the adulteress Helen. I will chant heavenly blessings, not the battles of miserable Troy^t." These however are rare instances. It was the most abominable heresy to have any concern with the pagan fictions. The graces of composition were not their objects, and elegance found no place amidst their severer pursuits in philosophy and theology.

^o Eccl. Hist. 19.

^p Gregor. Turonens. l. vi. c. 46.

^q MSS. Cotton. Vesp. D. xxi. 8vo.

^r W. Malmesb. Vit. Aldhelm. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. ii. 4.

^s NE D. 19. membr. 8vo. fol. 37.

^t Bed. Eccl. Hist. iv. 20.

^u Medicine was one of their favorite sciences, being a part of the Arabian learn-

ing. We have now remaining Saxon manuscript translations of Apuleius de *VIRIBUS HERBARUM*. They have also left a large system of medicine in Saxon, often cited by Somner in his *Lexicon*, under the title of *LIBER MEDICINALIS*. It appears by this tract, that they were well acquainted with the Latin physicians and naturalists, Marcellus, Scribonius Largus, Pliny,

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It is certain that literature was at its height among our Saxon ancestors about the eighth century. These happy beginnings were almost entirely owing to the attention of king Alfred, who encouraged learning by his own example, by founding seminaries of instruction, and by rewarding the labours of scholars. But the efforts of this pious monarch were soon blasted by the supineness of his successors, the incursions of the Danes, and the distraction of national affairs. Bede, from the establishment of learned bishops in every diocese, and the universal tranquillity which reigned over all the provinces of England, when he finished his ecclesiastical history, flatters his imagination in anticipating

Pliny, Cælius Aurelianus, Theodore, Priscus, &c. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. Cod. membr. . . . It is probable that this manuscript is of the age of king Alfred. Among Hatton's books in the Bodleian library, is a Saxon manuscript which has been entitled by Junius *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS*. It is pretended to be taken from Idpart, a fabulous king of Egypt. It is followed by two epistles in Latin of Evax king of the Arabians to Tiberius Cæsar, concerning the names and virtues of oriental precious stones used in medicine. Cod. Hatton. 100. membr. fol. It is believed to be a manuscript before the conquest. These ideas of a king of Egypt, and another of Arabia, and of the use of oriental precious stones in the medical art, evidently betray their origin. Apuleius's *HERBARIUM* occurs in the British Museum in Latin and Saxon, "quod accepit ab ESCULAPIO et a CHIRONE CENTAURO MAGISTRO ACHILLIS." Together with the *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS* abovementioned. MSS. Cot. VITEL. C. iii. Cod. membr. fol. iii. p. 19. iv. p. 75. It is remarkable that the Arabians attribute the invention of *SIMIA*, one of their magical sciences, to *KIRUN* or *CARUN*, that is Chiron the centaur, the master of Achilles. See Herbelot. Dict. Orient. Artic. *SIMIA*. p. 1005.

The Greeks reputed Chiron the inventor of medicine. His medical books are mentioned by many antient writers, particularly by Apuleius Celsus, *De Herbis*: and Kircher observes, that Chiron's treatise of *MULOMEDICINA* was familiar to the Arabians. Oedip. Egypt. tom. iii. p. 68. Lambeccius describes a very curious and antient manuscript of Dioscorides: among the beautiful illuminations with which it was enriched, was a square picture with a gold ground, on which were represented the seven antient physicians, Machaon, *CHIRON*, Niger, Herculides, Mantias, Xenocrates, and Pamphilus. P. Lambecc. de Bibl. Vindob. lib. ii. p. 525. seq. I have mentioned above, *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS*. A Greek poem or fragment called *MEDICINA EX PISCIBUS* has been attributed to Chiron. It was written by Marcellus Sidetas of Pamphylia, a physician under Marcus Antoninus, and is printed by Fabricius. Bibl. Gr. i. p. 16. seq. And see xiii. p. 317. The *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS* seems to be the treatise entitled, *MEDICINA EX ANIMALIBUS*, under the name of Sextus Platonius, and printed in Stephens's *MEDICÆ ARTIS PRINCIPES*, p. 684. This was a favorite medical system of the dark ages. See Fabric. *ibid.* xiii. 395. xii. 613.

the

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the most advantageous consequences, and triumphantly closes his narrative with this pleasing presentiment. The Picts, at this period, were at peace with the Saxons or English, and converted to christianity. The Scots lived contented within their own boundary. The Britons or Welsh, from a natural enmity, and a dislike to the catholic institution of keeping Easter, sometimes attempted to disturb the national repose; but they were in some measure subservient to the Saxons. Among the Northumbrians, both the nobility and private persons rather chose their children should receive the monastic tonsure, than be trained to arms *.

But a long night of confusion and gross ignorance succeeded. The principal productions of the most eminent monasteries for three centuries, were incredible legends which discovered no marks of invention, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of the scriptures. Many bishops and abbots began to consider learning as pernicious to true piety, and confounded illiberal ignorance with christian simplicity. Leland frequently laments the loss of libraries destroyed in the Danish invasions †. Some slight attempts were made for restoring literary pursuits, but with little success. In the tenth century, Oswald archbishop of Canterbury, finding the monasteries of his province extremely ignorant not only in the common elements of grammar, but even in the canonical rules of their respective orders, was obliged to send into France for competent masters, who might remedy these evils ‡. In the mean time, from perpetual commotions, the manners of the people had degenerated from that mildness which a short interval of peace and letters had introduced,

* Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 23.

† See Malmesb. *apud* Lel. *Coll.* i. p. 140. edit. nap.

‡ Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 201. Many evidences of the ignorance which prevailed

in other countries during the tenth century have been collected by Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital. Med. æv.* iii. 831. ii. 141. And Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* i. 288.

and

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and the national character had contracted an air of rudeness and ferocity.

England at length, in the beginning of the eleventh century, received from the Normans the rudiments of that cultivation which it has preserved to the present times. The Normans were a people who had acquired ideas of splendor and refinement from their residence in France; and the gallantries of their feudal system introduced new magnificence and elegance among our rough unpolished ancestors. The conqueror's army was composed of the flower of the Norman nobility; who sharing allotments of land in different parts of the new territory, diffused a general knowledge of various improvements entirely unknown in the most flourishing eras of the Saxon government, and gave a more liberal turn to the manners even of the provincial inhabitants. That they brought with them the arts, may yet be seen by the castles and churches which they built on a more extensive and stately plan ^a. Literature, in particular, the chief object of our present research, which had long been reduced to the most abject condition, appeared with new lustre in consequence of this important revolution.

Towards the close of the tenth century, an event took place, which gave a new and very fortunate turn to the state of letters in France and Italy. A little before that time, there were no schools in Europe but those which belonged to the monasteries or episcopal churches; and the monks were almost the only masters employed to educate the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But at the commencement of the eleventh century, many learned persons of the laity, as well as of the clergy, undertook in the

^a This point will be further illustrated in a work now preparing for the press, entitled, OBSERVATIONS CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, ON CASTLES, CHURCHES, MONASTERIES, and other MONUMENTS

OF ANTIQUITY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ENGLAND. To which will be prefixed, THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

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most capital cities of France and Italy this important charge. The Latin versions of the Greek philosophers from the Arabic, had now become so frequent and common, as to fall into the hands of the people; and many of these new preceptors having travelled into Spain with a design of studying in the Arabic schools^b, and comprehending in their course of institution, more numerous and useful branches of science than the monastic teachers were acquainted with, communicated their knowledge in a better method, and taught in a much more full, perspicuous, solid, and rational manner. These and other beneficial effects, arising from this practice of admitting others besides ecclesiastics to the profession of letters, and the education of youth, were imported into England by means of the Norman conquest.

The conqueror himself patronised and loved letters. He filled the bishopricks and abbacies of England with the most learned of his countrymen, who had been educated at the university of Paris, at that time the most flourishing school in Europe. He placed Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen, in the see of Canterbury; an eminent master of logic, the subtleties of which he employed with great dexterity in a famous controversy concerning the real presence. Anselm, an acute metaphysician and theologist, his immediate successor in the same see, was called from the government of the abbey of Bec in Normandy. Herman, a Norman bishop of Salisbury, founded a noble library in the ancient cathedral of that see^c. Many of the Norman prelates

^b This fashion continued for a long time. Among many who might here be mentioned was Daniel Merlac, an Englishman, who, in the year 1185, went to Toledo to learn mathematics, and brought back with him into England several books of the Arabian philosophy. Wood Antiq Univ. Oxon. i. p. 56. col. i.

^c "Nobilem bibliothecam, comparatis in hoc optimis juxta ac antiquissimis illustrum autorum monumentis, Severius po-

"suit." Leland. Script. Brit. p. 174. He died 1099. He was so fond of letters, that he did not disdain to bind and illuminate books. Mon. Angl. iii. p. 375. Vid. supr. The old church of Salisbury stood within the area of that noble ancient military work, called *Old-castle*. Leland says, that he finished the church which his predecessor Herman had begun, and filled its chapter with eminent scholars.

preferred

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preferred in England by the conqueror, were polite scholars. Godfrey, prior of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, a native of Cambray, was an elegant Latin epigrammatist, and wrote with the smartness and ease of Martial^d. A circumstance, which by the way shews that the literature of the monks at this period was of a more liberal cast than that which we commonly annex to their character and profession. Geoffrey, a learned Norman, was invited from the university of Paris to superintend the direction of the school of the abbey of Dunstable; where he composed a play called the Play of SAINT CATHARINE^e, which was acted by his scholars. This was perhaps the first spectacle of the kind that was ever attempted, and the first trace of theatrical representation which appeared, in England. Mathew Paris, who first records this anecdote, says, that Geoffrey borrowed copes from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of saint Alban's to dress his characters. He was afterwards elected abbot of that opulent monastery^f.

^d Camden has cited several of his epigrams. Remains, p. 421. edit. 1674. I have read all his pieces now remaining. The chief of them are, "PROVERBIA, "ET EPIGRAMMATA SATYRICA."--- "CARMINA HISTORICA, DE REGE CANUTO, REGINA EMMA," &c. Among these last, none of which were ever printed, is an eulogy on Walkelin bishop of Winchester, and a Norman, who built great part of his stately cathedral, as it now stands, and was bishop there during Godfrey's priorate, viz.

Consilium, virtutis amor, facundia comis,
WALCHELINE pater, fixa fuere tibi.
Corrector juvenum, senibus documenta ministrans,

Exemplo vitæ pastor utrosque regis.
Pes fueras claudis, cæcis imitabile lumen,
Portans invalidos, qui cecidere levans.
Divitiis dominus, facilis largitor earum,
Dum reficis multos, deficiis ipse tibi, &c.

Among the Epigrams, the following is not cited by Camden.

Pauca Titus pretiosa dabat, sed vilia plura:
Ut meliora habeam, pauca det, oro,
Titus.

These pieces are in the Bodleian library, MSS. Digb. 65. ut. 112. The whole collection is certainly worthy of publication. I do not mean merely as a curiosity. Leland mentions his epistles "familiari illo "et dulci stylo editæ." Script. Brit. p. 159. Godfrey died 1107. He was made prior of Winchester A. D. 1082. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. i. 324. He was interred in the old chapter-house, whose area now makes part of the dean's garden.

^e See *infr.* SECT. vi. p. 236.

^f Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639. See also. Bul. Hist. Acad. Paris. ii. 225.

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The king himself gave no small countenance to the clergy, in sending his son Henry Beauclerc to the abbey of Abingdon, where he was initiated in the sciences under the care of the abbot Grymbald, and Farice a physician of Oxford. Robert d'Oilly, constable of Oxford castle, was ordered to pay for the board of the young prince in the convent, which the king himself frequently visited*. Nor was William wanting in giving ample revenues to learning: he founded the magnificent abbies of Battel and Selby, with other smaller convents. His nobles and their successors co-operated with this liberal spirit in erecting many monasteries. Herbert de Losinga, a monk of Normandy, bishop of Thetford in Norfolk, instituted and endowed with large possessions a Benedictine abbey at Norwich, consisting of sixty monks. To mention no more instances, such great institutions of persons dedicated to religious and literary leisure, while they diffused an air of civility, and softened the manners of the people in their respective circles, must have afforded powerful invitations to studious pursuits, and have consequently added no small degree of stability to the interests of learning.

By these observations, and others which have occurred in the course of our enquiries, concerning the utility of monasteries, I certainly do not mean to defend the monastic system. We are apt to pass a general and undistinguishing censure on the monks, and to suppose their foundations to have been the retreats of illiterate indolence at every period of time. But it should be remembered, that our universities about the time of the Norman conquest, were in a low condition: while the monasteries contained ample endowments and accommodations, and were the only respectable seminaries of literature. A few centuries afterwards, as our universities began to flourish, in consequence of the distinctions and

* Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 46.

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honours which they conferred on scholars, the establishment of colleges, the introduction of new systems of science, the universal ardour which prevailed of breeding almost all persons to letters, and the abolition of that exclusive right of teaching which the ecclesiastics had so long claimed; the monasteries of course grew inattentive to studies, which were more strongly encouraged, more commodiously pursued, and more successfully cultivated, in other places: they gradually became contemptible and unfashionable as nurseries of learning, and their fraternities degenerated into sloth and ignorance. The most eminent scholars which England produced, both in philosophy and humanity, before and even below the twelfth century, were educated in our religious houses. The encouragement given in the English monasteries for transcribing books, the scarcity of which in the middle ages we have before remarked, was very considerable. In every great abbey there was an apartment called the *SCRIPTORIUM*: where many writers were constantly busied in transcribing not only the service-books for the choir, but books for the library ^a. The Scriptorium of Saint Alban's abbey was built by abbot Paulin, a Norman, who ordered many volumes to be written there, about the year 1080. Archbishop Lanfranc furnished the copies ⁱ. Estates were often granted for the support of the Scriptorium. That at Saintedmonsbury was endowed with two mills ^k. The tythes of a rectory were appropriated to the cathedral convent of saint Swithin at

^a This was also a practice in the monasteries abroad; in which the boys and novices were chiefly employed. But the missals and bibles were ordered to be written by monks of mature age and discretion. Du Fresne, Gloss. Lat. Med. V. *SCRIPTORIUM*. And Præfat. f. vi. edit. prim. See also Monast. Anglic. ii. 726. And references in the windows of the library of saint Alban's abbey. Ibid. 183. At the foundation of Winchester college,

one or more transcribers were hired and employed by the founder to *make books* for the library. They transcribed and took their commons within the college, as appears by computations of expences on their account now remaining.

ⁱ Mat. Paris, p. 103. See Leland. Script. Brit. p. 166.

^k Registr. Nigr. S. Edmund. Abbat. fol. 228.

Winchester.

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Winchester, *ad libros transcribendos*, in the year 1171^{*}. Many instances of this species of benefaction occur from the tenth century. Nigel, in the year 1160, gave the monks of Ely two churches, *ad libros faciendos*¹. This employment appears to have been diligently practised at Croyland; for Ingulphus relates, that when the library of that convent was burnt in the year 1091, seven hundred volumes were consumed². Fifty-eight volumes were transcribed at Glastonbury, during the government of one abbot, about the year 1300³. And in the library of this monastery, the richest in England, there were upwards of four hundred volumes in the year 1248⁴. More than eighty books were thus transcribed for saint Alban's abbey, by abbot Wethamstede, who died about 1446⁵. Some of these instances are rather below our period; but they illustrate the subject, and are properly connected with those of more antient date. I find some of the classics written in the English monasteries very early. Henry, a Benedictine monk of Hyde-abbey near Winchester, transcribed in the year 1178, Terence, Boethius⁶, Suetonius⁷, and Claudian. Of these he formed one book, illuminating the initials, and

^{*} Registr. Joh. Pontiffar. episcop. Wint. f. 164. MS.

See Mon. Angl. i. 131. Heming. Chartul. per Hearne, p. 265. Compare also Godwin. de Præful. p. 121. edit. 1616.

¹ Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 619. See also, p. 634, and 278. Hearne has published a grant from R. De Palton to Bromholm abbey in Norfolk, of 12*d.* per annum, a rent-charge on his lands, to keep their books in repair, *ad emendacionem librarium*. Ad. Domesham, Num. iii.

² Hist. Croyland. Dec. Script. p. 98.

³ Tanner, Not. Mon. edit. 8vo. Pref.

⁴ See Joann. Glaston. ut infr. And Leiland, Script. Brit. p. 131.

⁵ Weaver, Fun. Mon. p. 566.

⁶ It is observable, that Boethius in his metres constantly follows Seneca's tragedies. I believe there is not one form of

verse in Boethius but what is taken from Seneca.

⁷ Suetonius is frequently cited by the writers of the middle ages, particularly by Vincentius Bellovacensis. Specul. Hist. lib. x. c. 67. And Rabanus Maurus, Art. Gram. Op. tom. i. p. 46. Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, about the year 838, a learned philosophical writer, educated under Rabanus Maurus, desires abbot Marquard to send him Suetonius, *On the Cæsars*, "in duos nec magnos codices divisum." Epistol. Lup. Ferrarienf. xcix. Apud Andr. Du Chesne, Script. Rer. Franc. tom. ii. p. 726. Isidorus Hispalensis, a bishop of the seventh century, gives the origin of Poetry from Suetonius, Origin. viii. 7. Chaucer's tale of Nero in the MONK'S TALE, is taken from Suetonius, "as tellith us Suetonius." v. 491. p. 164. edit. Urr.

forming

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forming the brazen bosses of the covers with his own hands". But this abbot had more devotion than taste: for he exchanged this manuscript a few years afterwards for four missals, the Legend of saint Christopher, and saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, with the prior of the neighbouring cathedral convent". Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, author of the Latin chronicle of king Henry the second, amongst a great variety of scholastic and theological treatises, transcribed Seneca's epistles and tragedies ^x, Terence, Martial ^y, and Claudian, to which I will add GESTA ALEXANDRI ^z, about the year 1180 ^a. In a catalogue of the ^b books of the

^u "Suis manibus apices literarum artificiosius pinxit et illuminavit, necnon aereos umbones in tegminibus appinxit." MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin, Winton. Quatern. . . In archiv. Wulves. Many of the monks were skilful illuminators. They were also taught to bind books. In the year 1277, these constitutions were given to the Benedictine monasteries of the province of Canterbury. "Abbatēs monachos suos claustrales, loco operis manualis, secundum suam habilitatem ceteris occupationibus deputant: in studendo, libros scribendo, corrigendo, illuminando, ligando." Capit. Gen. Ord. Benedictin. Provinc. Cant. 1277. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8 p. 272. archiv. Oxon.

^w Ibid.

^x Nicholas Antonius says, that Nicholas Franeth, a Dominican, illustrated Seneca's tragedies with a gloss, soon after the year 1300. Bibl. Vet. Hispan. apud Fabric. Bibl. Lat. lib. ii. c. 9. He means Nicholas Trivet, an English Dominican, author of the ANNALS published by Hearne.

^y John of Salisbury calls Martial Cocus, Policrat. vi. 3. As do several writers of the middle ages. Martial is cited by Jerom of Padua, a Latin poet and physician, who flourished about the year 1300. See Christian. Daumii Not. ad Catonis Distich. p. 140. One of the two famous manuscripts of Terence in the Vatican, is said to have been written in the time, perhaps under the

encouragement, of Charlemagne; and to have been compared with the more antient copies by Calliopius Scholasticus. Fontanin. Vindic. Antiquit. Diplom. p. 37. *Scholasticus* means a master in the ecclesiastical schools. Engelbert, abbot of Tre-voux, a writer of the tenth century, mentions *Terentius Poeta*, but in such a manner as shews he had but little or no knowledge of him. He confounds this poet with Terentius the Roman senator, whom Scipio delivered from prison at Carthage, and brought to Rome. Bibl. Patr. tom. xxv. edit. Lugd. p. 370.

^z See SECT. iii. infr. p. 128.

^a Swaffham, Hist. Canob. Burg. ii. p. 97. per Jos. Sparke. "Epistolæ Senecæ cum aliis Senecis in uno volumine, Martialis totus et Terentius in uno volume," &c. Sub. Tit. *De Libris ejus*. He died in 1193. In the library of Peterborough abbey, at the dissolution, there were one thousand and seven hundred books in manuscript. Gunton's Peterb. p. 173.

^b See Chron. Joh. Glaston. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726. viz. *Numerus Librorum Glastoniensis ecclesiæ qui fuerunt de LIBRARIA anno graciæ, M.CC.XL.VII.* p. 423. Leland, who visited all the monasteries just before their dissolution, seems to have been struck with the venerable air and amplitude of this room. Script. Brit. p. 196. See what is said of the monastery libraries above.

library.

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library of Glastonbury we find Livy ^b, Sallust ^c, Seneca, Tully DE SENECTUTE and AMICITIA ^d, Virgil, Persius, and Claudian, in the year 1248. Among the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, is one of the twelve books of Statius's Thebaid, supposed to have been written in the tenth century, which once belonged to the cathedral convent of Rochester ^e. And another of Virgil's Eneid, written in the thirteenth, which came from the library of saint Austin's at Canterbury ^f. Wallingford, abbot of saint Alban's, gave or sold from the library of that monastery to Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, author of the PHILOBIBLON, and a great collector of books, Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, and Jerom against Rufinus, together with thirty-two other volumes valued at fifty pounds of silver ^g. The scarcity of

^b It is pretended, that Gregory the Great, in the year 580, ordered all the manuscripts of Livy to be burnt which could be found, as a writer who enforced the doctrine of prodigies. By the way, Livy himself often insinuates his disbelief of those superstitions. He studies to relate the most ridiculous portents; and he only meant, when it came in his way, to record the credulity of the people, not to propagate a belief of such absurdities. It was the superstition of the people, not of the historian. Antonio Beccatelli is said to have purchased of Poggius a beautiful manuscript of Livy, for which he gave the latter a large field, in the year 1455. Gallæf. De Bibliothecis, p. 186. See Liron, Singularites Hist. et Litt. tom. i. p. 166.

^c Fabricius mentions two manuscripts of Sallust, one written in the year 1178, and and the other in the year 900. Bibl. Lat. L. i. c. 9. Sallust is cited by a Byzantine writer, Joannes Antiochenus, of an early century. Excerpt. Peiresc. p. 393. Mr. Hume says, that Sallust's larger history is cited by Fitz Stephens, in his description of London. Hist. Engl. ii. 440. 4to. edit.

^d Paulus Jovius says, that Poggius, about the year 1420, first brought Tully's books *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia* into Italy, transcribed by himself from other manuscripts.

Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 550. About the same time BRUTUS *de Claris Oratoribus*, and some of the Rhetorical pieces, with a complete copy of *De Oratore*, were discovered and circulated by Flavius Blondus, and his friends. Flav. Blond. Ital. Illustrat. p. 346. Leland says, that William Selling, a monk of Canterbury, about 1480, brought with him from Italy Cicero's book *De Republica*, but that it was burnt with other manuscripts. Script. Brit. CELLINGUS.

^e 15 C. x. 1.

^f 15 B vi.

^g Vit. Abbat. S. Albani. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Claud. E. iv. In the royal manuscripts in John of Salisbury's ENTENTICUS, there is written, "Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon abbas S. Albani: quem postea vendit domino RICARDO DE BURY, episcopo Dunelmensi emit Michael abbas S. Albani ab executoribus predicti episcopi, A. D. 1345." MSS. 13 D. iv. 3. Richard de Bury, otherwise called Richard Aungerville, is said to have alone possessed more books than all the bishops of England together. Besides the fixed libraries which he had formed in his several palaces, the floor of his common apartment was so covered with books, that those who entered could not with due reverence approach his presence. Gul. Chambré

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parchment undoubtedly prevented the transcription of many other books in these societies. About the year 1120, one master Hugh, being appointed by the convent of Saint-edmundsbury in Suffolk to write and illuminate a grand copy of the bible for their library, could procure no parchment for this purpose in England ^h.

In consequence of the taste for letters and liberal studies introduced by the Normans, many of the monks became almost as good critics as catholics; and not only in France but in England, a great variety of Latin writers, who studied the elegancies of style, and the arts of classical composition, appeared soon after the Norman conquest. A view of the writers of this class who flourished in England for the two

bis, Contin. Hist. Dunelm. apud Whart. Angl. Sacr. i. 765. He kept binders, illuminators, and writers in his palaces. "Antiquariorum, scriptorum, correctorum, colligatorum, illuminatorum, &c." Philobibl. cap. viii. p. 34. edit. 1599. Petrarch says, that he had once a conversation with Aungerville, concerning the island called by the antients Thule, whom he calls *Virum ardentis ingenii*. Petrarch, Epist. i. 3. His book entitled *PHILOBIBLON*, or *De Amore librorum et institutione Bibliothecæ*, supposed to be really written by Robert Holcott a Dominican friar, was finished in his manor of Aulkland, A. D. 1343. He founded a library at Oxford: and it is remarkable, that in the book abovementioned, he apologises for admitting the poets into his collection. "*Quare non negleximus FABULAS POETARUM.*" Cap. xiii. p. 43. xviii. p. 57. xix. 58. But he is more complaisant to the prejudices of his age, where he says, that the laity are unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books. "*Laici omnium librorum communione sunt indigni.*" Cap. xvii. p. 55. He prefers books of the liberal arts to treatises in law. Cap. xi. p. 41. He laments that good literature had entirely ceased in the university of Paris. Cap. ix. p. 38. He admits *Panfletos exiguos* into his library. Cap. viii. 30. He employed *Stationarios*

and *Librarios*, not only in England, but in France, Italy, and Germany. Cap. x. p. 34. He regrets the total ignorance of the Greek language; but adds, that he has provided for the students of his library both Greek and Hebrew grammars. Ibid. p. 40. He calls Paris the *paradise of the world*, and says, that he purchased there a variety of invaluable volumes in all sciences, which yet were neglected and perishing. Cap. viii. p. 31. While chancellor and treasurer of England, instead of the usual presents and new-year's gifts appendant to his office, he chose to receive those perquisites in books. By the favour of Edward the third he gained access to the libraries of the most capital monasteries; where he shook off the dust from volumes preserved in chests and presses which had not been opened for many ages. Ibid. 29, 30.

^h Monast. Angl. i. p. 200. In the great revenue-roll of one year of John Gerveys, bishop of Winchester, I find expended "in *parcheamento empto ad rotulos, vs.*" This was a considerable sum for such a commodity in the year 1266. But as the quantity or number of the rolls is not specified, no precise conclusion can be drawn. Comp. MS. membran. in archiv. Wulves. Winton. Compare Anderson, Comm. i. 153. sub ann. 1313.

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subsequent centuries, till the restless spirit of novelty brought on an attention to other studies, necessarily follows from what has been advanced, and naturally forms the conclusion of our present investigation.

Soon after the accession of the conqueror, John commonly called Joannes Grammaticus, having studied polite literature at Paris, which not only from the Norman connection, but from the credit of its professors, became the fashionable university of our countrymen, was employed in educating the sons of the Norman and English nobilityⁱ. He wrote an explanation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*^k, and a treatise on the art of metre or versification^l. Among the manuscripts of the library of New College in Oxford, I have seen a book of Latin poetry, and many pieces in Greek, attributed to this writer^m. He flourished about the year 1070. In the reign of Henry the first, Laurence, prior of the church of Durham, wrote nine books of Latin elegies. But Leland, who had read all his works, prefers his compositions in oratory; and adds, that for an improvement in rhetoric and eloquence, he frequently exercised his talents in framing Latin defences on dubious cases which occurred among his friends. He likewise, amongst a variety of other elaborate pieces on saints, confessors, and holy virgins, in which he humoured the times and his profession, composed a critical treatise on the method of writing Epistles, which appears to have been a favourite

ⁱ See Bale, iv. 40.

^k *Integumenta super Ovidii Metamorphoses*. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. sup. A 1. Art. 86. Where it is given to Johannes Guallensis, a Franciscan friar of Oxford, and afterwards a student at Paris. It is also MSS. Digb. 104. fol. 323. The same piece is extant under the name of this latter John, entitled, *Explicationes sive moralitates in Lib. 1. Metamorphosin sive Fabularum, &c.* Printed at Paris 1599. But this Johannes Guallensis seem to have been chiefly a philosopher and theologist. He flourished about A. D.

1250. Alexander Necham wrote in *Metamorphosin Ovidii*. Tann. Bibl. p. 540.

^l Another title of this piece is, *Poetria magna Johannis Anglici, &c.* Cantabr. MSS. More, 121. It is both in prose and verse. He begins with this panegyric on the university of Paris. "Parisiensium jubar diffundit gloria clerus." He likewise wrote *Compendium Grammatices*.

^m MSS. Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 236. 237. But these are said to belong to Joannes Philoponus. See Phot. Bibl. Cod. lxxv. Cave, p. 441. edit. 1.

subject.

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subjectⁿ. He died in 1154^o. About the same time Robert Dunstable, a monk of Saint Alban's, wrote an elegant Latin poem in elegiac verse, containing two booksⁿ, on the life of saint Alban^q. The first book is opened thus :

Albani celebrem cælo terrisque triumphum
Ruminat inculto carmine Clio rudis.

We are not to expect Leonine rhymes in these writers, which became fashionable some years afterwards^r. Their

ⁿ See what is said of John Hanvill below.

^o *Lel. Script. Brit.* p. 204. 205.

^p It is a long poem, containing thirteen hundred and sixty lines.

^q In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. JUL. D. iii. 2. CLAUD. E. 4. There are more of his Latin poems on sacred subjects in the British Museum. But most of them are of an inferior composition, and, as I suppose, of another hand.

^r Leonine verses are said to have been invented and first used by a French monk of Saint Victor at Marfeilles, named Leoninus, or Leonine, about the year 1135. Pasquier, *Recherch. de la France*, vii. 2. p. 596. 3. p. 600. It is however certain, that rhymed Latin verses were in use much earlier. I have before observed, that the *Schola Salernitana* was published 1100. See Massieu, *Hist. Fr. Poet.* p. 77. Fauchett, *Rec.* p. 52. 76. seq. And I have seen a Latin poem of four hundred lines, "Moyfis Mutii Bergomatis de rebus Bergomiensibus, Justiniani hujus nominis secundi Byzantii Imperatoris jussu conscriptum, anno a salute nostra 707." The author was the emperor's scribe or secretary. It begins thus :

Alme Deus, rector qui mundi regna gubernas;
Nec finis absque modo sedes fluitare supernas.

It is at the end of "Achillis Mutii theatrum. Bergomi, typis. Comini Venturac, 1596." Pelloutier has given a very early specimen of Latin Rhymes. *Mem. sur la Lang. Celt.*

part i. vol. i. ch. xii. p. 20. He quotes the writer of the life of S. Faron, who relates, that Clotarius the second, having conquered the Saxons in the beginning of the seventh century, commanded a Latin panegyric song to be composed on that occasion, which was sung all over France. It is somewhat in the measure of their vernacular poetry, at that time made to be sung to the harp, and begins with this stanza.

De Clotario est canere rege Francorum
Qui ivit pugnare cum gente Saxonum
Quam graviter provenisset missis Saxo nuna
Si non fuisset inclitus Faro de gente Burgundionum.

Latin rhymes seem to have been first used in the church-hymns. But Leonine verses are properly the Roman hexameters or pentameters rhymed. And it is not improbable that they took their name from the monk abovementioned, who was the most popular and almost only Latin poet of his time in France. He wrote many Latin pieces not in rhyme, and in a good style of Latin versification. Particularly a Latin heroic poem in twelve books, containing the history of the bible from the creation of the world to the story of Ruth. Also some elegies, which have a tolerable degree of classic purity. Some suppose, that pope Leo the second, about the year 680, a great reformer of the chants and hymns of the church, invented this sort of verse.

It is remarkable, that Bede who lived in the eighth century, in his book *DE ARTE METRICA*, does not seem to have known

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verses are of a higher cast, and have a classical turn. The following line, which begins the second book, is remarkably flowing and harmonious, and much in the manner of Claudian.

Pieridum studiis clauſtri laxare rigorem.

Smoothness of versification was an excellence which, like their Saxon predecessors, they studied to a fault. Henry of Huntingdon, commonly known and celebrated as an historian, was likewise a terse and polite Latin poet of this period. He was educated under Alcuine of Anjou, a canon of Lincoln cathedral. His principal patrons were Aldwin and Reginald, both Normans, and abbots of Ramsey. His turn for poetry did not hinder his arriving to the dignity of an archdeacon. Leland mentions eight books of his epigrams, amatorial verses¹, and poems on philosophical subjects². The proem to his book *DE HERBIS*, has this elegant invocation.

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor,
Vosque, quibus resonant Tempè jocosa, deæ !
Si mihi ferta prius hedera florente parastis,
Ecce meos flores, ferta parate, fero.

that rhyme was a common ornament of the church hymns of his time, many of which he quotes. See *Opp.* tom. i. 34. cap. penult. But this chapter, I think, is all taken from Marius Victorinus, a much older writer. The hymns which Bede quotes are extremely barbarous, consisting of a modulated structure, or a certain number of feet without quantity; like the odes of the minstrels or scalds of that age. “ Ut sunt,” he says, *carmina VULGARIIUM POETARUM.*” In the mean time we must not forget, that the early French troubadours mention a sort of rhyme in their vernacular

poetry partly distinguished from the common species, which they call Leonine or Leonime. Thus Gualtier Arbalestrier de Belle-perche, in the beginning of his romance of Judas Maccabeus, written before the year 1280.

Je ne di pas k' aucun biau dit
Ni mette par faire la ryme
Ou consonante ou leonime.

But enough has been said on a subject of so little importance.

¹ See Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 29.

² *Lel. Script. Brit.* p. 197.

But

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But Leland appears to have been most pleased with Henry's poetical epistle to Elfleda, the daughter of Alfred ^u. In the Bodleian library, is a manuscript Latin poem of this writer, on the death of king Stephen, and the arrival of Henry the second in England, which is by no means contemptible ^v. He occurs as a witness to the charter of the monastery of Sautree in the year 1147 ^x. Geoffrey of Monmouth was bishop of Saint Asaph in the year 1152 ^y. He was indefatigable in his enquiries after British antiquity; and was patronised and assisted in this pursuit by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a diligent antiquarian, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln ^z. His credulity as an historian has been deservedly censured: but fabulous histories were then the fashion, and he well knew the recommendation his work would receive from comprehending all the popular traditions ². His latinity rises far above mediocrity, and his Latin poem on Merlin is much applauded by Leland ³.

We must not judge of the general state of society by the more ingenious and dignified churchmen of this period; who seem to have surpassed by the most disproportionate degrees in point of knowledge, all other members of the community. Thomas of Becket, who belongs to the twelfth century, and his friends, in their epistles, distinguish each other by the appellation of philosophers, in the course of their correspondence ^b. By the present diffusion of literature, even those who are illiterate are yet so intelligent as to stand more on a level with men of professed science and knowledge; but the learned ecclesiastics of those times, as is evident

^u Ut supr.

^w MSS. Digb. 65. fol. 27. His writings are numerous, and of various kinds. In Trinity college library at Oxford there is a fine copy of his book *De imagine Mundi*. MSS. Cod. 64. pergam. This is a very common manuscript.

^x Wharton, Ang. Sacr. ii. 872.

^y Wharton, Eccles. Assav. p. 306.

^z Leland, Script. Brit. p. 190.

² See SECT. iii. infr. p. 124.

^b In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. Tit. A. xix. VESPAS. E. iv.

^c See Quadrilog. Vit. T. Becket, Bruxell. 1682. 4to. And Concil. Mag: Brit. et Hib. tom. i. p. 447. Many of these epistles are still in manuscript.

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from many passages in their writings, appear, and not without reason, to have considered the rest of the world as totally immersed in ignorance and barbarity. A most distinguished ornament of this age was John of Salisbury^b. His style has a remarkable elegance and energy. His *POLICRATICON* is an extremely pleasant miscellany; replete with erudition, and a judgment of men and things, which properly belongs to a more sensible and reflecting period. His familiar acquaintance with the classics, appears not only from the happy facility of his language, but from the many citations of the purest Roman authors, with which his works are perpetually interspersed. Montfaucon asserts, that some parts of the supplement to Petronius, published as a genuine and valuable discovery a few years ago, but since supposed to be spurious, are quoted in the *POLICRATICON*^c. He was an illustrious rival of Peter of Blois, and the friend of many learned foreigners^d. I have not seen any specimens of his Latin poetry^e; but an able judge has pronounced, that nothing can be more easy, finished, and flowing than his verses^f. He was promoted to high stations in the church by Henry the second, whose court was crowded with scholars, and almost equalled that of his cotemporary William king of Sicily, in the splendor which it derived from encouraging erudition, and assembling the learned of various countries^g. Eadmer was a monk of Canterbury, and endeared

^b “ Studuit in Italia omnium bonarum
“ artium facile post Græciam parente.”
Leland. Script. Brit. p. 207. But he like-
wise spent some time at Oxford. *Policrat.*
viii. 22.

^c Bibl. MSS. There is an allusion to
the *Policraticon* in the *ROMAN DE LA ROSE*.
Et verras en *POLICRATIQUE*.

v. 7056.

^d Lel. *ibid*.

^e Except the fable of the belly and
members in long and short. *Fabric. Med.*
Æv. iv. p. 877.

^f Lel. *ut sup.* p. 207.

^g See Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 210. Henry
the second sent Gualterus, styled *ANGLI-*
cus, his chaplain, into Sicily, to instruct
William king of Sicily in literature. Wil-
liam was so pleased with his master, that
he made him archbishop of Palermo. Bale,
xiii. 73. He died in 1177. Peter of Blois
was Gualter's coadjutor; and he tells us,
that he taught William the rudiments “*ver-*
“*ificatoris artis et literaturæ.*” *Epist.*
Petr. Blesens. ad Gualt. Pitts mentions a
piece of Gualterus *De lingua Latinæ rudi-*
mentis, p. 141. There is a William of
Blois, cotemporary with Peter and his bro-
ther,

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by the brilliancy of his genius, and the variety of his literature, to Anselm, archbishop of that see^a. He was an elegant writer of history, but exceeded in the artifices of composition, and the choice of matter, by his cotemporary William of Malmesbury. The latter was a monk of Malmesbury, and it reflects no small honour on his fraternity that they elected him their librarian¹. His merits as an historian have been justly displayed and recommended by lord Lyttelton². But his abilities were not confined to prose. He wrote many pieces of Latin poetry; and it is remarkable, that almost all the professed writers in prose of this age made experiments in verse. His patron was Robert earl of Gloucester; who, amidst the violent civil commotions which disquieted the reign of king Stephen, found leisure and opportunity to protect and promote literary merit³. Till Malmesbury's works appeared, Bede had been the chief and principal writer of English history. But a general spirit of writing history, owing to that curiosity which more polished manners introduce, to an acquaintance with the antient historians, and to the improved knowledge of a language in which facts could be recorded with grace and dignity, was now prevailing. Besides those I have mentioned, Simeon of Durham, Roger Hoveden, and Benedict abbot of Peterborough, are historians whose narratives have a liberal cast, and whose

ther, whom I mention here, as he appears to have written what were called *Comædiæ et Tragædiæ*, and to have been preferred to an abbacy in Sicily. [See SECT. vi. inf. p. 234.] Peter mentions this William in his epistles, " Illud nobile ingenium fratris mei magistri Gulielmi, quandoque in scribendis Comædiis et Tragædiis quadam occupatione servili degenerans, &c." Epist. lxxvi. And again to the said William, " Nomen vestrum diuturniore memoria quam quatuor abbatiæ commendabile reddent Tragædia vestra de FLAURA et MARCO, versus de PULICE ET

" MUSCA, Comædia vestra DE ALDA, &c." Epist. xciii.

^a Leland, Script. Brit. p. 178. There is a poem DE LAUDIBUS ANSELMI, and an epicedion on that prelate, commonly ascribed to Eadmer. See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat. ii. p. 210. seq. Leland doubts whether these pieces belong to him or to William of Chester, a learned monk, patronised by Anselm. Script. Brit. p. 175.

¹ Lel. p. 195. But see Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. Præf. p. xii.

² In his History of Henry the second.

³ See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 661.

details

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details rise far above the dull uninteresting precision of patient annalists and regular chronologers. John Hanvill, a monk of Saint Alban's, about the year 1190, studied rhetoric at Paris, and was distinguished for his taste even among the numerous and polite scholars of that flourishing seminary^m. His *ARCHITRENIUS* is a learned, ingenious, and very entertaining performance. It is a long Latin poem in nine books, dedicated to Walter bishop of Rouen. The design of the work may be partly conjectured from its affected Greek title: but it is, on the whole, a mixture of satire and panegyric on public vice and virtue, with some historical digressions. In the exordium is the following nervous and spirited address.

Tu Cyrrhæ latices nostræ, deus, implue menti;
Eloquii rorem ficcis infunde labellis:
Distillaque favos, quos nondum pallidus auro
Scit Tagus, aut sitiens admotis Tantalus undis:
Dirige quæ timide suscepit dextera, dextram
Audacem pavidamque juva: Tu mentis habenas
Fervoremque rege, &c.

In the fifth book the poet has the following allusions to the fables of Corineus, Brutus, king Arthur, and the population of Britain from Troy. He seems to have copied these traditions from Geoffrey of Monmouthⁿ.

----- Tamen Architrenius instat,
Et genus et gentem quærit studiosius: illi
Tros genus, et gentem tribuit Lodonesia, nutrix
Præbuit irriguam morum Cornubia mammam,
Post odium fati, Phrygiis inventa: Smaraudus
Hanc domitor mundi Tyrinthius, alter Achilles,

^m Icl. p. 259.

ⁿ See Hist. Galfrid. Mon. i. xi. xvi. xvii. &c.

Atridæque

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Atridæque timor Corinæus, ferra gygantum,
 Clavaque monstrifera, fociaë delegit alumnam
 Omnigenam Trojæ, pluvioque fluviflua lacte
 Filius exilio fessæ dedit ubera matri.
 A quo dicta prius Corineia, dicitur aucto
 Tempore corrupte Cornubia nominis hæres.
 Ille gygantæos attritis ossibus artus
 Implicuit letho, Tyrrheni littoris hospes,
 Indomita virtute gygas; non corpore mole
 Ad medium pressa, nec membris densior æquo,
 Sarcina terrifica tæmuit Titania mente.
 Ad Ligeris ripas Aquitanos fudit, et amnes
 Francorum potuit lacrymis, et cæde vadoque
 Sanguinis ense ruens, fatiavit rura, togaque
 Punicea vestivit agros, populique verendi
 Grandiloquos fregit animosa cuspide fastus.
 Integra, nec dubio bellorum naufraga fluctu,
 Nec vice suspecta titubanti faucia fato,
 Indilata dedit subitam victoria laurum.
 Inde dato cursu, Bruto comitatus Achate,
 Gallorum spolio cumulatus, navibus æquor
 Exarat, et superis auraque faventibus utens,
 Litora felices intrat Tolonesia portus:
 Promissumque soli gremium monstrante Diana,
 Incolumi census loculum ferit Albion alno.
 Hæc eadem Bruto regnante Britannia nomen
 Traxit in hoc tempus: solis Titanibus illa,
 Sed paucis, habitata domus; quibus uda ferarum
 Terga dabant vestes, cruor haustus pocula, trunci
 Antra lares, dumeta toros, cænacula rupes,
 Præda cibos, raptus venerem, spectacula cædes,
 Imperium vires, animum furor, impetus arma,
 Mortem pugna, sepulchra rubus: monstrisque gemebat
 Monticolis tellus: sed eorum plurima tractus

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Pars erat occidui terror ; majorque premebat
 Te furor extremum zephyri, Cornubia, limen.
 Hos avidum belli Corinæi robur Averno
 Præcipites misit ; cubitis ter quatuor altum
 Gogmagog Herculeæ suspendit in aere lucta,
 Anthæumque suum scopulo demisit in æquor :
 Potavitque dato Thetis ebria sanguine fluctus,
 Divisumque tulit mare corpus, Cerberus umbram.
 Nobilis a Phrygiæ tanto Cornubia gentem
 Sanguine derivat, successio cujus Iulus
 In generis partem recipit complexa Pelasgam
 Anchisæque domum : ramos hinc Pandrasus, inde
 Sylvius extendit, focioque a fidere fidus
 Plenius effundit triplicatæ lampadis ignes.
 Hoc trifido sola Corinæi postera mundum
 Præradiat pubes, quartique puerpera Phœbi
 Pullulat Arthurum, facie dum falsus adulter
 Tintagel irrumpit, nec amoris Pendragon æstu
 Vincit, et omnificas Merlini consulit artes,
 Mentiturque ducis habitus, et rege latente
 Induit absentis præsentia Gorlois ora °.

There is a false glare of expression, and no great justness of sentiment, in these verses ; but they are animated, and flow in a strain of poetry. They are pompous and sonorous ; but these faults have been reckoned beauties even in polished ages. In the same book our author thus characterises the different merits of the satires of Horace and Persius.

° Milton appears to have been much struck with this part of the antient British History, and to have designed it for the subject of an epic poem. *EPITAPH. DAMONIS*, v. 162.

Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora
 puppæ
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Ino-
 geniæ,

Brennumque Arviragumque duces, prif-
 cumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege
 colonos :

Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Io-
 gernen,
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus. —

See also Milton's *MANSUS*, v. 80.

Persius

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Perfius in Flacci pelago decurrit, et audet
Mendicasse stylum satyræ, ferraque cruentus
Rodit, et ignorat polientem pectora limam ^p.

In the third book he describes the happy parsimony of the Cistercian monks.

O sancta, o felix, albis galeata cucullis,
Libera paupertas ! Nudo jejunia pastu
Tracta diu solvens, nec corruptura palatum
Mollitie mensæ. Bacchus convivia nullo
Murmure conturbat, nec sacra cubilia mentis
Inquinat adventu. Stomacho languente ministrat
Solennes epulas ventris gravis hospita Thetis,
Et paleis armata Ceres. Si tertia mensæ
Copia succedat, truncantur oluscula, quorum
Offendit macies oculos, pacemque meretur,
Deterretque famem pallenti sobria cultu ^q.

Among Digby's manuscripts in the Bodleian library, are Hanvill's Latin epigrams, epistles, and smaller poems, many of which have considerable merit ^r. They are followed by a metrical tract, entitled *DE EPISTOLARUM COMPOSITIONE*. But this piece is written in rhyme, and seems to be posterior to the age, at least inferior to the genius, of Hanvill. He

^p Juvenal is also cited by John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Vincentius Bellocensis, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the middle ages. They often call him *ETHICUS*. See particularly Petr. Blef. Epist. lxxvii. Some lines from Juvenal are cited by Honorius Augustodunus, a priest of Burgundy, who wrote about 1300, in his *De Philosophia Mundi*, Præfat. ad lib. iv. The tenth satire of Juvenal is quoted by Chaucer in *TROILUS* and *CRESSEIDE*, b. iv. v. 197. pag. 307. edit. Urr. There is an old Italian metaphrase of Juvenal done in 1475, and published soon afterwards, by Georgio Summaripa, of Verona. Giornale

de Letterati d'Italia, tom. viii. p. 41. Juvenal was printed at Rome as early as 1474.

^q There are two manuscripts of this poem, from which I transcribe, in the Bodleian library. MSS. Digb. 64. and 157. One of these has a gloss, but not that of Hugo Legatus, mentioned by Baillet. Jugem. Sav. iv. p. 257. edit. 4to. This poem is said to have been printed at Paris 1517. 4to. Bibl. Thuan. tom. ii. p. 286. This edition I have never seen, and believe it to be an extremely scarce book.

^r Cod. Digb. 64. ut supr.

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was buried in the abbey church of faint Alban's, soon after the year 1200^{*}. Gyraldus Cambrensis deserves particular regard for the universality of his works, many of which are written with some degree of elegance. He abounds with quotations of the best Latin poets. He was an historian, an antiquary, a topographer, a divine, a philosopher, and a poet. His love of science was so great, that he refused two bishopricks; and from the midst of public business, with which his political talents gave him a considerable connection in the court of Richard the first, he retired to Lincoln for seven years, with a design of pursuing theological studies[†]. He recited his book on the topography of Ireland in public at Oxford, for three days successively. On the first day of this recital he entertained all the poor of the city; on the second, all the doctors in the several faculties, and scholars of better note; and on the third, the whole body of students, with the citizens and soldiers of the garrison[‡]. It is probable that this was a ceremony practised on the like occasion in the university of Paris[§]; where Giral-

^{*} Bale. iii. 49.

[†] Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 374.

[‡] Wood. Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 56.

[§] But Wood insinuates, that this sumptuous entertainment was partly given by Gyraldus, as an inceptor in the arts. Ubi sup. p. 25. col. 1. Which practice I have mentioned, SECT. ix. p. 290. infr. And I will here add other instances, especially as they are proofs of the estimation in which letters, at least literary honours, were held. In the year 1268, the inceptors in civil law at Oxford were so numerous, and attended by such a number of guests, that the academical houses or hostels were not sufficient for their accommodation: and the company filled not only these, but even the refectory, cloisters, and many apartments of Osney abbey, near the suburbs of Oxford. At which time many Italians studying at Oxford were admitted in that faculty. Wood, ubi sup. p. 25.

col. 1. It appears that the mayor and citizens of Oxford were constantly invited to these solemnities. In the year 1400, two monks of the priory of Christ Church in Canterbury were severally admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity and civil law at Oxford. The expences were paid by their monastery, and amounted to 118 l. 3 s. 8 d. Regulr. Priorat. pergamen. MSS. Tanner, Oxon. Num. 165. fol. 212. a. Among other articles there is, "In solutione facta HISTRIONIBUS." fol. 213. a. [See SECT. ii. p. 91. infr.] At length these scholastic banquets grew to such excess, that it was ordered in the year 1434, that no inceptor in arts should expend more than "3000 grossos Turonensies." Vet. Stat. See Leland, Coll. P. ii. tom. i. p. 296, 297. edit. 1770. But the limitation was a considerable sum. Each is somewhat less than an English groat. Notwithstanding, Neville, afterwards archbishop of York, on his admission to the degree

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dus had studied for twenty years, and where he had been elected professor of canon law in the year 1189^{*}. His account of Wales was written in consequence of the observations he made on that country, then almost unknown to the English, during his attendance on an archiepiscopal visitation. I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing from this book his picture of the romantic situation of the abbey of Lantony in Monmouthshire. I will give it in English, as my meaning is merely to shew how great a master the author was of that selection of circumstances which forms an agreeable description, and which could only flow from a cultivated mind.

“ In the deep vale of Ewias, which is about a bowshot over,
 “ and enclosed on all sides with high mountains, stands the
 “ abbey church of saint John, a structure covered with lead,
 “ and not unhandsomely built for so lonesome a situation:
 “ on the very spot, where formerly stood a small chapel
 “ dedicated to saint David, which had no other ornaments
 “ than green moss and ivy. It is a situation fit for the exer-
 “ cise of religion; and a religious edifice was first founded
 “ in this sequestered retreat to the honour of a solitary life,
 “ by two hermits, remote from the noise of the world, upon
 “ the banks of the river Hondy, which winds through the
 “ midst of the valley.----The rains which mountainous
 “ countries usually produce, are here very frequent, the
 “ winds exceedingly tempestuous, and the winters almost

degree of master of arts in 1452, feasted the academics and many strangers for two successive days, at two entertainments, consisting of nine hundred costly dishes. Wood. *ibid.* 219. col. 1. 2. Nor was this reverence to learning, and attention to its institutions, confined to the circle of our universities. Such was the pedantry of the times, that in the year 1503, archbishop Wareham, chancellor of Oxford, at his feast of inthronisation, ordered to be introduced in the first course a curious dish, in which were exhibited the eight towers of the university. In every tower stood a

bedell; and under the towers were figures of the king, to whom the chancellor Wareham, encircled with many doctors properly habited, presented four Latin verses, which were answered by his majesty. The eight towers were those of Merton, Magdalene, and New College, and of the monasteries of Osney, Rewley, the Dominican, Augustine, and Franciscan friars, which five last are now utterly destroyed. Wood, *ubi supr.* lib. i. p. 239. col. 1. Compare Robinson's Charles V. i. 323. seq.

^{*} Wharton, *ibid.*

“ continually

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“ continually dark. Yet the air of the valley is so happily
 “ tempered, as scarcely to be the cause of any diseases. The
 “ monks sitting in the cloisters of the abbey, when they
 “ chuse for a momentary refreshment to cast their eyes
 “ abroad, have on every side a pleasing prospect of moun-
 “ tains ascending to an immense height, with numerous
 “ herds of wild deer feeding aloft on the highest extremity
 “ of this lofty horizon. The body of the sun is not visible
 “ above the hills till after the meridian hour, even when
 “ the air is most clear.” Giraldus adds, that Roger bishop
 of Salisbury, prime minister to Henry the first, having
 visited this place, on his return to court told the king, that
 all the treasure of his majesty’s kingdom would not suffice
 to build such another cloister. The bishop explained himself
 by saying, that he meant the circular ridge of mountains
 with which the vale of Ewias was enclosed¹. Alexander
 Neckham was the friend, the associate, and the correspondent
 of Peter of Blois already mentioned. He received the first
 part of his education in the abbey of saint Alban’s, which he
 afterwards completed at Paris². His compositions are va-
 rious, and croud the department of manuscripts in our
 public libraries. He has left numerous treatises of divinity,
 philosophy, and morality: but he was likewise a poet, a
 philologist, and a grammarian. He wrote a tract on the
 mythology of the antient poets, Esopian fables, and a system
 of grammar and rhetoric. I have seen his elegiac poem on
 the monastic life³, which contains some finished lines. But
 his capital piece of Latin poetry is On the Praise of DIVINE
 WISDOM, which consists of seven books. In the introduc-
 tion he commemorates the innocent and unreturning plea-
 sures of his early days, which he passed among the learned
 monks of saint Alban’s, in these perspicuous and unaffected
 elegiacs.

¹ Girald. Cambrenf. ITIN. CAMBR. Lib. i. c. 3. p. 89. seq. Lond. 1585. 12mo.
 Bel. Script. Brit. p. 240. seq. ² Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 65. f. 18.

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----- Claustrum

Martyris Albani fit tibi tuta quies.
Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos,
Felix eximio martyre, gente, situ.
Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori
Indulget sancto religiosa cohors^b.

Neckham died abbot of Cirencester in the year 1217^c. He was much attached to the studious repose of the monastic profession, yet he frequently travelled into Italy^d. Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, has been very happily styled the Anacreon of the eleventh century^e. He studied at Paris^f. His vein was chiefly festive and satirical^g: and as his wit was frequently levelled against the corruptions of the clergy, his poems often appeared under fictitious names, or have been ascribed to others^h. The celebrated drinking odeⁱ of this genial archdeacon has the regular returns of the monkish rhyme: but they are here applied with a characteristic propriety, are so happily invented, and so humourously introduced, that they not only suit the genius but heighten the spirit of the piece^k. He boasts that good wine inspires

^b Apud Lel. Script. Brit. p. 240.

^c Willis, Mitr. Abb. i. 61, 62.

^d Lel. ibid.

^e Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. Not. B. ii. p. 133. 4to.

^f See infr. SECT. II. p. 63.

^g Tanner, Bibl. p. 507.

^h Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 706. Compare Tanner, Bibl. 351. 507. In return, many pieces went under the name of our author. As, for instance, *De Thetide et de Lyæo*, which is a ridiculous piece of scurrility. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 166. f. 104.

ⁱ See Camd. Rem. p. 436. RYTHMI.

^k In Bibl. Bodl. a piece *De Nugis Curialium* is given to Mapes. MSS. Arch. B. 52. It was written A.D. 1182. As appears from *Distin.* iv. cap. 1. It is in five books. Many Latin poems in this manuscript are given to Mapes. One in particular, written in a flowing style, in short lines, preserving no fixed metrical rule, which seems to have been intended for singing. In another manuscript I find various pieces of Latin poetry, by some attributed to Mapes, Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. iii. Some of these are in a good taste. Camden has printed his *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum*.

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him to sing verses equal to those of Ovid. In another Latin ode of the same kind, he attacks with great liveliness the new injunction of pope Innocent, concerning the celibacy of the clergy; and hopes that every married priest with his bride, will say a pater noster for the soul of one who had thus hazarded his salvation in their defence.

Ecce jam pro clericis multum allegavi,
Necnon pro presbyteris plura comprobavi:
PATER NOSTER nunc pro me, quoniam peccavi,
Dicat quisque Presbyter, cum sua Suavi¹.

But a miracle of this age in classical composition was Joseph of Exeter, commonly called Josephus Iscanus. He wrote two epic poems in Latin heroics. The first is on the Trojan War; it is in six books, and dedicated to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury^m. The second is entitled *ANTIOCHEIS*, the

Oculum. Rem. p. 439. It is written in a sort of Anacreontic verse, and has some humour. It is in MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. ut supr. 166. See also Camd. *ibid.* p. 437.

¹ Camd. Rem. ut supr.

^m See lib. i. 32. It was first printed at Basil, but very corruptly, in the year 1541. 8vo. Under the name of Cornelius Nepos. The existence and name of this poem seem to have been utterly unknown in England when Leland wrote. He first met with a manuscript copy of it by mere accident in Magdalene college library at Oxford. He never had even heard of it before. He afterwards found two more copies at Paris. But these were all imperfect, and without the name of the author, except a marginal hint. At length he discovered a complete copy of it in the library of Thorney abbey in Cambridgeshire, which seems to have ascertained the author's name, but not his country. Script. Brit. p. 238. The neglect of this poem among our ancestors, I mean in the ages which followed Iscanus, appears from the few manuscripts of it now remaining in England. Leland,

who searched all our libraries, could find only two. There is at present one in the church of Westminster. Another in Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 157. That in Magdalen college is MSS. Cod. 50. The best edition is at the end of "*Distys Cre-tensis et Dares Phrygius, in us. Sereniss. Delph. cum Interpret. A. Daceriæ, &c. Amstæ. 1702.*" 4to. But all the printed copies have omitted passages which I find in the Digby manuscript. Particularly they omit, in the address to Baldwin, four lines after v. 32. lib. i. Thirteen lines, in which the poet alludes to his intended *ANTIOCHEIS*, are omitted before v. 962. lib. vi. Nor have they the verses in which he compliments Henry the second, said by Leland to be at the end of the fourth book, Script. Brit. p. 238. The truth is, these passages would have betrayed their first editor's pretence of this poem being written by Cornelius Nepos. As it is, he was obliged in the address to Baldwin, to change Cantia, KENT, into *Tantia*; for which he substitutes *Pentia* in the margin, as an ingenious conjecture.

War

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War of Antioch, or the Crusade; in which his patron the archbishop was an actor". The poem of the Trojan war is founded on Dares Phrygius, a favorite fabulous historian of that time°. The diction of this poem is generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious: and on the whole, the structure of the versification approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry. The writer appears to have possessed no common command of poetical phraseology, and wanted nothing but a knowledge of the Virgilian chastity. His style is a mixture of Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, who seem then to have been the popular patterns^p. But a few specimens will best illustrate this criticism. He thus, in a strain of much spirit and dignity, addresses king Henry the second, who was going to the holy war^q, the intended subject of his *ANTIOCHEIS*.

-----Tuque, oro, tuo da, maxime, vati
Ire iter inceptum, Trojamque aperire jacentem:
Te sacræ assument acies, divinaque bella,
Tunc dignum majore tuba; tunc pectore toto
Nitar, et immensum mecum spargere per orbem^r,

The tomb or mausoleum of Teuthras is feigned with a brilliancy of imagination and expression; and our poet's

ⁿ Leland, p. 224, 225.

^o The manuscript at Magdalen college, mentioned by Leland, is entitled, *Dares Phrygius de bello Trojano*. Lel. p. 236. As also MSS. Digb. supr. citat. But see SECT. III. p. 135. infr.

^p Statius is cited in the epistles of Stephen of Tournay, a writer of the twelfth century. "Divinam ejus responsionem, "ut Thebais Æneida, longe sequor, et vestigia semper adoro." He died in 1200. *EPISTOLÆ*, Paris. 1611. 4to. Epist. v. p. 535. On account of the variety of his matter, and the facility of his manner, none of the antient poets are more frequently cited in the writers of the dark ages than Ovid. His *FASTI* seems to have been their favorite: a work thus admira-

bly characterised by an ingenious French writer. "Les Faïtes d'Ovide renferment "plus d'erudition qu'aucun autre ouvrage "de l'antiquité. C'est le chef d'œuvre "de ce poëte, et une espece de devotion "païenne." Vigneul Marville, *Misc. Hist. et Lit.* tom. ii. p. 306. A writer of the thirteenth century, *DE MIRABILIBUS ROMÆ*, published by Montfaucon, calls this work *MARTIOLOGIUM Ovidii in Fastis*. Montf. *Diar. Italic.* c. xx. p. 293.

^q Voltaire has expressed his admiration of the happy choice of subject which Tasso made. We here see a poet of an age much earlier than Tasso celebrating the same sort of expedition.

^r Lib. i. 47.

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classical ideas seem here to have been tinged with the description of some magnificent oriental palace, which he had seen in the romances of his age.

Regia conspicuis moles inscripta figuris
Exceptura ducem, senis affulta columnis,
Tollitur: electro vernat basis, arduus auro
Ardet apex, radioque stylus candescit eburno.

----Gemmæ quas littoris Indi
Dives arena tegit, aurum quod parturit Hermus,
In varias vivunt species, ditique decorum
Materie contendit opus: quod nobile ductor
Quod clarum gessit, ars explicat, ardua pandit
Moles, et totum referat sculptura tyrannum¹.

He thus describes Penthesilea and Pyrrhus.

Eminet, horrificas rapiens post terga secures,
Virginei regina chori: non provida cultus
Cura trahit, non forma juvat, frons aspera, vestis
Discolor, insertumque armis irascitur aurum.
Si visum, si verba notes, si lumina pendas,
Nil leve, nil fractum: latet omni fœmina factò.
Obvius ultrices accendit in arma cohortes,
Myrmidonasque suos, curru prævectus anhelò,
Pyrrhus, &c.

-----Meritosque offensus in hostes
Arma patris, nunc ultor, habet: sed tanta recusant
Pondera crescentes humeri, majoraque cassis
Colla petit, breviorque manus vix colligit hastam².

Afterwards a Grecian leader, whose character is invective, insults Penthesilea, and her troop of heroines, with these reproaches.

¹ Lib. iv. 451.

² Lib. vi. p. 589.

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Tunc sic increpitans, Pudeat, Mars inclyte, dixit :
 En!, tua signa gerit, quin nostra effœminat arma
 Staminibus vix apta manus. Nunc stabitis hercle
 Perjuræ turrets ; calathos et pensa puellæ
 Plena rotant, sparguntque colos. Hoc milite Troja,
 His fidit telis. At non patiemur Achivi :
 Et si turpe viris timidas calcare puellas,
 Ibo tamen contra. Sic ille : At virgo loquacem
 Tarda sequi sexum, velox ad prælia, solo
 Respondet jaculo *, &c.-----

I will add one of his comparisons. The poet is speaking of the reluctant advances of the Trojans under their new leader Memnon, after the fall of Hector.

Qualiter Hyblæi mellita pericula reges,
 Si signis iniere datis, labente tyranno
 Alterutro, viduos dant agmina stridula questus ;
 Et, subitum vix nacta ducem, metuentia vibrant
 Spicula, et imbelli remeant in prælia rostro †.

HIS ANTIOCHEIS was written in same strain, and had equal merit. All that remains of it is the following fragment †, in which the poet celebrates the heroes of Britain, and particularly king Arthur.

----- Inclyta fulsit
 Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot dives alumniis,
 Tot fecunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem

* Lib. vi. 6c9.

† Lib. vi. 19.

† Camd. Rem. p. 410. POEMS. See also Camd. Brit. Leland having learned from the *Bellum Trojanum* that Josephus had likewise written a poem on the crusade, searched for it in many places, but without success. At length he found a piece of it

in the library of Abingdon abbey in Berkshire. "Cum excuterem pulverem et "tineas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ." Ut supr. p. 238. Here he discovered that Josephus was a native of Exeter, which city was highly celebrated in that fragment.

D I S S E R T A T I O N II.

Et fama veteres: Hinc Constantinus adeptus
Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
Hinc, Senonum ductor, captiva Brennius urbe^u
Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces.
Hinc et Scæva fatus, pars non obscura tumultus
Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
Hinc, celebri fato, felici floruit ortu,
Flos regum Arthurus^w, cujus tamen acta stupori
Non micuere minus: totus quod in aure voluptas,
Et populo plaudente favor^x. Quæcunque^y priorum
Inspice: Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum,
Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos:
Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstros;
Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
Æquant. Annales Graios Latiosque revolve,
Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes:
Solutus præteritis melior, majorque futuris.

Camden asserts, that Joseph accompanied king Richard the first to the holy land^z, and was an eye-witness of that heroic monarch's exploits among the Saracens, which afterwards he celebrated in the *ANTIOCHEIS*. Leland mentions his love-verses and epigrams, which are long since perished^a. He^b flourished in the year 1210^c.

^u f. "Captiva Brennus in."

^w From this circumstance, Pits absurdly recites the title of this poem thus. *Antiocheis in Regem Arthurum*. Jos. Isc.

^x The text seems to be corrupt in this sentence. Or perhaps somewhat is wanting. I have changed *favor*, which is in Camden, into *favor*.

^y f. *Quæcunque*.

^z Rem. ut supr. p. 407.

^a Leland, ut supr. p. 239. Our biographers mention *Panegyricum in Henricum*. But the notion of this poem seems to have

taken rise from the verses on Henry the second, quoted by Leland from the *Bellum Trojanum*. He is likewise said to have written in Latin verse *De Institutione Cyri*.

^b Italy had at that time produced no writer comparable to Iscanus.

^c Bale, iii. 60. Compare *Dresenius ad Leflorem*. Prefixed to the *DE BELLO TROJANO*. Fancos. 1620. 4to. Mr. Wise the late Radcliffe librarian, told me, that a manuscript of the *ANTIOCHEIS* was in the library of the duke of Chandois at Canons.

There

DISSERTATION II.

There seems to have been a rival spirit of writing Latin heroic poems about this period. In France, Guillaume le Breton, or William of Bretagny, about the year 1230, wrote a Latin heroic poem on Philip Augustus king of France, about the commencement of the thirteenth century, in twelve books, entitled PHILIPPIS^d. Barthius gives a prodigious character of this poem: and affirms that the author, a few gallicisms excepted, has expressed the facility of Ovid with singular happiness^e. The versification much resembles that of Joseph Iscanus. He appears to have drawn a great part of his materials from Roger Hoveden's annals. But I am of opinion, that the PHILIPPID is greatly exceeded by the ALEXANDREID of Philip Gualtier de Chatillon, who flourished likewise in France, and was provost of the canons of Tournay, about the year 1200^f. This poem celebrates the actions of Alexander the Great, is founded on Quintus Curtius^g, consists of ten books, and is dedicated to Guillerm archbishop of Rheims. To give the reader an opportunity of comparing Gualtier's style and manner with those of our countryman Josephus, I will transcribe a few specimens from a beautiful and antient manuscript of the ALEXANDREID in the Bodleian library^h. This is the exordium.

Gesta ducis Macedum totum vulgata per orbem,
Quam late disperfit opes, quo milite Porum
Vicerit et Darium; quo principe Græcia victrix

^d He wrote it at fifty-five years of age. PHILIPP. lib. iii. v. 381. It was first printed in Pithou's Eleven Historians of France, Francof. 1536. fol. Next in Du Chesne, SCRIPT. FRANC. tom. v. p. 93. Paris. 1694. fol. But the best edition is with Barthius's notes, Cygn. 1657. 4to. Brito says in the PHILIPPIS, that he wrote a poem called KARLOTTIS, in praise of *Petri Carlotti sui*, then not fifteen years old. PHILIPP. lib. i. v. 10.

This poem was never printed, and is hardly known.

^e In Not. p. 7. See also Adversar. xliii. 7. He prefers it to the ALEXANDREIS mentioned below, in Not. p. 528. See Mem. Lit. viii. 536. edit. 4to.

^f It was first printed, Argent. 1513. 8vo. And two or three times since.

^g See infr. SECT. iii. p. 139. And Barth. Advers. lii. 16.

^h MSS. Digb. 52. 4to.

Risit,

D I S S E R T A T I O N II.

Risit, et a Persis rediere tributa Corinthum,
Musa, refer ^a.

A beautiful rural scene is thus described.

-----Patulis ubi frondea ramis
Laurus odoriferas celabat crinibus herbas :
Sæpe sub hac memorat carmen sylvestre canentes
Nympharum vidisse choros, Satyrosque procaces.
Fons cadit a læva, quem cespitem gramen obumbrat
Purpureo, verisque latens sub veste locatur.
Rivulus at lento lavat inferiora meatu
Garrulus, et strepitu facit obsurdescere montes.
Hic mater Cybele Zephyrum tibi, Flora, maritans,
Pullulat, et vallem fœcundat gratia fontis.
Qualiter Alpinis spumoso vortice faxis
Descendit Rhodanus, ubi Maximianus Eoos
Extinxit cuneos, dum sanguinis unda meatum
Fluminis adjuvit. ⁱ.-----

He excels in families. Alexander, when a stripling, is thus compared to a young lion.

Qualiter Hyrcanis cum forte leunculis arvis
Cornibus elatos videt ire ad pabula cervos,
Cui nondum totos descendit robur in artus,
Nec bene firmus adhuc, nec dentibus asper aduncis,
Palpitat, et vacuum ferit improba lingua palatum;
Effunditque prius animis quam dente cruorem ^k.

The ALEXANDREID soon became so popular, that Henry of Gaunt, archdeacon of Tournay, about the year 1330, complains that this poem was commonly taught in the

^h fol. i. a.

ⁱ fol. xiii. a.

^k fol. xxi. a.

rhetorical

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rhetorical schools, instead of Lucan ¹ and Virgil ^m. The learned Charpentier cites a passage from the manuscript statutes of the university of Tholouse, dated 1328, in which the professors of grammar are directed to read to their pupils "De Historiis Alexandri ⁿ." Among which I include Gualtier's poem ^o. It is quoted as a familiar classic by Thomas Rodburn, a monkish chronicler, who wrote about the year 1420 ^p. An anonymous Latin poet, seemingly of the thirteenth century, who has left a poem on the life and miracles of saint Oswald, mentions Homer, Gualtier, and Lucan, as the three capital heroic poets. Homer, he says, has celebrated Hercules, Gualtier the son of Philip, and Lucan has sung the praises of Cesar. But, adds he, these heroes much less deserve to be immortalised in verse, than the deeds of the holy confessor Oswald.

In nova fert animus antiquas vertere profas
Carmina, &c.

¹ Here, among many other proofs which might be given, and which will occur hereafter, is a proof of the estimation in which Lucan was held during the middle ages. He is quoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth and John of Salisbury, writers of the eleventh century. Hist. Brit. iv. 9. and Policrat. p. 215. edit. 1515. &c. &c. There is an anonymous Italian translation of Lucan, as early as the year 1310. The Italians have also *Lucano in volgare*, by cardinal Monticelli, at Milan 1492. It is in the octave rime, and in ten books. But the translator has so much departed from the original, as to form a sort of romance of his own. He was translated into Spanish prose, *Lucano poeta y historiador antiguo*, by Martin Lasse de Orespe, at Antwerp, 1585. Lucan was first printed in the year 1469. And before the year 1500, there were six other editions of this classic, whose declamatory manner rendered him very popular. He was published at Paris in French in 1500. Labb. Bibl. p. 339,

^m See Hen. Gandav. Monastichon. c. 20. and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ii. 218. Alanus de Insulis, who died in 1202, in his poem called ANTI-CLAUDIANUS, a Latin poem of nine books, much in the manner of Claudian, and written in defence of divine providence against a passage in that poet's RUFINUS, thus attacks the rising reputation of the ALEXANDREID.

Mævius in cœlis ardens os ponere mutum,
GESTA DUCIS MACEDUM, tenebrofi carminis umbra,
Dicere dum tentat: —

ⁿ Suppl. Du Cang. Lat. Gloss. tom. ii. p. 1255. V. METRIFICATURA. By which barbarous word they signified the Art of Poetry, or rather the Art of writing Latin verses.

^o See SECT. iii. p. 128. infr.

^p Hist. Maj. Winton. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 242.

Alciden

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Alciden hyperbolice commendat HOMERUS,
GUALTERUS pingit torvo Philippida vultu,
Cæsareas late laudes LUCANUS adauget:
TRES illi famam meruerunt, tresque poetas
Auctores habuere suos, multo magis autem
Oswaldi regis debent insignia dici ^q.

I do not cite this writer as a proof of the elegant versification which had now become fashionable, but to shew the popularity of the ALEXANDREID, at least among scholars. About the year 1206, Gunther a German, and a Cistercian monk of the diocese of Basil, wrote an heroic poem in Latin verse entitled, *LIGURINUS*, which is scarce inferior to the *PHILIPPID* of Guillaume le Breton, or the *ALEXANDREID* of Gualtier: but not so polished and classical as the *TROJAN WAR* of our Josephus Iscanus. It is in ten books, and the subject is the war of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa against

^q I will add some of the exordial lines almost immediately following, as they contain names, and other circumstances, which perhaps may lead to point out the age if not the name of the author. They were never before printed.

*Tu quoque digneris, precor, aspirare labori,
Flos cleri, MARTINE, meo; qui talis es
inter*

*Abbates, qualis est patronus tuus inter
Pontifices: hic est primas, tu primus eo-
rum, &c.*

*Hic per Aidanum sua munificentia munus
Illi promeruit, &c.*

*Tuque benigne Prior, primas, et prime
Priorum,*

*Qui cleri, ROGERE, rosam geris, annue
vati, &c.*

*Tuque Sacrista, sacris instans, qui jure vo-
caris*

SYMON, id est humilis, quo nemo benignior alter

*Abbatis præcepta sui velocior audit,
Tardius obloquitur: qui tot mea carmina
servas*

*Scripta voluminibus, nec plura requirere
ceffas.*

*Præteritos laudas, præsentis dilige ver-
sus, &c.*

The manuscript is Bibl. Bodl. A. 1. 2. B. (Langb. 5. p. 3.) This piece begins at f. 57. Other pieces precede, in Latin poetry. As *VITÆ SANCTORUM*. T. Becket. f. 3.

*Qui moritur? Præsul. Cur? pro Grege,
&c.*

Pro! pr. f. 23.

*Detineant alios Parnassi culmina, Cyrrha
Plausus, Pieridum vox, Heliconis opes.*

De partu Virginis. f. 28. b.

Nectareum rorem terris, &c.

S. Birinus, f. 42.

Et pudet, et fateor, &c.

The author of the life of Birinus says, he was commanded to write by Peter, probably Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. Perhaps he is Michael Blaunpayne. Alexander Essey wrote lives of saints in Latin verse. See MSS. Harl. 1819. 531.

the

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the Milanese in Liguria⁹. He had before written a Latin poem on the expedition of the emperor Conrade against the Saracens, and the recovery of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign, which he called SOLYMARIUM¹. The subject is much like that of the ANTIOCHEIS; but which of the two pieces was written first it is difficult to ascertain.

While this spirit of classical Latin poetry was universally prevailing, our countryman Geoffrey de Vinesauf, an accomplished scholar, and educated not only in the priory of saint Frideswide at Oxford, but in the universities of France and Italy, published while at Rome a critical didactic poem entitled, DE NOVA POETRIA². This book is dedicated to pope Innocent the third: and its intention was to recommend and illustrate the new and legitimate mode of versification which had lately begun to flourish in Europe, in opposition to the Leonine or barbarous species. This he compendiously styles, and by way of distinction, *The New Poetry*. We must not be surprised to find Horace's Art of Poetry entitled HORATII NOVA POETRIA, so late as the year 1389, in a catalogue of the library of a monastery at Dover³.

Even a knowledge of the Greek language imported from France, but chiefly from Italy, was now beginning to be diffused in England. I am inclined to think, that many

⁹ First printed August. Vindel. 1507. fol. And frequently since.

¹ He mentions it in his *LIGURIUM*, lib. i. v. 13. seq. v. 648. seq. See also Voss. Poet. Lat. c. vi. p. 73. It was never printed. Gunther wrote a prose history of the sack of Constantinople by Baldwin: The materials were taken from the mouth of abbot Martin, who was present at the siege, in 1204. It was printed by Canisius, Antiqu. Lest. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 358. Ingolstadt. 1604. 4to. Again, in a new edition of that compilation, Amst. 1725. fol. tom. iv. See also Pagi, ad A. D. 1519. n. xiv.

² It has been often printed. I think it is called in some manuscripts, *De Arte dic-*

tandi, versificandi, et transferendi. See Selden, Præfat. DEC. SCRIPTOR. p. xxxix. And Selden, Op. ii. 168. He is himself no contemptible Latin poet, and is celebrated by Chaucer. See Urry's edit. p. 468. 560. He seems to have lived about 1200.

³ Ex Matricula monach. Monast. Dover. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, notat. 8. p. 758. archiv. Oxon. Yet all Horace's writings were often transcribed, and not unfamiliar, in the dark ages. His odes are quoted by Fitz-Stephens in his *DESCRIPTION OF LONDON*. Rabanus Maurus above-mentioned quotes two verses from the *ART OF POETRY*. Op. tom. ii. p. 46. edit. Colon. 1627. fol.

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Greek manuscripts found their way into Europe from Constantinople in the time of the crusades: and we might observe that the Italians, who seem to have been the most polished and intelligent people of Europe during the barbarous ages, carried on communications with the Greek empire as early as the reign of Charlemagne. Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, an universal scholar, and no less conversant in polite letters than the most abstruse sciences, cultivated and patronised the study of the Greek language. This illustrious prelate, who is said to have composed almost two hundred books, read lectures in the school of the Franciscan friars at Oxford about the year 1230^w. He translated Dionysius the Areopagite and Damascenus into Latin^x. He greatly facilitated the knowledge of Greek by a translation of Suidas's Lexicon, a book in high repute among the lower Greeks, and at that time almost a recent compilation^y. He promoted John of Basingstoke to the archdeaconry of Leicester; chiefly because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed many Greek manuscripts, which he is said to have brought from Athens into England^z. He entertained, as a domestic

^w Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. p. 217.

^x Leland, Script. Brit. p. 283.

^y Bolton of Bury says, that he translated the book called *SUDA*. Catal. Script. Eccles. ROBERT. LINCOLN. Bolton lived in the year 1410. Such was their ignorance at this time even of the name of this lexicographer.

^z Lel. Script. Brit. p. 266. Matthew Paris asserts, that he introduced into England a knowledge of the Greek numeral letters. That historian adds, "De quibus figuris hoc maxime admirandum, quod unica figura quilibet numerus representatur: quod non est in Latino vel in Algorismo." Hist. edit. Lond. 1684. p. 721. He translated from Greek into Latin a grammar which he called *Donatus Græcorum*. See Pegge's Life of Roger de Wescam, p. 46. 47. 51. And infr. p. 281. He seems to have flourished about the year 1230. Bacon also wrote a

Greek grammar, in which is the following curious passage. "Episcopus consecrans ecclesiam, scribat Alphabetum Græcum in pulvere cum cuspidē baculi pastoralis: sed omnes episcopi qui Græcum cum ignorant, scribant tres notas numerorum quæ non sunt literæ, &c." GR. GRAM. cap. ult. p. iii. MSS. Apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 649. archiv. Oxon. See what is said of the new translations of Aristotle, from the original Greek into Latin, about the twelfth century. SECT. ix. p. 292. infr. I believe the translators understood very little Greek. Our countryman Michael Scotus was one of the first of them; who was assisted by Andrew a Jew. Michael was astrologer to Frederick emperor of Germany, and appears to have executed his translations at Toledo in Spain, about the year 1220. These new versions were perhaps little more than corrections from those of the early Arabians, made under

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in his palace, Nicholas chaplain of the abbot of faint Alban's, furnamed GRÆCUS, from his uncommon proficiency in Greek; and by his assistance he translated from Greek into Latin the testaments of the twelve patriarchs^a. Grossthead had almost incurred the censure of excommunication for preferring a complaint to the pope, that most of the opulent benefices in England were occupied by Italians. But this practice, although notoriously founded on the monopolising and arbitrary spirit of papal imposition, and a manifest act of injustice to the English clergy, probably contributed to introduce many learned foreigners into England, and to propagate philological literature.

Bishop Grossthead is also said to have been profoundly skilled in the Hebrew language^c. William the conqueror permitted great numbers of Jews to come over from Rouen, and to settle in England about the year 1087^d. Their multitude soon encreased, and they spread themselves in vast bodies throughout most of the cities and capital towns in England, where they built synagogues. There were fifteen hundred at York about the year 1189^e. At Bury in Suffolk

under the inspection of the learned Spanish Saracens. To the want of a true knowledge of the original language of the ancient Greek philosophers, Roger Bacon attributes the slow and imperfect advances of real science at this period. On this account their improvements were very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the appearance of erudition, and the fervour with which almost every branch of philosophy had been now studied in various countries for near half a century. See Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 120. seq. Dempster, xii. 940. Baconi Op. Maj. per Jebb, i. 15. ii. 8. Tanner, Bibl. p. 526. And MSS. Cotton. C. 5. fol. 138. Brit. Mus.

A learned writer affirms, that Aristotle's books in the original Greek were brought out of the east into Europe about the year 1200. He is also of opinion, that during the crusades many Europeans, from their

commerce with the Syrian Palestines, got a knowledge of Arabic: and that importing into Europe Arabic versions of some parts of Aristotle's works, which they found in the east, they turned them into Latin. These were chiefly his Ethics and Politics. And these NEW TRANSLATORS he further supposes were employed at their return into Europe in revising the old translations of other parts of Aristotle, made from Arabic into Latin. Euseb. Renaudot. De Barbar. Aristot. Versionib. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 248. See also Murator. Antiq. Ital. Med. Æv. iii. 936.

^a See MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 4D. vii. 4. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 32. And M. Paris, sub anno 1242.

^b Godwin, Episc. p. 348. edit. 1616.

^c He is mentioned again, Sect. ii. p. 61. 78. infr.

^d Hollingsh. Chron. sub ann. p. 15. a.

^e Anderf. Comm. i. 93.

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is a very complete remain of a Jewish synagogue of stone in the Norman style, large and magnificent. Hence it was that many of the learned English ecclesiastics of these times became acquainted with their books and language. In the reign of William Rufus, at Oxford the Jews were remarkably numerous, and had acquired a considerable property; and some of their Rabbis were permitted to open a school in the university, here they instructed not only their own people, but many christian students, in the Hebrew literature, about the year 1054^f. Within two hundred years after their admission or establishment by the conqueror, they were banished the kingdom^g. This circumstance was highly favourable to the circulation of their learning in England. The suddenness of their dismissal obliged them for present subsistence, and other reasons, to sell their moveable goods of all kinds, among which were large quantities of Rabbinical books. The monks in various parts availed themselves of the distribution of these treasures. At Huntingdon and Stamford there was a prodigious sale of their effects, containing immense stores of Hebrew manuscripts, which were immediately purchased by Gregory of Huntingdon, prior of the abbey of Ramsey. Gregory speedily became an adept in the Hebrew, by means of these valuable acquisitions, which he bequeathed to his monastery about the year 1250^h. Other members of the same convent, in consequence of these advantages, are said to have been equal proficient in the same language, soon after the death of prior Gregory: among which were Robert Dodford, librarian of Ramsey, and Laurence Holbech, who compiled a Hebrew Lexiconⁱ.

^f Angl. Judaic. p. 8.

^g Hollingsh. *ibid.* sub. ann. 1289. p. 285. a. Matthew of Westminster says, that 16511 were banished. Flor. Hist. ad an. 1290. Great numbers of Hebrew rolls and charts, relating to their estates in England, and escheated to the king, are now remaining in the Tower among the royal records.

^h Leland, Script. Brit. p. 321. And MSS. Bibl. Lambeth. Wharton, L. p. 661. "Libri Prioris Gregorii de Ramsey." "*Prima pars Bibliothecæ Hebraicæ*," &c.

ⁱ Bale, iv. 41. ix. 9. Lel. *ubi* sup. p. 452.

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At Oxford, great multitudes of their books fell into the hands of Roger Bacon, or were bought by his brethren the Franciscan friars of that university^k.

But, to return to the leading point of our enquiry, this promising dawn of polite letters and rational knowledge was soon obscured. The temporary gleam of light did not arrive to perfect day. The minds of scholars were diverted from these liberal studies in the rapidity of their career; and the arts of composition, and the ornaments of language were neglected, to make way for the barbarous and barren subtleties of scholastic divinity. The first teachers of this art, originally founded on that spirit of intricate and metaphysical enquiry which the Arabians had communicated to philosophy, and which now became almost absolutely necessary for defending the doctrines of Rome, were Peter Lombard archbishop of Paris, and the celebrated Abelard: men whose consummate abilities were rather qualified to reform the church, and to restore useful science, than to corrupt both, by confounding the common sense of mankind with frivolous speculation^l. These visionary theologists never explained or illustrated any scriptural topic: on the contrary, they perverted the simplest expressions of the sacred text, and embarrassed the most evident truths of the gospel by laboured distinctions and unintelligible solutions. From the universities of France, which were then filled with multitudes of English students, this admired species of sophistry was adopted in England, and encouraged by Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury^m. And so successful was its progress at Oxford, that before the reign of Edward the second, no foreign university could boast so conspicuous a catalogue of subtle and invincible doctors.

^k Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 77. 132. See also SECT. ix. p. 291. infr.

^l They both flourished about the year 1150.

^m "Baccalaureus qui legit textum (sc. S.

"Scripturæ) succumbit lectori SENTENTIARUM Parisiis, &c." Rog. Bacon, apud A. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 53. Lombard was the author of the *Sentences*.

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Nor was the profession of the civil and canonical laws a small impediment to the propagation of those letters which humanise the mind, and cultivate the manners. I do not mean to deny, that the accidental discovery of the imperial code in the twelfth century, contributed in a considerable degree to civilise Europe, by introducing, among other beneficial consequences, more legitimate ideas concerning the nature of government and the administration of justice, by creating a necessity of transferring judicial decrees from an illiterate nobility to the cognisance of scholars, by lessening the attachment to the military profession, and by giving honour and importance to civil employments : but to suggest, that the mode in which this invaluable system of jurisprudence was studied, proved injurious to polite literature. It was no sooner revived, than it was received as a scholastic science, and taught by regular professors, in most of the universities of Europe. To be skilled in the theology of the schools was the chief and general ambition of scholars : but at the same time a knowledge of both the laws was become an indispensable requisite, at least an essential recommendation, for obtaining the most opulent ecclesiastical dignities. Hence it was cultivated with universal avidity. It became so considerable a branch of study in the plan of academical discipline, that twenty scholars out of seventy were destined to the study of the civil and canon laws, in one of the most ample colleges at Oxford, founded in the year 1385. And it is easy to conceive the pedantry with which it was pursued in these seminaries during the middle ages. It was treated with the same spirit of idle speculation which had been carried into philosophy and theology, it was overwhelmed with endless commentaries which disclaimed all elegance of language, and served only to exercise genius, as it afforded materials for framing the flimsy labyrinths of casuistry.

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It was not indeed probable, that these attempts in elegant literature which I have mentioned should have any permanent effects. The change, like a sudden revolution in government, was too rapid for duration. It was moreover premature, and on that account not likely to be lasting. The habits of superstition and ignorance were as yet too powerful for a reformation of this kind to be effected by a few polite scholars. It was necessary that many circumstances and events, yet in the womb of time, should take place, before the minds of men could be so far enlightened as to receive these improvements.

But perhaps inventive poetry lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgment been now established, imagination would have suffered, and too early a check would have been given to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. In a word, truth and reason would have chafed before their time those spectres of illusive fancy, so pleasing to the imagination, which delight to hover in the gloom of ignorance and superstition, and which form so considerable a part of the poetry of the succeeding centuries.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

E N G L I S H P O E T R Y.

S E C T. I.

THE Saxon language spoken in England, is distinguished by three several epochs, and may therefore be divided into three dialects. The first of these is that which the Saxons used, from their entrance into this island, till the irruption of the Danes, for the space of three hundred and thirty years ^a. This has been called the British Saxon: and no monument of it remains, except a small metrical fragment of the genuine Caedmon, inserted in Alfred's version of the Venerable Bede's ecclesiastical history ^b. The

^a The Saxons came into England A. D. 450.

^b Lib. iv. cap. 4. Some have improperly referred to this dialect the HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS, in the Cotton library: the style of which approaches in purity and antiquity to that of the CODEX ARGENT.

TEUS. It is Frankish. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 7. membran. octavo. This book is supposed to have belonged to king Canute. Eight richly illuminated historical pictures are bound up with it, evidently taken from another manuscript, but probably of the age of king Stephen.

second is the Danish Saxon, which prevailed from the Danish to the Norman invasion^c; and of which many considerable specimens, both in verse^d and prose, are still preserved: particularly, two literal versions of the four gospels^e, and the spurious Caedmon's beautiful poetical paraphrase of the Book of Genesis^f, and the prophet Daniel. The third may be properly styled the Norman Saxon; which began about the time of the Norman accession, and continued beyond the reign of Henry the second^g.

The last of these three dialects, with which these Annals of English Poetry commence, formed a language extremely barbarous, irregular, and intractable; and consequently promises no very striking specimens in any species of composition. Its substance was the Danish Saxon, adulterated with French. The Saxon indeed, a language subsisting on uniform principles, and polished by poets and theologists, however corrupted by the Danes, had much perspicuity, strength, and harmony: but the French imported by the Conqueror and his people, was a confused jargon of Teutonic, Gaulish, and vitiated Latin. In this fluctuating state of our national speech, the French predominated. Even before the conquest the Saxon language began to fall into contempt, and the French, or Frankish, to be substituted in its stead: a circumstance, which at once facilitated and foretold the Norman accession. In the year 652, it was the common practice of

^c A. D. 1066.

^d See Hickes. Thes. Ling. Vett. Sept. P. i. cap. xxi. pag. 177. And Prefat. fol. xiv. The curious reader is also referred to a Danish Saxon poem, celebrating the wars which Beowulf, a noble Dane, descended from the royal stem of Scyldinge, waged against the kings of Swedeland. MSS. Cotton. ut supr. VITELL. A. 15. Cod. membran. ix. fol. 130. Compare, written in the stile Caedmon, a fragment of an ode in praise of the exploits of Brithnoth, Offa's ealdorman, or general, in a battle fought against the Danes. Ibid. Отн. А.

12. Cod. membran. 4to. iii. Brithnoth, the hero of this piece, a Northumbrian, died in the year 991.

^e MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Cod. membran. in Pyxid. 4to grand. quadrat. And MSS. Cotton. ut supr. Отно. Nor. D. 4. Both these manuscripts were written and ornamented in the Saxon times, and are of the highest curiosity and antiquity.

^f Printed by Junius, Amst. 1655. The greatest part of the Bodleian manuscript of this book, is believed to have been written about A. D. 1000.—Cod. Jun. xi. membran. fol.

^g He died 1189.

the Anglo-Saxons, to send their youth to the monasteries of France for education^b: and not only the language, but the manners of the French, were esteemed the most polite accomplishmentsⁱ. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the resort of Normans to the English court was so frequent, that the affectation of imitating the Frankish customs became almost universal: and even the lower class of people were ambitious of catching the Frankish idiom. It was no difficult task for the Norman lords to banish that language, of which the natives began to be absurdly ashamed. The new invaders commanded the laws to be administered in French^k. Many charters of monasteries were forged in Latin by the Saxon monks, for the present security of their possessions, in consequence of that aversion which the Normans professed to the Saxon tongue^l. Even children at school were forbidden to read in their native language, and instructed in a knowledge of the Norman only^m. In the mean time we should have some regard to the general and political state of the nation. The natives were so universally reduced to the lowest condition of neglect and indigence, that the English name became a term of reproach: and several generations elapsed, before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any distinguished honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baronageⁿ. Among

^b Dugd. Mon. i. 89.

ⁱ Ingulph. Hist. p. 62. sub. ann. 1043.

^k But there is a precept in Saxon from William the first, to the sheriff of Somersetshire. Hicet. Thef. i. par. i. pag. 106. See also Præfat. ibid. p. xv.

^l The Normans who practised every specious expedient to plunder the monks, demanded a sight of the written evidences of their lands. The monks well knew, that it would have been useless or impolitic to have produced these evidences, or charters, in the original Saxon; as the Normans not only did not understand, but would have received with contempt, instruments written in that language. There-

fore the monks were compelled to the pious fraud of forging them in Latin: and great numbers of these forged Latin charters, till lately supposed original, are still extant. See Spelman, in Not. ad Concil. Anglic. p. 125. Stillingfl. Orig. Eccles. Britann. p. 14. Marham, Præfat. ad Dugd. Monast. And Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. Præfat. p. ii. iii. iv. See also Ingulph. p. 512. Launoy and Mabillon have treated this subject with great learning and penetration.

^m Ingulph. p. 71. sub. ann. 1066.

ⁿ See Brompt. Chron. p. 1026. Abb. Rieval. p. 339.

other instances of that absolute and voluntary submission, with which our Saxon ancestors received a foreign yoke, it appears that they suffered their hand-writing to fall into discredit and disuse^o; which by degrees became so difficult and obsolete, that few beside the oldest men could understand the characters^p. In the year 1095, Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, was deposed by the arbitrary Normans: it was objected against him, that he was "a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French^q." It is true, that in some of the monasteries, particularly at Croyland and Tavistocke, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language: but this institution was suffered to remain after the conquest, as a matter only of interest and necessity. The religious could not otherwise have understood their original charters. William's successor, Henry the first, gave an instrument of confirmation to William archbishop of Canterbury, which was written in the Saxon language and letters^r. Yet this is almost a single example. That monarch's motive was perhaps political: and he seems to have practised this expedient with a view of obliging his queen, who was of Saxon lineage; or with a design of flattering his English subjects, and of securing his title already strengthened by a Saxon match, in consequence of so specious and popular an artifice. It was a common and indeed a very natural practice, for the transcribers of Saxon books, to change the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and to substitute in the place of the original Saxon, Norman words and

^o Ingulph, p. 85.

^p Ibid. p. 93. sub. ann. 1091.

^q Matt. Paris. sub. ann.

^r H. Wharton, Auctar. Histor. Dogmat. p. 388. The learned Mabillon is mistaken in asserting, that the Saxon way of writing was entirely abolished in England at the time of the Norman conquest. See Mabillon. De Re Diplomat. p. 52. The French antiquaries are fond of this

notion. There are Saxon characters in Herbert Losinga's charter for founding the church of Norwich. Temp. Will. Ruf. A. D. 1110. See Lambard's Diction. V. NORWICH. See also Hicckes. Thesaur. i. Par. i. p. 149. See also Præfat. p. xvi. An intermixture of the Saxon character is common in English and Latin manuscripts, before the reign of Edward the third: but of a few types only.

phrases.

phrases. A remarkable instance of this liberty, which sometimes perplexes and misleads the critics in Anglo-Saxon literature, appears in a voluminous collection of Saxon homilies, preserved in the Bodleian library, and written about the time of Henry the second^s. It was with the Saxon characters, as with the signature of the cross in public deeds; which were changed into the Norman mode of seals and subscriptions^t. The Saxon was probably spoken in the country, yet not without various adulterations from the French: the courtly language was French, yet perhaps with some vestiges of the vernacular Saxon. But the nobles, in the reign of Henry the second, constantly sent their children into France, lest they should contract habits of barbarism in their speech, which could not have been avoided in an English education^u. Robert Holcot, a learned Dominican friar, confesses, that in the beginning of the reign of Edward the third, there was no institution of children in the old English: he complains, that they first learned the French, and from the French the Latin language. This he observes to have been a practice introduced by the Conqueror, and to have remained ever since^w. There is a curious passage relating to this subject in Trevisa's translation of Hygden's Polychronicon. "Children in scole, agenst the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leve hire owne langage, and for to construe hir lessons and hire thynges in Frenche; and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into Engeland. Also gentilmen children beeth taught to speke Frensche, from the tyme that they bith rokked in here cradell, and kunneth speke and play with a childe broche: and uplon-

^s MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 4. 12. Cod. membran. fol.

^t Yet some Norman charters have the cross.

^u Gervas. Tilbur. de Otis Imperial. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lib. iii. See du Chesne, iii. p. 363.

^w Lect. in Libr. Sapient. Lect. ii. Paris. 1518. 4to.

^x Lib. i. cap. 59. MSS. Coll. S. Johan. Cantabr. But I think it is printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about 1280, says much the same, edit. Hearne, p. 354.

"dische

“ diffche^y men will likne himself to gentylnen, and fondeth^z
 “ with greet besynesse for to speke Frensche to be told of.
 “ This maner was moche used to for first deth^a, and is
 “ sith some dele changed. For John Cornewaile a maister of
 “ grammer, changed the lore in grammer scole, and con-
 “ struction of Frensche into Englische: and Richard Pen-
 “ criche lernede the manere techynge of him as other men of
 “ Pencriche. So that now, the yere of oure Lorde *a thousand thre*
 “ *hundred and four score and five*, and of the seconde Kyng Ri-
 “ chard after the conquest nyne, and [in] alle the grammere
 “ scoles of Engelond children lereth Frensche and construeth,
 “ and lerneth an Englische, &c.” About the same time, or
 rather before, the students of our universities, were ordered
 to converse in French or Latin^b. The latter was much af-
 fected by the Normans. All the Norman accompts were in
 Latin. The plan of the great royal revenue-rolls, now
 called the pipe-rolls, were of their construction, and in that
 language. But from the declension of the barons, and pre-
 valence of the commons, most of whom were of English
 ancestry, the native language of England gradually gained
 ground: till at length the interest of the commons so far
 succeeded with Edward the third, that an act of parliament
 was passed, appointing all pleas and proceedings of law to
 be carried on in English^c: although the same statute de-

^y Country. ^z Delights, tries. ^a Time.

^b In the statutes of Oriel College in Oxford, it is ordered, that the scholars, or fellows, “ siqua inter se proferant, colloquio “ Latino, vel saltem Gallico, perfruantur.” See Hearne’s *Trokelowe*, pag. 298. These statutes were given 23 Maii, A. D. 1328. I find much the same injunction in the statutes of Exeter College, Oxford, given about 1330. Where they are ordered to use, “ Romano aut Gallico saltem sermone.” Hearne’s MSS. Collect. num. 132. pag. 73. Bibl. Bodl. But in Merton College statutes, mention is made of the Latin only. In cap. x. They were given 1271. This was also common in the greater monasteries.

In the register of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, the domicellus of the Prior of S. Swythin’s at Winchester, is ordered to address the bishop, on a certain occasion, in French, A. D. 1398. Registr. Par. iii. fol. 177.

^c But the French formularies and terms of law, and particularly the French feudal phraseology, had taken too deep root to be thus hastily abolished. Hence, long after the reign of Edward the third, many of our lawyers composed their tracts in French. And reports and some statutes were made in that language. See Fortescut. de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. xlviii.

crees, in the true Norman spirit, that all such pleas and proceedings should be enrolled in Latin ^d. Yet this change did not restore either the Saxon alphabet or language. It abolished a token of subjection and disgrace: and in some degree, contributed to prevent further French innovations in the language then used, which yet remained in a compound state, and retained a considerable mixture of foreign phraseology. In the mean time, it must be remembered, that this corruption of the Saxon was not only owing to the admission of new words, occasioned by the new alliance, but to changes of its own forms and terminations, arising from reasons which we cannot investigate or explain ^e.

Among the manuscripts of Digby in the Bodleian library at Oxford, we find a religious or moral Ode, consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, which the learned Hickee places just after the conquest ^f: but as it contains few Norman terms, I am inclined to think it of rather higher antiquity. In deference however to so great an authority, I am obliged to mention it here; and especially as it exhibits a regular lyric strophe of four lines, the second and fourth of which rhyme together. Although these four lines may be perhaps resolved into two Alexandrines; a measure concerning which more will be said hereafter, and of which it will be sufficient to remark at present, that it appears to have been used very early. For I cannot recollect any strophes of this sort in the elder Runic or Saxon poetry; nor in any of the old Frankish poems, particularly of Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburgh, who turned the evangelical history into Frankish verse about the ninth century, and has left several

^d Pulton's Statut. 36. Edw. iii. This was A. D. 1363. The first English instrument in Rymer is dated 1368. Fœd. vii. p. 526.

^e This subject will be further illustrated in the next section.

^f Ling. Vett. Thes. Part. i. p. 222. There is another copy not mentioned by Hickee, in Jesus College library at Oxford, MSS. 85. *infr. citat.* This is entitled *Tractatus quidam in Anglico*. The Digby manuscript has no title.

hymns

hymns in that language¹, of Stricker who celebrated the achievements of Charlemagne², and of the anonymous author of the metrical life of Anno, archbishop of Cologne. The following stanza is a specimen³.

¹ Sende God biforen him man
The while he may to hevene,
For betere is on elmesse biforen
Thanne ben after sevene⁴.

That is, "Let a man send his good works before him to heaven while he can: for one alms-giving before death is of more value than seven afterwards." The verses perhaps might have been thus written as two Alexandrines.

Send God biforen him man the while he may to hevene,
For betere is on almesse biforen, than ben after sevene¹.

Yet alternate rhyming, applied without regularity, and as rhymes accidentally presented themselves, was not uncommon in our early poetry, as will appear from other examples.

Hickes has printed a satire on the monastic profession; which clearly exemplifies the Saxon adulterated by the Norman, and was evidently written soon after the conquest, at

¹ See Petr. Lambec. Comment. de Bibl. Cesar. Vindebon. pag. 418. 457.

² See Petr. Lambec. ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 5. There is a circumstance belonging to the antient Frankish versification, which, as it greatly illustrates the subject of alliteration, deserves notice here. Otfrid's dedication of his Evangelical history to Lewis the first, king of the oriental France, consists of four lined stanzas in rhyming couplets: but the first and last line of every stanza begin and end with the same letter: and the letters of the title of the dedication respectively, and the word of the last line of every tetrastric. Flaccus Illyrius published this work of Otfrid at Basil, 1571. But I think it has been since more

correctly printed by Johannes Schilterus. It was written about the year 880. Otfrid was the disciple of Rhabanus Maurus.

³ St. xiv.

⁴ Sende god byponen him man,
þe hyle he mai to heuene;
For betere is on elmesse byponen
þanne ben after sevene.

This is perhaps the true reading, from the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge, written about the reign of Henry the second, or Richard the first. Cod. membran. 8vo. Tractat. I. See Abr. Wheloc. Eccles. Hist. Bed. p. 25. 114.

⁵ MSS. Digb. A. 4. membran.

¹ As I recollect, the whole poem is thus exhibited in the Trinity manuscript.

least before the reign of Henry the second. The poet begins with describing the land of indolence or luxury.

Fur in fee, bi weſt Spaynge,
Is a lond ihote Cokaygne :
Ther nis lond under hevenriche ^a
Of wel of godnis hit iliche.
Thoy paradis bi miri ^b and brigt
Cokaygn is of fairir figt.
What is ther in paradis
Bot grafs, and flure, and greneris ?
Thoy ther be joy ^c, and gret dute ^d,
Ther nis met, bot frute.
Ther nis halle, bure ^e, no bench ;
But watir manis thurſt to quench, &c.

In the following lines there is a vein of fatirical imagination and ſome talent at deſcription. The luxury of the monks is repreſented under the idea of a monaſtery conſtructed of various kinds of delicious and coſtly viands.

Ther is a wel fair abbei,
Of white monkes and of grei,
Ther beth boures and halles :,
All of paſteus beth the walles,
Of fleis of fiſſe, and a rich met,
The likefulliſt that man mai et.
Fluren cakes beth the ſchingles ^f alle,
Of church, cloiſter, bours, and halle.
The pinnes ^g beth fat podinges
Rich met to princes and to kinges.—
Ther is a cloyſter fair and ligt,
Brod and lang of ſembli figt.

^a Heaven. Sax.

^b Merry, chearful. “ Although Paradise is chearful and bright, *Cokayne* is “ a much more beautiful place.”

^c 101. Orig. ^d Pleaſure. ^e Buttery.

^f *Shingles*. “ The tiles, or covering of the houſe, are of rich cakes.”

^g The Pinnacles.

The pilers of that cloister alle
 Beth iturned of cristale,
 With harlas and capital
 Of grene jafpe and red coral.
 In the praer is a tree
 Swithe likeful for to fe,
 The rote is gingeur and galingale,
 The fiouns beth al fed wale.
 Trie maces beth the flure,
 The rind canel of fwete odure:
 The frute gilofre of gode smakke,
 Of cucubes ther nis no lakke.—
 There beth iiii willis^h in the abbei
 Of tracle and halwei,
 Of baume and eke piementⁱ,
 Ever ernend^k to rigt rent^l;
 Of thai ftremis al the molde,
 Stonis pretiufe^m and golde,
 Ther is faphir, and uniune,
 Carbuncle and aftiune,
 Smaragde, lugre, and praffiune,
 Beril, onyx, topofiune,
 Amethifte and crisolite,
 Calcedun and epetiteⁿ.
 Ther beth birddes mani and fale
 Throftill, thruifle, and nigtingale,
 Chalandre, and wodwale,
 And othir briddes without tale,
 That ftinteth never bi her migt
 Miri to fmg dai and nigte.

[*Nonnulla defunt.*]

^h Fountains.

ⁱ This word will be explained at large hereafter.

^k Running. Sax.

^l Coarfe. Sax.

^m The Arabian Philofophy imported in-

to Europe, was full of the doctrine of precious ftones.

ⁿ Our old poets are never fo happy as when they can get into a catalogue of things or names. See *Obferuat. on the Fairy Queen*, i. p. 140.

Yite I do yow mo to witte,
The gees iroftid on the spitte,
Fleey to that abbai, god hit wot,
And gredith °, gees al hote al hote, &c.

Our author then makes a pertinent transition to a convent of nuns; which he supposes to be very commodiously situated at no great distance, and in the same fortunate region of indolence, ease, and affluence.

An other abbai is ther bi
For soth a gret nunnerie;
Up a river of swet milk
Whar is plente grete of filk:
When the summeris dai is hote,
The yung nunnes takith a bote
And doth ham forth in that river
Both with oris and with stere:
Whan hi beth fur from the abbei
Hi makith him nakid for to plei,
And leith dune in to the brimme
And doth him sleilich for to swimme:
The yung monkes that hi seeth
Hi doth ham up and forth hi fleeth,
And comith to the nunnes anon,
And euch monk him takith on,
And snellich ^p berith forth har prei
To the mochill grei abbei ^q,
And techith the nonnes an oreifun
With jambleus ^r up and dun ^s.

° Crieth. Gallo-Franc.

^p Quick, quickly. Gallo-Franc.

^q "To the great Abbey of Grey Monks."

^r Lascivious motions. Gambols. Fr. Gambiller.

^s Hicet. Thesaur. i. Part i. p. 231. seq.

This poem was designed to be sung at public festivals[†]: a practice, of which many instances occur in this work; and concerning which it may be sufficient to remark at present, that a JOCLATOR or bard, was an officer belonging to the court of William the Conqueror[‡].

Another Norman Saxon poem cited by the same industrious antiquary, is entitled THE LIFE OF SAINT MARGARET. The structure of its versification considerably differs from that in the last-mentioned piece, and is like the French Alexandrines. But I am of opinion, that a pause, or division, was intended in the middle of every verse: and in this respect, its versification resembles also that of ALBION'S ENGLAND, or Drayton's POLYOLBION, which was a species very common about the reign of queen Elizabeth[§]. The rhymes are also continued to every fourth line. It appears to have been written about the time of the crusades. It begins thus.

Olde ant^{*} yonge I priet^γ ou, our folies for to lete,
Thinketh on god that yef ou wite, our sunnes to bete.
Here I mai tellen ou, wit wordes faire and fwete,
The vie^z of one maiden was hoten^a Margarete.
Hire fader was a patriac, as ic ou tellen may,
In Auntioge wif eches^b I in the false lay,
Deve godes^c ant dombe, he servid nit and day,
So deden mony othere that fingeth welaway.

[†] As appears from this line.

Lordinges gode and hende, &c.

It is in MSS. More, Cantabrig. 784. f. 1.

[‡] His lands are cited in Doomsday Book.

“GLOUCESTERSHIRE. Berdic, Joculator

“Regis, habet iii. villas et ibi v. car. nil

“redd.” See Anstis, Ord. Gart. ii. 304.

[§] It is worthy of remark, that we find in the collection of ancient northern monuments, published by M. Biornier, a poem of some length, said by that author to have

been composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. This poem is professedly in rhyme, and the measure like that of the heroic Alexandrine of the French poetry. See Mallet's Introd. Dannem. &c. ch. xiii.

^{*} And. Fr.

^γ I direct. Fr. “I advise you, your, &c.”

^z Life. Fr. ^a Called. Saxon.

^b Chose a wife. Sax. “He was married in Antioch.”

^c “Deaf gods, &c.”

Theodosius

Theodosius was is nome, on Criste ne levede he noutt,
He levede on the false godes, that weren with honden wroutt.
Tho that child schulde cristine ben it com well in thougt,
Ebed wen ^d it were ibore, to deth it were ibrougt, &c.

In the sequel, Olibrius, lord of Antioch, who is called a Saracen, falls in love with Margaret: but she being a christian, and a candidate for canonization, rejects his solicitations and is thrown into prison.

Meiden Margarete one nitt in prison lai
Ho com biforn Olibrius on that other dai.
Meiden Margarete, les up upon my lay,
And Ihu that thou levest on, thou do him al away.
Les on me ant be my wife, ful wel the mai spede.
Auntioge and Asie scaltou han to mede:
Ciculauton ^e and purpel pall scaltou have to wede:
With all the metes of my lond ful vel I scal the ^f fede.

This piece was printed by Hickes from a manuscript in Trinity college library at Cambridge. It seems to belong to the manuscript metrical LIVES OF THE SAINTS ^g, which form a very considerable volume, and were probably translated or paraphrased from Latin or French prose into English rhyme be-

^d In bed.

^e Checklaton. See Obs. Fair. Q. i. 194.

^f Hickes. i. 225. The legend of *Sainte Juliane* in the Bodleian library is rather older, but of much the same versification. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. 3. xi. membran. 8vo. iii. fol. 36. This manuscript I believe to be of the age of Henry the third or king John: the composition much earlier. It was translated from the Latin. These are the five last lines.

þþhen drihtin o domeþre þindþeð hir
hþeate,
And þeþeð þæt durticheþ to hellene heate,
þe mote beon a corn i goðeþ gulbene ebene,

De tunbe ðir of latin to Engliſche leðene
And he þæt her leaſt onþraþ ſþa aþ he
cuþe. AÐDEN.

That is, "When the judge at doomſ-
" day winnows his wheat and drives the
" duſty chaff into the heat of hell; may
" there be a corner in god's golden Eden
" for him who turned this book into
" Latin, &c."

^g The ſame that are mentioned by Hearne, from a manuſcript of Ralph Shel- don. See Hearne's Petr. Langt. p. 542. 607. 608. 609. 611. 628. 670. Saint Winifred's Life is printed from the ſame collection by biſhop Fleetwood, in his *Life and Miracles of S. Winifred*, p. 125. ed. 1713. fore

fore the year 1200^h. We are sure that they were written after the year 1169, as they contain the *LIFE* of Saint Thomas of Becketⁱ. In the Bodleian library are three manuscript copies of these *LIVES OF THE SAINTS*^k, in which the *LIFE* of Saint Margaret constantly occurs; but it is not always exactly the same with this printed by Hickes. And on the whole, the Bodleian Lives seem inferior in point of antiquity. I will here give some extracts never yet printed.

^h It is in fact a metrical history of the festivals of the whole year. The life of the respective Saint is described under every Saints day, and the institutions of some fundays, and feasts not taking their rise from saints, are explained, on the plan of the *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1290, from which Caxton, through the medium of a French version entitled *Legend Dorée*, translated his *Golden Legend*. The *Festival, or Festiall*, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is a book of the same sort, yet with homilies intermixed. See MSS. Harl. 2247. fol. and 2371. 4to. and 2391. 4to. and 2402. 4to. and 2800. seq. Manuscript lives of Saints, detached, and not belonging to this collection, are frequent in libraries. The *Vitæ Patrum* were originally drawn from S. Jerome and Johannes Cassianus. In Gresham college library are metrical lives of ten Saints chiefly from the *Golden Legend*, by Osberne Bokenham, an Augustine canon in the abbey of Stoke-clare in Suffolk, transcribed by Thomas Burgh at Cambridge 1477. The Life of S. Katharine appears to have been composed in 1445. MSS. Coll. Gresh. 315. The French translation of the *Legenda Aurea* was made by Jehan de Vignay, a monk, soon after 1300.

ⁱ Ashmole cites this Life, Instit. Ord. Gart. p. 21. And he cites S. Brandon's Life, p. 507. Ashmole's manuscript was in the hands of Silas Taylor. It is now in his Museum at Oxford. MSS. Ashm. 50. [7001.]

^k MSS. Bodl. 779.—Laud, L. 70. And they make a considerable part of a prodigious folio volume, beautifully written on vellum, and elegantly illuminated, where

they have the following title, which also comprehends other antient English religious poems. "Here begynnen the tytles of the "book that is cald in Latyn tonge *SALUS* "ANIME, and in Englysh tonge *SOWLE* "HELE." It was given to the Bodleian library by Edward Vernon esquire, soon after the civil war. I shall cite it under the title of MS. Vernon. Although pieces not absolutely religious are sometimes introduced, the scheme of the compiler or transcriber seems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and scriptural history in verse, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find. Accordingly the *Lives of the Saints*, a distinct and large work of itself, properly constituted a part of his plan. There is another copy of the *Lives of the Saints* in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. 2277. And in Ashmole's Museum, MSS. Ashm. ut supr. I think this manuscript is also in Bennet college library. The Lives seem to be placed according to their respective festivals in the course of the year. The Bodleian copy (marked 779.) is a thick folio, containing 310 leaves. The variations in these manuscripts seem chiefly owing to the transcribers. The Life of Saint Margaret in MSS. Bodl. 779. begins much like that of Trinity library at Cambridge.

Old ant yonge I preye you your foly is for to lete, &c.

I must add here, that in the Harleian library, a few Lives, from the same collection of *Lives of the Saints*, occur, MSS. 2250. 23. f. 72. b. seq. chart. fol. See also ib. 19. f. 48. These Lives are in French rhymes, ib. 2253. f. 1.

from

From the LIFE of Saint Swithin.

¹ Seint Swythan the confessor was her of Englonde,
 Bifyde Wynchestre he was ibore, as ich undirfonde :
 Bi the kynges dei Egbert this goode was ibore,
 That tho was kyng of Englonde, and somedeke eke bifore ;
 The eihethe he was that com aftur Kinewolfe the kyng,
 That feynt Berin dude to cristendome in Englonde furst
 brynge :

Seynt Austen hedde bifore to cristendom i brouht
 Athelbryt the goode kyng as al the londe nouht.
 Al fetthe ^m hyt was that feynt Berin her bi west wende,
 And tornede the kyng Kinewolfe as vr lord grace fende :
 So that Egbert was kyng tho that Swythan was bore
 The eighth was Kinewolfe that so long was bifore, &c.
 Seynt Swythan his bushopricke to al goodnesse drough
 The towne also of Wynchestre he amended inough,
 Ffor he lette the stronge brute withoute the toun arere
 And fond therto lym and ston and the workmen that
 ther were ⁿ.

From the LIFE of Saint Wolstan.

Seynt Wolston bysscop of Wirceter was then in Ingelonde,
 Swithe holyman was all his lyf as ich onderfonde :
 The while he was a yonge childe good lyf hi ladde ynow,
 Whenne other children orne play toward cherche hi drow.
 Seint Edward was tho vr kyng, that now in hevene is,
 And the bisscoppe of Wircester Brytthege is hette I wis, &c.
 Bisscop hym made the holi man feynt Edward vre kyng
 And undirfonge his dignite, and tok hym cros and ringe.

¹ Thus in MSS. Harl. fol. 78.

Seint Swythin the confessor was here of Englonde
 Bifide Wynchestre hi was ibore as ic vnderfonde.

^m Since.

ⁿ f. 93. MS. Vernon.

His bushopreke he wuſt wel, and eke his priorie,
 And forcede him to ſerve wel god and Seinte Marie.
 Ffour zer he hedde biſſcop ibeo and not folliche fyve
 Tho ſeynt Edward the holi kyng went out of this lyve.
 To gret reuge to al Engelonde, ſo welaway the ſtounde,
 Ffor ſtrong men that come ſithen and broughte Engelonde to
 grounde.

Harald was ſithen kynge with trefun, allas !
 The crowne he bare of England which while hit was.
 As William baſtard that was tho duyck of Normaundye
 Thouhte to winne Englonde thoroug ſtrength and felonye :
 He lette hym greith foulke inouh and gret power with him nom,
 With gret ſtrengthe in the ſee he him dude and to Engelonde
 com :

He lette ordayne his oſt wel and his baner up arerede,
 And deſtroyed all that he fond and that londe ſore aferde.
 Harald hereof tell kynge of Engelonde
 He let garke faſt his oſte agen hym for to ſtonde :
 His baronage of Engelonde redi was ful ſone
 The kyng to helpe and eke himſelf as riht was to done.
 The warre was then in Engelonde dolefull and ſtronge inouh
 And heore either of othures men al to grounde ſlough :
 The Normans and this Engliſch men deiſy of batayle nom
 There as the abbeye is of the batayle a day togedre com,
 To grounde thei ſmiit and ſlowe alſo, as god yaſ the cas,
 William Baſtard was above and Harald bi neothe was *.

From the LIFE of Saint Christopher.

^p Seynt Criſtofre was a Sarazin in the londe of Canaan,
 In no ſtud bi him daye mi fond non ſo ſtrong a man :

* MS. Vernon. fol. 76. b.

^p MSS. Harl. ut ſupr. fol. 101. b.

Seint Criſtofre was Sarazin in the lond of Canaan
 In no ſtede bi his daye ne fond me ſo ſtrong a man
 Four and tuenti ſet he was long and piche and brod y-neug, &c.

Ffour and twenti feete he was longe, and thikk and brod
inouh,

Such a mon but he weore stronge methinketh hit weore wouh :
A la cuntre where he was for him wolde fleo,
Therefore hym ythoughte that no man ageynst him sculde beo.
He seide he wolde with no man beo but with on that were,
Hext lord of all men and undir hym non othir were.

Afterwards he is taken into the service of a king.

-----Cristofre hym ferved longe ;
The kynge loved melodye much of fithle ^a and of songe :
So that his jogeler on a dai biforen him gon to pleye faste,
And in a tyme he nemped in his song the devil atte laste :
Anon so the kynge that I herde he blefed him anon, &c. ^c

From the LIFE of Saint Patrick.

Seyn Pateryk com thoru godes grace to preche in Irelande
To teche men ther ryt believe Jehu Cryste to understonde :
So ful of wormes that londe he founde that no man ni
myghte gon,
In som stede for worms that he nas wenemyd anon ;
Seynt Pateryk bade our lorde Cryst that the londe delyvered were,
Of thilke foul wormis that none ne com there ^d.

From the LIFE of Saint Thomas of Becket.

Ther was Gilbert Thomas fadir name the trewe man and gode
He loved God and holi cherche sett he witte ondirstode ^e.
The cros to the holi cherche in his zouthe he nom,
. . . myd on Rychard that was his mon to Jerlem com,

^a Fiddle.

^c MS. Vernon, fol. 119.

^e Bodl. MSS. 779. fol. 41. b.

^d MSS. Harl. fol. 195. b.

Gilbert was Thomas fader name þat true was and gód
And lovede god and holi church siþþe he wit understod.

This Harleian manuscript is imperfect in many parts.

Ther hy dede here pylgrimage in holi stedes faste
So that among Sarazyns hy wer nom at laste, &c. "

This legend of Saint Thomas of Becket is exactly in the style of all the others; and as Becket was martyred in the latter part of the reign of Henry the second from historical evidence, and as, from various internal marks, the language of these legends cannot be older than the twelfth century, I think we may fairly pronounce the LIVES OF THE SAINTS to have been written about the reign of Richard the first *.

These metrical narratives of christian faith and perseverance seem to have been chiefly composed for the pious amusement, and perhaps edification, of the monks in their cloisters. The sumptuous volume of religious poems which I have mentioned above ^v, was undoubtedly chained in the cloister, or church, of some capital monastery. It is not improbable that the novices were exercised in reciting portions from these pieces. In the British Museum ^z there is a set of legendary tales in rhyme, which appear to have been solemnly pronounced by the priest to the people on sundays and holidays. This sort of poetry ^a was also sung to the

^v MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 41. b.

^x Who died 1199. In the Cotton library I find the lives of Saint Josaphas and Saint Dorman: where the Norman seems to predominate, although Saxon letters are used. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. ix. Cod. membran. 4to. ii. fol. 192.

Ici commence la vie de seint Ioraphaz.

Ri uout vout a nul bien aentendre
Per essample poet mlt aprendre.

iii. fol. 213. b. *Ici commence la vie de seint Dorman.*

La vertu deu sur tut sur y dure
E tut surz est certeine epure.

Many legends and religious pieces in Norman rhyme were written about this time. See MSS. Harl. 2253 f. 1. membr. fol. supr. citat. p. 14.

^y Viz. MS. Vernon.

^z MSS. Harl. 2391. 70. The dialect is perfectly northern.

^a That legends of Saints were sung to the harp at feasts, appears from *The Life of Saint Marine*, MSS. Harl. 2253. fol. memb. f. 64. b.

Herketh hideward and beoth stille,
Y prae ou zif hit be or wille,
And ze shule here of one virgin
That was ycleped faint Maryne.
And from various other instances.

Some of these religious poems contain the usual address of the minstrel to the company. As in a poem of our Saviour's descent into hell, and his discourse there with Sathanas the porter, Adam, Eve, Abraham, &c. MSS. ibid. f. 57.

Alle herkeneth to me now,
A strif wolle y tellen ou:
Of Jhesu and of Sathan,
Tho Jhesu wes to hell y-gan.
Other proofs will occur occasionally.

harp by the minstrels on fundays, instead of the romantic subjects usual at public entertainments ^b.

In that part of Vernon's manuscript intitled SOULEHELE, we have a translation of the Old and New Testament into verse; which I believe to have been made before the year 1200. The reader will observe the fondness of our ancestors for the Alexandrine: at least, I find the lines arranged in that measure.

Oure ladi and hire sustur stoden under the roode,
And seint John and Marie Magdaleyn with wel fori moode :
Vr ladi bi heold hire swete son i brouht in gret pyne,
Ffor monnes gultes nouthen her and nothing for myne.
Marie weop wel fore and bitter teres leet,
The teres fullen uppon the ston doun at hire feet.
Alas, my son, for serwe wel off seide heo
Nabbe iche bote the one that honguft on the treo ;
So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo,
That ischal my deore child in all this pyne iseo :
How schal I sone deore, how hast i yougt liven withouten the,
Nufti nevere of serwe nought sone, what seyft you me ?
Then spake Jhesus wordus gode to his modur dere,
Ther he heng uppon the roode here I the take a fere,
That trewliche schal serve ye, thin own cofin Jon,
The while that you alyve beo among all thi son :
Ich the hote Jon, he seide, you wite hire both day and niht
That the Gywes hire son ne don hire non un riht.
Seint John in the stude vr ladi in to the temple nom
God to serven he hire dude sone so he thider come,
Hole and seeke heo duden good that hes founden thore
Heo hire serveden to hond and foot, the las and eke the more.

^b As I collect from the following poem,
MS. Vernon, fol. 229.
*The Visions of Seynt Poul anon he was rapt
into Parady.*

Lusteneth lordynges leof and dere,
Ze that wolen of the Sonday here ;

The Sonday a day hit is
That angels and archangels joynt i wis,
More in that ilke day
'Then any odur, &c.

The pore folke feire heo fedde there, heo sege that hit was neode
And the feke heo brougte to bedde and met and drinke gon
 heom beode.

Wy at heore mihte yong and olde hire loveden bothe fyke
 and fer

As hit was riht for alle and summe to hire servise hedden
 mester.

Jon hire was a trew feer, and nolde nought from hire go,
He lokid hire as his ladi deore and what heo wolde hit was i do.
Now blowith this newe fruyt that lat bi gon to springe,
That to his kuynd heritage monkunne schal bringe,
This new fruyt of whom I speke is vre cristendome,
That late was on erthe isow and latir furth hit com,
So hard and luthur was the lond of whom hit scholde springe
That wel unnethe eny rote men mougte theron bring,
God hi was the gardener, ' &c.

In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, among other Norman-Saxon homilies in prose, there is a homily or exhortation on the Lord's prayer in verse: which, as it was evidently transcribed rather before the reign of Richard the first, we may place with some degree of certainty before the year 1185.

Vre feder that in hevene is
That is al sothfull I wis.
Weo moten to theos weordes ifeon
That to live and to faule gode beon.
That weo beon swa his sunes iborene
That he beo feder and we him icorene.
That we don alle his ibeden
And his wille for to reden, &c.
Lauerde God we biddeth thus
Mid edmode heorte gif hit us.
That vre soule beo to the icore
Noht for the flesce for lore.

' MS. Vernon, fol. 8.

Dole us to biwepen vre funne
That we ne sternen noht therunne
And gif us, lauere, that ilke gifte
Thet we hes ibeten thurh holie scrifte. AMEN ^d.

In the valuable library of Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, is a sort of poetical biblical history, extracted from the books of Genesis and Exodus. It was probably composed about the reign of Henry the second or Richard the first. But I am chiefly induced to cite this piece, as it proves the excessive attachment of our earliest poets to rhyme: they were fond of multiplying the same final sound to the most tedious monotony; and without producing any effect of elegance, strength, or harmony. It begins thus:

Man og to luuen that rimes ren.
The wiffed wel the logede men.
Hu man may him wel loken
Thog he ne be lered on no boken.
Luuen god and seruen him ay
For he it hem wel gelden may.
And to al cristenei men
Boren pais and luue by twem.
Than sal him almighti luuen.
Here by nethen and thund abuuven,
And given him blisse and foules reste.
That him sal eauermor lesten.
Ut of Latin this song is a dragen
On Engleis speche on soche fagen,
Cristene men ogen ben so fagen.
So fueles arn quan he it sen dagen.
Than man hem telled soche tale
Wid londes speche and wordes smale
Of blisses dune, of forwes dale,

^d Quart. minor. 185. Cod. membran. vi. f. 21. b.

Quhu Lucifer that devel dwale
 And held him sperred in helles male,
 Til god him frid in manliched
 Dede mankinde bote and red.
 And unswered al the fendes sped
 And halp thor he sag mikel ned
 Bidde hie singen non other led.
 Thog mad hic folgen idel hed.
 Fader gode of al thinge,
 Almightin louerd, hegest kinge,
 Thu give me feli timinge
 To thau men this werdes bigininge.
 The lauerd god to wurthinge
 Quether so hic rede or finge *.

We find this accumulation of identical rhymes in the Runic odes. Particularly in the ode of Egill cited above, entitled EGILL'S RANSOM. In the Cotton library a poem is preserved of the same age, on the subjects of death, judgment, and hell torments, where the rhymes are singular, and deserve our attention.

Non mai longe lives wene
 Ac ofte him lieth the wrench.
 Feir weither turneth ofte into reine
 And thunderliche hit maketh his blench,
 Tharfore mon thu the biwench
 At schal falewi thi grene.
 Weilawei ! nis kin ne quene
 That ne schal drincke of deathes drench,
 Mon er thu falle of thi bench
 Thine sunne thu aquench †.

* MSS. R. 11. Cod. membran. octavo. It seems to be in the northern dialect.

† Bibl. Cotton, MSS. CALIG. A. ix.—vi. f. 243.

To the same period of our poetry I refer a version of Saint Jerom's French psalter, which occurs in the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge. The hundredth psalm is thus translated.

Mirthes to god al erthe that es
Serves to louerd in faines.
In go yhe ai in his fiht,
In gladnes that is fo briht.
Whites that louerd god is he thus
He us made and our self noht us,
His folk and shep of his fode:
In gos his yhates that are gode:
In schrift his worches belive,
In ympnes to him yhe scribe.
Heryhes his name for louerde is hende,
In all his merci do in strende and strande^z.

In the Bodleian library there is a translation of the psalms, which much resembles in style and measure this just mentioned. If not the same, it is of equal antiquity. The handwriting is of the age of Edward the second: certainly not later than his successor. It also contains the Nicene creed^h, and some church hymns, versified: but it is mutilated and imperfect. The nineteenth psalm runs thus.

Hevenes tellen godes blis
And wolken shewes hond werk his
Dai to dai word rise riht,
And wisdom shewes niht to niht,
Of whilke that noht is herde thar steven.
In al the world out yhode thar corde
And in ende of erthe of tham the worde.

^z O. 6. Cod. membr. 4to.

^h Hickes has printed a metrical version of the creed of St. Athanasius. To whom, to avoid prolix and obsolete specimens al-

ready printed, I refer the reader. *Theaur.* P. i. p. 233. I believe it to be of the age of Henry the second.

. . . funne he fette his telde to ftande
 And b. bridegroome a. he als of his lourd commande.
 He gladen als den to renne the wai
 Ffrem⁷ heighift heven hei outcoming ai,
 And his gairenning tilheht fete,
 Ne is qwilke mai him from his hete.
 Lagh of louerd unwenned iffe,
 Turnand faules in to bliffe :
 Witnefs of lourd is ever trewe
 Wifdom fervand to littell neue :
 Lourd's rihtwifneffe riht hertes famand,
 But of lourd is liht eghen fighand,
 Drede of lourde hit heli es
 Domes of love ful fori fothe are ai
 Rihted in thamfalve ar thai,
 More to be beyorned over golde
 Or fton derwurthi that is holde :
 Wel fwetter to mannes wombe
 Ovir honi and to kombe ⁱ.

This is the beginning of the eighteenth pfalm.

I fal love the Lourd of bliffe
 And in mine Lourd feftnes mineffe,
 And in fleming min als fo
 And in leffer out of wo^k.

I will add another religious fragment on the crucifixion, in the shorter meafure, evidently coeval, and intended to be fung to the harp.

Vyen i o the rode fe
 Jefu nayled to the tre,
 Jefu mi lefman,

^a Sic. ⁱ MSS. Bodl. pergamen. fol. 425. f. 5. ^k Ibid. f. 4.

Ibunder bloe and blodi,
 An hys moder stant him bi,
 Wepand, and Johan:
 Hys bac wid scwrge ifwungen,
 Hys fide depe iftungen,
 Ffor finne and louve of man,
 Weil anti finne lete
 An nek wit teres wete
 Thif i of love can¹.

In the library of Jesus college at Oxford, I have seen a Norman-Saxon poem of another cast, yet without much invention or poetry^m. It is a contest between an owl and a nightingale, about superiority in voice and singing; the decision of which is left to the judgment of one John de Guldevordⁿ. It is not later than Richard the first. The rhymes are multiplied, and remarkably interchanged.

Ich was in one fumere dale
 In one snwe digele hale,
 I herde ich hold grete tale,
 An hule ° and one nightingale.

¹ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. B. 3. 18. Th. f. 101. b. (Langb. vi. 209.)

^m It is also in Bibl. Cotton. MSS. CALIG. ix. A. 5. fol. 230.

ⁿ So it is said in Catal. MSS. Angl. p. 69. But by mistake. Our John de Guldevorde is indeed the author of the poem which immediately precedes in the manuscript, as appears by the following entry at the end of it, in the hand-writing of the very learned Edward Lwyhd. "On part of a broken leaf of this MS. I find these verses written, wherby the author may be guessed at.

"Mayster Johan eu greteth of Guldworde tho,

"And sendeth eu to seggen that synge he nul he wo,

"On thisse wise he will endy his songe,
 "God louerde of hevene, beo us alle amonge."

The piece is entitled and begins thus;
Ici commence la Passun Ihu Crist en engleys.
 I hereth eu one lutele tale that ich eu wille teile

As we vyndeth hit iwrite in the godspelle,
 Nis hit nouht of Karlemeyne ne of the Duzpere

As of Cristes thruwyng, &c.
 It seems to be of equal antiquity with that mentioned in the text. The whole manuscript, consisting of many detached pieces both in verse and prose, was perhaps written in the reign of Henry the sixth.

° Owl.

That plait was stif I stare and strong,
 Sum wile softe I lud among.
 Another agen other fval
 I let that wole mod ut al.
 I either feide of otheres custe,
 That alere worste that hi wuste
 I hure and I hure of others songe
 Hi hold plaidung fute stronge ^p.

The earliest love-song which I can discover in our language, is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. I would place it before or about the year 1200. It is full of alliteration, and has a burthen or chorus.

Blow northerne wynd, sent
 Thou me my fuetynge; blow
 Northerne wynd, blou, blou, blou.
 Ich ot a burde in boure bryht
 That fully femly is on fyht,
 Menskful maiden of myht,
 Feire ant fre to fonde.
 In al this wurhliche won,
 A burde of blod and of bon,
 Never ^a zete y nuste ^r non
 Luffomore in Londe. *Blow, &c.*
 With lokkes ^a leffiche and longe,
 With front ant face feir to fonde;
 With murthes monie mote heo monge
 That brid so breme in boure;
 With loffum eie grete and gode,
 Weth browen blifsfol undirhode,
 He that rest him on the rode
 That lesflych lyf honoure. *Blou, ^a &c.*

^p MSS. Coll. Jcs. Oxon. 86. membr. ^a Yet. ^r Knew not. ^s Lively. ^t Sic.

Hire bire limmes liht,
 Afe a lantern a nyht,
 Hyr bleo blynkyth fo bryht ^u.
 So feore heo is ant fyn,
 A fuetly fuyre heo hath to holde,
 With armes, fhuldre as mon wolde,
 Ant fyingres feyre forte fold :
 God wolde hue were myn.
 Middel heo hath menſkfull ſmall,
 Hire loveliche chere as criſtal ;
 Theyes, legges, fit, and al,
 Ywraught of the beſt ;
 A luſſum ladi laſteleſs,
 That ſweting is and ever wes ;
 A betere burde never was
 Yheried with the heſte,
 Heo ys dere worthe in day,
 Graciouſe, ſtout, and gaye,
 Gentil, joly, fo the jay,
 Workliche when ſhe waketh,
 Maiden murgeſt ^w of mouth
 Bi eſt, bi weſt, bi north, bi ſouth,
 That nis ficle ne trouth,
 That ſuch murthes maketh.
 Heo is corall of godneſſe,
 Heo is rubie of riche fulneſſe,
 Heo is criſtal of clarneſſe,
 Ant baner of bealtie,
 Heo is lilie of largeſſe,
 Heo is parnenke proneſſe,
 Heo is falſecle of fuetneſſe,
 Ant ladie of lealtie,

^u *Blee*. Complexion.

^w *Merrieſt*.

To lou that leflich ys in londe
Ytolde as hi as ych understonde, &c ^x.

From the same collection I have extracted a part of another amatorial ditty, of equal antiquity; which exhibits a stanza of no inelegant or unpleasing structure, and approaching to the octave rhyme. It is, like the last, formed on alliteration.

In a fryhte as y con fare framede
Y founde a wet feyr fenge to fere,
Heo glyftenide ase gold when hit glemed,
Nes ner gom so gladly on gere,
Y wolde wyte in world who hire kenede
This burde bryht, zef hire wil were,
Heo me bed go my gates, lest hire gremede,
Ne kept heo non henyng here ^y.

In the following lines a lover compliments his mistress named Alyfoun.

Bytween Mershe and Averile when spray beginneth to springe,
The lutel fowl hath hyre wyl on hyre lud to synge,
Ich libbem lonclonginge for semlokest of all thyng.
He may me blyffe bringe icham in hire banndonn,
An hendy happe ichabbe yhent ichot from hevene it is me sent.
From all wymmen mi love is lent and lyht on Alifoun,
On hers here is fayre ynoh, hire browe bronne, hire eye blake,
With lossun chere he on me lok with middel smal and
welymake,
Bote he me wolle to hire take, &c ^z.

The following song, containing a description of the spring, displays glimmerings of imagination, and exhibits some faint

^x MSS. Harl. 2253. fol. membran.
f. 72. b.

^y MSS. *ibid.* f. 66. The pieces which

I have cited from this manuscript, appear to be of the hand-writing of the reign of Edward the first.

^z MSS. *ibid.* f. 63. b.
ideas

ideas of poetical expression. It is, like the three preceding, of the Norman Saxon school, and extracted from the same inexhaustible repository. I have transcribed the whole.

In May hit murgeth when hit dawes ^a;
 In dounes with this dueres plawes ^b,
 Ant lef is lyht on lynde;
 Blofmes brideth on the bowes,
 Al this wylde whytes vowes,
 So wel ych under-fynde.
 The threste^cleue ^c hym threteth so,
 Away is huere wynter do,
 When woderove syngeth ferly fere,
 And blyleth on huere wynter wele,
 That al the wode ryngeth;
 The rose rayleth hir rode,
 The leves on the lyhte wode
 Waxen all with will:
 The mone mandeth hire bleo
 The lilie is loss^um to scho;
 The fengle and the fille
 Wowes this wilde drakes,
 Miles huere makes,
 As stre^me that still
 Mody moneth so doth mo.
 Ichott ycham on of tho
 For love that likes ille,
 The mone mandeth hire liht,
 When briddes syngeth breme,
 Deawes donneth the donnes
 Deores with huere derne ronnes,
 Domes forte deme,
 Wormes woweth under cloude,
 Wymmen waxith wondir proude,

^a "It is mery at dawn."

^b *Plays.*

^c *Throstle. Thrush.*

So wel hyt wol him feme
 Yef me shall wonte wille of on
 This weale is wole forgon
 Ant whyt in wode be fleme^d.

The following hexastich on a similar subject, is the product of the same rude period, although the context is rather more intelligible: but it otherwise deserves a recital, as it presents an early sketch of a favourite and fashionable stanza.

Lenten ys come with love to tonne,
 With blofmen and with briddes ronne,
 That al this bliffe bryngeth:
 Dayes ezes in this dales
 Notes fute of nightingales,
 Vch foul fonge fingeth^e.

This specimen will not be improperly succeeded by the following elegant lines, which a cotemporary poet appears to have made in a morning walk from Peterborough on the blessed Virgin: but whose genius seems better adapted to descriptive than religious subjects.

Now skruketh rose and lylie flour,
 That whilen ber that fute favour
 In fomer, that fute tyde;
 Ne is no quene so stark ne flour,
 Ne no luedy so bryht in bour
 That ded ne shal by glyde:
 Whofo wol fleshye lust for-gon and hevene-bliffe abyde
 On Jhesu be is thoht anon, that tharled was ys fide^f.

To which we may add a song, probably written by the same author, on the five joys of the blessed Virgin.

^d MSS. *ibid.* ut *supr.* f. 71. b.

^e MSS. *ibid.* f. 71. b.

^f *Ibid.* f. 80.

Aſe y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode, to ſeche play;
Mid herte y thohte al on a May.

Sueteſte of al thinge :
Lithe, and ich on tell may al of that ſuete thinge^g.

In the ſame paſtoral vein, a lover, perhaps of the reign of king John, thus addreſſes his miſtreſs, whom he ſuppoſes to be the moſt beautiful girl, “ Bituene Lyncolne and Lyn-
“ deſeye, Northampton and Lounde^h.”.

When the nytenhale finges the wodes waxen grene,
Leſ, gras, and bloſme, ſpringes in Avril y wene.
Ant love is to myn harte gon with one ſpere ſo kene
Nyht and day my blod hit drynkes myn hart deth me teneⁱ.

Nor are theſe verſes unpleaſing, in ſomewhat the ſame meaſure.

My deth y love, my lyf ich hate for a levedy ſhene,
Heo is brith ſo daies liht, that is on me wel ſene.
Al y falewe ſo doth the leſ in ſomir when hit is grene,
Zef mi thoht helpeth me noht to whom ſchal I me mene ?
Ich have loved at this yere that y may love na more,
Ich have fiked moni fyh, lemon, for thin ore,
. . . my love never the ner and that me reweth fore ;
Suete lemon, thenck on me ich have loved the ſore,
Suete lemon, I preye the, of love one ſpeche,
While y lyve in worlde ſo wyde other nill I ſeche^k.

Another, in the following little poem, enigmatically compares his miſtreſs, whoſe name ſeems to be Joan, to various gems and flowers. The writer is happy in his alliteration, and his verſes are tolerably harmonious.

^g MSS. *ibid.* f. 81. b.

^h London.

ⁱ *Ibid.* f. 80. b.

^k *Ibid.* f. 80. b.

Ic hot a burde in a bour, afe beryl fo bryght,
 Afe faphyr in felver femely on fyht,
 Afe jafpe¹ the gentil that lemeth^m with lyht,
 Afe gernetⁿ in golde and rubye wel ryht,
 Afe onycle^o he is on y holden on hyht;
 Afe diamand the dere in day when he is dyht:
 He is coral yend with Cayfer and knyght,
 Afe emeraude a morewen this may haveth myht.
 The myht of the margaryte haveth this mai mere,
 Ffor charbocele iche hire chafe bi chyn and bi chere,
 Hire rede ys as rofe that red ys on ryfe^p,
 With lilye white leves loffum he ys,
 The primros he paffeeth, the penenke of prys,
 With alifaundre thareto ache and anys:
^q Coynte as columbine fuch hire^r cande ys,
 Glad under gore in gro and in grys
 Heo is blofme upon bleo brihtest under bis
 With celydone ant fange as thou thi felf fys,
 From Weye he is wifist into Wyrhale,
 Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtegale;
 In a note is hire nome nempneth hit non
 Who fo ryht redeth ronne to Johon^s.

The curious Harleian volume, to which we are fo largely indebted, has preferved a moral tale, a Comparifon between age and youth, where the ftanza is remarkably conftituted. The various forts of verfification which we have already feen, evidently prove, that much poetry had been written, and that the art had been greatly cultivated, before this period.

Herkne to my ron, *Of clde al hou yt ges.*
 As ich ou tell con,

¹ Jafper.^m Streams, fhines.^q Quaint.^r White complexion.ⁿ Garnet.^o Onyx.^p Branch.^s MSS. *ibid.* f. 63.

Of a mody mon, *Soth without les.*
 Hihte Maximion,
 Clerc he was ful god, *Nou herkne hou it wes^t.*
 So moni mon undirstod.

For the same reason, a sort of elegy on our Saviour's crucifixion should not be omitted. It begins thus:

I fyke when y finge for forewe that y fe
 When y with wypinge bihold upon the tre,
 Ant fe Jhesu the suete
 Is hert blod for-lete,
 For the love of me;
 Ys woundes waxen wete,
 Thei wepen, still and mete,
 Marie reweth me^u.

Nor an alliterative ode on heaven, death, judgement, &c.

Middel-erd for mon was mad,
 Un-mihti aren is meste mede,
 This hedy hath on honde yhad,
 That hevene hem is hafte to hede.
 Ich erde a blisse budel us bade, *That be ben derne done.*
 The dreri domesdai to drede,
 Of sinful fauhting sone be fad,
 That derne doth this derne dede,
 This wrakefall werkes under wede,
 In foule foteleth sone^w.

Many of these measures were adopted from the French chansons *. I will add one or two more specimens.

^t Ibid. f. 82. ^u Ibid. f. 80. ^w Ibid. f. 62. b. * See MSS. Harl. ut *supr.* f. 49. 76.

On our Saviour's Passion and Death.

Jesu for thi muchele might
 Thou zef us of thi grace,
 That we mowe day and nyht
 Thenken of thi face.
 In myn hert it doth me god,
 When y thenke on Jhesu blod,
 That ran down bi ys fyde ;
 From is harte doune to ys fote,
 For ous he spradde is harte blode
 His wondes were so wyde ^y.

On the same subject.

Lutel wot hit any mon
 Hou love hym haveth y bounde,
 That for us o the rode ron,
 Ant boht us with is wonde ;
 The love of him us haveth ymaked found,
 And y cast the grimly gost to ground :
 Ever and oo, nyht and day, he haveth us in his thohte,
 He nul nout leose that he so deore boht ^z.

The following are on love and gallantry. The poet, named Richard, professes himself to have been a great writer of love-songs.

Weping haveth myn wonges wet,
 For wilked worke ant wone of wyt,
 Unblithe y be til y ha bet,
 Bruches broken ase bok byt :
 Of levedis love that y ha let,
 That lemeth al with luefly lyt,
 Ofte in songe y have hem set,
 That is unfemly ther hit fyt.

^y Ibid. f. 79. Probably this song has been somewhat modernised by transcribers.

^z Ibid. f. 128. These lines afterwards

occur, burlesqued and parodied, by a writer of the same age.

Hit fyt and femethe noht,
 Ther hit ys feid in fong
 That y have of them wroht,
 Y wis hit is all wrong ^a.

It was customary with the early scribes, when stanzas consisted of short lines, to throw them together like prose. As thus:

“ A wayle whiyt as whalles bon | a grein in golde that
 “ godly shon | a tortle that min hart is on | in tonnes trewe |
 “ Hire gladship nes never gon | while y may glewe ^b. ”

Sometimes they wrote three or four verses together as one line.

With longynge y am lad | on molde y waxe mad | a maide
 marreth me,
 Y grede y grone un glad | for felden y am sad | that semly
 for te fee.
 Levedi thou rewe me | to routhe thou havest me rad | be
 bote of that y bad | my lyf is long on the ^c.

Again,

Most i rydden by rybbes dale | widle wymmen for te wale |
 ant welde wreek ich wolde :
 Founde were the feirest on | that ever was mad of blod ant
 bon | in boure best with bolde ^d.

This mode of writing is not uncommon in antient manuscripts of French poetry. And some critics may be inclined to suspect, that the verses which we call Alexandrine, accidentally assumed their form merely from the practice of absurd transcribers, who frugally chose to fill their pages to the extremity, and violated the metrical structure for the sake

^a Ibid. f. 66.

^b Ut supr. f. 67.

^c Ibid. 63. b.

^d Ibid. f. 66.

of saving their vellum. It is certain, that the common stanza of four short lines may be reduced into two Alexandrines, and on the contrary. I have before observed, that the Saxon poem cited by Hickes, consisting of one hundred and ninety one stanzas, is written in stanzas in the Bodleian, and in Alexandrines in the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge. How it came originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine.

Our early poetry often appears in satirical pieces on the established and eminent professions. And the writers, as we have already seen, succeeded not amiss when they clothed their satire in allegory. But nothing can be conceived more scurrilous and illiberal than their satires when they descend to mere invective. In the British Museum, among other examples which I could mention, we have a satirical ballad on the lawyers^e, and another on the clergy, or rather some particular bishop. The latter begins thus :

Hyrd-men hatieth ant vch mones hyne,
 For ever uch a paroshe heo polketh in pyne
 Ant clastreth wyf heore celle;
 Nou wol vch fol clerc that is fayly
 Wend to the byshop ant bugge bayly,
 Nys no wyt in is nolle^f.

The elder French poetry abounds in allegorical satire : and I doubt not that the author of the satire on the monastic profession, cited above, copied some French satire on the subject. Satire was one species of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. Anselm Fayditt a troubadour of the eleventh century, who will again be mentioned, wrote a sort of satirical drama called the HERESY of the FATHERS, HEREGIA DEL PREYRES, a ridicule on the council which condemned the Albigenses. The papal legates often fell under

^e MSS. ut *supr.* f. 70. b.

^f *Ibid.* f. 71.

the last of these poets; whose favour they were obliged to court, but in vain, by the promise of ample gratuities^z. Hugues de Bercy, a French monk, wrote in the twelfth century a very lively and severe satire; in which no person, not even himself, was spared, and which he called the BIBLE, as containing nothing but truth^h.

In the Harleian manuscripts I find an ancient French poem, yet respecting England, which is a humorous panegyric on a new religious order called LE ORDRE DE BEL EYSE. This is the exordium.

Qui vodra a moi entendre
Oyr purra e aprendre
L'estoyre de un ORDRE NOVEL
Qe mout est delitous bel.

The poet ingeniously feigns, that his new monastic order consists of the most eminent nobility and gentry of both sexes, who inhabit the monasteries assigned to it promiscuously; and that no person is excluded from this establishment who can support the rank of a gentleman. They are bound by their statutes to live in perpetual idleness and luxury: and the satyrist refers them for a pattern or rule of practice in these important articles, to the monasteries of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, Beverley in Yorkshire, the Knights Hospitalers, and many other religious orders then flourishing in Englandⁱ.

When we consider the feudal manners, and the magnificence of our Norman ancestors, their love of military glory, the enthusiasm with which they engaged in the crusades, and the wonders to which they must have been familiarised from those eastern enterprises, we naturally suppose, what will hereafter be more particularly proved, that their retinues

^z Fontenelle, Hist. Theatr. Fr. p. 18.
edit 1742.

^h See Fauchett, Rec. p. 151.

ⁱ MSS. *ibid.* f. 121.

abounded with minstrels and harpers, and that their chief entertainment was to listen to the recital of romantic and martial adventures. But I have been much disappointed in my searches after the metrical tales which must have prevailed in their times. Most of those old heroic songs are perished, together with the stately castles in whose halls they were sung. Yet they are not so totally lost as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them still partly exist in the old English metrical romances, which will be mentioned in their proper places; yet divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, successively modernised by repeated transcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original composition. This has not been the case of the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the conquest, manuscripts of which abound in our libraries. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common; and being less frequently recited, became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration.

The most antient English metrical romance which I can discover, is entitled the *GESTE OF KING HORN*. It was evidently written after the crusades had begun, is mentioned by Chaucer^k, and probably still remains in its original state. I will first give the substance of the story, and afterwards add some specimens of the composition. But I must premise, that this story occurs in very old French metre in the manuscripts of the British Museum^l, so that probably it is a translation: a circumstance which will throw light on an argument pursued hereafter, proving that most of our metrical romances are translated from the French.

Mury, king of the Saracens, lands in the kingdom of Sudene, where he kills the king named Allof. The queen, Godylt, escapes; but Mury seizes on her son Horne, a beau-

^k Rim. Thop. 3402. Urr.

^l MSS. Harl. 527. b. f. 59. Cod. membr.

tiful youth aged fifteen years, and puts him into a galley, with two of his play-fellows, Achulph and Fykenyld: the vessel being driven on the coast of the kingdom of Westnesse, the young prince is found by Aylmar king of that country, brought to court, and delivered to Athelbrus his steward, to be educated in hawking, harping, tilting, and other courtly accomplishments. Here the princess Rymenild falls in love with him, declares her passion, and is betrothed. Horne, in consequence of this engagement, leaves the princess for seven years; to demonstrate, according to the ritual of chivalry, that by seeking and accomplishing dangerous enterprises he deserved her affection. He proves a most valorous and invincible knight: and at the end of seven years, having killed king Mury, recovered his father's kingdom, and atchieved many signal exploits, recovers the princess Rymenild from the hands of his treacherous knight and companion Fykenyld; carries her in triumph to his own country, and there reigns with her in great splendor and prosperity. The poem itself begins and proceeds thus:

Alle heo ben blythe, that to my songe ylythe^m:
 A songe yet ulle ou singe of Alloff the god kynge,
 Kynge he was by weste the whiles hit y leste;
 And Godylt his gode quene, no feyroke myhte bene,
 Ant huere sone hihte Horne, feyroke childe ne myhte be borne:
 For reyne ne myhte by ryne ne sonne myhte shine
 Feyror childe than he was, bryht so ever eny glas,
 So whyte so eny lilye floure, so rose red was his colour;
 He was feyre ant eke bold, and of fyfteene wynter old,
 This non his yliche in none kinges ryche.
 Tueye ferenⁿ he hadde, that he with him ladde,
 Al rychemenne sonne, and al suyth feyre gromes,
 Weth hem forte pley anuste^o he loved tueye,

^m Listen.

ⁿ Companions.

^o Alike.

That

That on was hoten Achulph child, and that other Ffykenild,
 Aculph was the best, and Ffykenyld the werste,
 Yt was upon a somerday also, as ich one telle may,
 Allof the gode kyng rode upon his pleyng,
 Bi the se fide, there he was woned to ride;
 With him ne ryde bot tuo, at to felde hue were tho :
 He fond bi the stonde, aryved on is lond,
 Shipes systene of Sarazins kene :
 He asked what hue sohten other on his lond brohten.

But I hasten to that part of the story where prince Horne appears at the court of the king of Westnesse.

The kyng com into hall, among his knyghtes alle,
 Forth he cleped Athelbrus, his stewarde, him seyde thus :
 “ Steward tal thou here my fundling for to lere,
 “ Of some mystere of woode and of ryvere ^p,
 “ And toggen othe harpe with is nayles sharpe ^q,
 “ And teche at the listes that thou ever wistes,
 “ Byfore me to kerven, and of my course to serven ^r,

^p So Robert de Brunne of king Marian.
 Hearne's Rob. Gloc. p. 622.

—Marian faire in chere
 He couthe of wod and ryvere
 In alle maner of venrie, &c.

^r In another part of the poem he is introduced playing on his harp.

Horne sett hi abenche, his harpe he gan
 clenche,
 He made Rymenild a lay ant he feide
 weilaway, &c.

In the chamber of a bishop of Winchester at Merdon castle, now ruined, we find mention made of benches only. Comp. MS. J. Gervys, Episcop. Winton, 1266. “ Iidem red. comp. de ii. mensis in aula ad magnum descum. Et de iii. mensis, ex una parte, et ii. mensis ex altera parte cum tressellis in aula. Et de i. mensa

“ cum tressellis in camera dom. episcopi. “ Et v. *formis* in eadem camera.” *Descus*, in old English *dees*, is properly a canopy over the high table. See a curious account of the goods in the palace of the bishop of Nivernois in France, in the year 1287, in Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 984. col. 2.

^r According to the rules of chivalry, every knight before his creation passed through two offices. He was first a page : and at fourteen years of age he was formally admitted an esquire. The esquires were divided into several departments ; that of the body, of the chamber, of the stable, and the carving esquire. The latter stood in the hall at dinner, where he carved the different dishes with proper skill and address, and directed the distribution of them among the guests. The inferior offices had also their respective esquires. Mem. anc. Cheval. i. 16. seq.

“ Ant his feren devyfe without other furmife ;
 “ Horne-childe, thou underftond, teche hym of harpe and
 “ fonge.”

Athelbrus gon leren Horne and hyfe feren ;
 Horne mid herte laghte al that mon hym taghte,
 Within court and withoute, and overall aboute,
 Lovede men Horne-child, and moft him loved Ymenild
 The kinges owne dothter, for he was in hire thohte,
 Hire loved him in hire mod, for he was faire and eke gode,
 And that tyne ne dorfte at worde and myd hem fpek ner a
 worde,

Ne in the halle, amonge the knyhtes alle,
 Hyre forewe and hire payne nolde never fayne,
 Bi daye ne bi nyhte for here fpeke ne myhte,
 With Horne that was fo feir and fre, tho hue ne myhte with
 him be ;

In herte hue had care and wo, and thus hire bihote hire tho :
 Hue fende hyre fonde Athelbrus to honde,
 That he come here to, and alfo childe Horne do,
 In to hire boure, for hue bigon to loure,
 And the fond * fayde, that feek was the mayde,
 And bed hym quyke for hue nis non blyke.
 The ftewarde was in huerte wo, for he wift whit he fhulde do,
 That Rymenyld byfohte gret wonder him thohte ;
 About Horne he yinge to boure forte bringe,
 He thohte en his mode hit nes for none gode ;
 He toke with him another, Athulph Horne's brother †,
 “ Athulph, quoth he, ryht anon thou fhalt with me to boure
 “ gon,

“ To fpeke with Rymenyld ftille, and to wyte hire wille,
 “ Thou art Horne's yliche, thou fhalt hire by fuyke,
 “ Sore me adrede that hire wil Horne mys rede.”
 Athelbrus and Athulf tho to hire boure both ygo,

* Mefſenger.

† Companion, friend.

Upon Athulf childe Rymenilde con vox wilde,
 Hue wende Horne it were, that hue hadde there ;
 Hue setten adown stille, and seyden hire wille,
 In her armes tweye Athulf she con leye,
 " Horne, quoth heo, wellong I have lovede thee strong,
 " Thou shalt thy truth plyht in myne honde with ryht,
 " Me to spoufe welde and iche the loverde to helde."
 " So stille so hit were, Achulf feide in her ere,
 " Ne tel thou no more speche may y the byseche
 " Thi tale---thou linne, for Horne his nout his ynne, &c."

At length the princess finds she has been deceived, the steward is severely reprimanded, and prince Horne is brought to her chamber ; when, says the poet,

Of is fayre fyhte al that boure gan lyhte ".

It is the force of the story in these pieces that chiefly engages our attention. The minstrels had no idea of conducting and describing a delicate situation. The general manners were gross, and the arts of writing unknown. Yet this simplicity sometimes pleases more than the most artificial touches. In the mean time, the pictures of antient manners presented by these early writers, strongly interest the imagination : especially as having the same uncommon merit with the pictures of manners in Homer, that of being founded in truth and reality, and actually painted from the life. To talk of the grossness and absurdity of such manners is little to the purpose ; the poet is only concerned in the justness and faithfulness of the representation.

^u MSS. *ibid.* f. 83. Where the title is written, " þe zelte of kyng Horne." There is a copy, much altered and modernised, in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, W. 4. i. Numb. xxxiv. The title

Horn-childe and Maiden Riniuel. The beginning,

Mi leve frende dere,
 Herken and ye shall here.

S E C T. II.

HITHERTO we have been engaged in examining the state of our poetry from the conquest to the year 1200, or rather afterwards. It will appear to have made no very rapid improvement from that period. Yet as we proceed, we shall find the language losing much of its antient barbarism and obscurity, and approaching more nearly to the dialect of modern times.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry the third, a poem occurs, the date of which may be determined with some degree of certainty. It is a satirical song, or ballad, written by one of the adherents of Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, a powerful baron, soon after the battle of Lewes, which was fought in the year 1264, and proved very fatal to the interests of the king. In this decisive action, Richard king of the Romans, his brother Henry the third, and prince Edward, with many others of the royal party, were taken prisoners.

I.

Sitteth alle stille, ant herkeneth to me :
 The kynge of Alemaigne ^a, bi mi leaute ^b,
 Thritti thoufent pound askede he
 For te make the pees ^c in the countre ^d,
 And so so he dude more.
 Richard, thah ^e thou be ever tricchard ^f,
 Tricthen shall thou never more.

^a The king of the Romans.

^b Loyalty.

^c Peace.

^d The barons made this offer of thirty thousand pounds to Richard.

^e Though.

^f Treacherous.

II.

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he was kying,
 He spende al is trefour opon fwyvying,
 Haveth he nout of Walingford oferlyng ^s,
 Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng ^t,
 Maugre Wyndefore ⁱ.
 Richard, thah thou, &c,

III.

The kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel ^k,
 He saifede the mulne for a castel ^l,
 With hare ^m sharpe fwerdes he grounde the stel,
 He wende that the fayles were mangonel ⁿ.
 To help Wyndefore.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

IV.

The kyng of Alemaigne gederede ^o ys oft,
 Makede hym a castel of a mulne post ^p,

^s *Overlyng*. i. e. superiour. But perhaps the word is *osterlyng*, for *esterlyng*, a French piece of money. Wallingford was one of the honours conferred on Richard, at his marriage with Sanchia daughter of the count of Provence.

^t "Let him have, as he brews, poison to drink."

ⁱ Windsor-castle was one of the king's chief fortresses.

^k "Thought to do full well."

^l Some old chronicles relate, that at the battle of Lewes Richard was taken in a wind-mill. Hearne MSS. Coll. vol. 106. p. 82. Robert of Gloucester mentions the same circumstance, edit. Hearne, p. 547.

The king of Alemaigne was in a wind-mulle inome.

Richard and prince Edward took shelter in the Grey-friars at Lewes, but were afterwards imprisoned in the castle of Wallingford. See Hearne's Langtoft, Gloss. p. 616. And Rob. Glouc. p. 548. Robert de Brunne, a poet of whom I shall speak at large in his proper place, translates the onset of this battle with some spirit, edit. Hearne, p. 217.

Symon com to the felde, and put up his banere,

The king schewed forth his schelde, his dragon ful austere:

The kyng saide on hie, *Simon ico vous desje*, &c.

^m Their.

• Gathered.

ⁿ Battering-rams.

^p Mill-post.

Wende

Wende with is prude^a, ant is muckele boſt,
Brohte from Almayne mony fori goſt^b;
To ſtore Wyndefore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

V.

By god that is aboven ous he dude muche fynne,
That let paſſen over ſee the erl of Warynne^c:
He hath robbed Engeland, the mores, ant the fenne,
The gold, ant the ſelver, and y-boren henne,
For love of Wyndefore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

VI.

Syre Simonde de Mountfort hath fuore bi ys chyn,
Hevede^d he nou here the erle of Waryn,
Shuld he never more come to is yn^e,
Ne with ſhelde, ne with ſpere, ne with other gyn^f,
To help of Wyndefore:
Richard, thah thou, &c.

VII.

Syre Simond de Montfort hath fwore bi ys fot,
Hevede he nou here Sire Hue of de Bigot,

^a Pride.

^b He brought with him many foreigners, when he returned to England, from taking poſſeſſion of his dignity of king of the Romans. This gave great offence to the barons. It is here inſinuated, that he intended to gariſon Windfor-caſtle with theſe foreigners. The barons obliged him to

diſmiſs moſt of them ſoon after he landed in England.

^c The earl of Warren and Surry, and Hugh le Bigot the king's juſticiary, mentioned in the ſeventh ſtanza, had fled into France.

^d Had. ^e Habitation, home.

^f Engine, Weapon.

Al he shulde grante hen twelfemonth scot *.
 Shulde he never more with his sot pot,
 To help Wyndesore.
 Richard thah thou, &c.

These popular rhymes had probably no small influence in encouraging Leicester's partisans, and diffusing his faction. There is some humour in imagining that Richard supposed the windmill to which he retreated, to be a fortification; and that he believed the sails of it to be military engines. In the manuscript from which this specimen is transcribed, immediately follows a song in French, seemingly written by the same poet, on the battle of Evesham fought the following year; in which Leicester was killed, and his rebellious barons defeated^y. Our poet looks upon his hero as a martyr: and particularly laments the loss of Henry his son, and Hugh le Despenser justiciary of England. He concludes with an English stanza, much in the style and spirit of those just quoted.

A learned and ingenious writer, in a work which places the study of the law in a new light, and proves it to be an entertaining history of manners, has observed, that this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne probably occasioned a statute against libels in the year 1275, under the title, "Against slanderous reports, or tales to cause discord betwixt king and people^z." That this spirit was growing to an extravagance which deserved to be checked, we shall have occasion to bring further proofs.

I must not pass over the reign of Henry the third, who died in the year 1272, without observing, that this monarch

* Year's tax. I had transcribed this ballad from the British Museum, and written these few cursory explanations, before I knew that it was printed in the second edition of doctor Percy's Ballads, ii. 1. See MSS. Harl. ut supr. f. 58. b.

f. 59. It begins,

Chaunter mestoit | mon ever le voit | en un
 dure langage,

Tut en pluraunt | fust fet le chaunt | de noi-
 tre dux Baronage, &c.

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE STA-
 TUTES, CHIEFLY THE MORE ANCIENT,
 &c. edit. 1766. p. 71.

entertained

entertained in his court a poet with a certain salary, whose name was Henry de Avranches ^a. And although this poet was a Frenchman, and most probably wrote in French, yet this first instance of an officer who was afterwards, yet with sufficient impropriety, denominated a *poet laureate* in the English court, deservedly claims particular notice in the course of these annals. He is called *Master Henry the Versifier* ^b: which appellation perhaps implies a different character from the royal *Minstrel* or *Joculator*. The king's treasurers are ordered to pay this *Master Henry* one hundred shillings, which I suppose to have been a year's stipend, in the year 1251 ^c. And again the same precept occurs under the year 1249 ^d. Our master Henry, it seems, had in some of his verses reflected on the rusticity of the Cornish men. This insult was resented in a Latin satire now remaining, written by Michael Blaunpayne, a native of Cornwall, and recited by the author in the presence of Hugh abbot of Westminster, Hugh de Mortimer official of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop elect of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester ^e. While we are speaking of the *Versifier*

^a See Carew's *Surv. Cornw.* p. 58. edit. 1602.

^b Henry of Huntingdon says, that Walo *Versificator* wrote an epigram on Henry the first. And that the same Walo *Versificator* wrote a poem on the park which that king made at Woodstock. Apud Leland's *Collectan.* vol. ii. 303. i. 197. edit. 1770. Perhaps he was in the department of Henry mentioned in the text. One Gualo, a Latin poet, who flourished about this time, is mentioned by Bale, iii. 5. and Pitts, p. 233. He is commended in the *POLICRATICON*. A copy of his Latin hexametrical satire on the monks is printed by Matthias Flacius, among miscellaneous Latin poems *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*, p. 489. Basil. 1557. oct.

^c "Magistro Henrico Versificatori." See Madox, *Hist. Excheq.* p. 268.

^d Ibid. p. 674. In MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. I find, in John of Hoveden's *Salutationes quinquaginta Mariæ*, "Mag-

"Henricus, VERSIFICATOR MAGNUS, de B. Virgine, &c."

^e MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. Bodl. 29. in pergam. 4to. viz. "Versus magistri Michaelis Cornubiensis contra Mag. Henricum Abricensem coram dom. Hugone abbate Westmon. et aliis." fol. 81. b. *Princ.* "ARCHIPOETA vide quod non sit cura tibi de." See also fol. 83. b. Again, fol. 85.

Pendo poeta prius te diximus ARCHIPOETAM,

Quam pro postico nunc dicimus esse poetam, Imo poeticulum, &c.

Archipoeta means here the king's chief poet.

In another place our Cornish satirist thus attacks master Henry's person.

Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, et latus apri;
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens et gena muli:
Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, et coler undique mauri.

of Henry the third, it will not be foreign to add, that in the thirty-sixth year of the same king, forty shillings and one pipe of wine were given to Richard the king's harper, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife^c. But why this gratuity of a pipe of wine should also be made to the wife, as well as to the husband, who from his profession was a genial character, appears problematical according to our present ideas.

The first poet whose name occurs in the reign of Edward the first, and indeed in these annals, is Robert of Glocester, a monk of the abbey of Glocester. He has left a poem of considerable length, which is a history of England in verse, from Brutus to the reign of Edward the first. It was evidently written after the year 1278, as the poet mentions king Arthur's sumptuous tomb, erected in that year before the high altar of Glastenbury church^d: and he declares himself a living witness of the remarkably dismal weather which distinguished the day on which the battle of Evesham above-mentioned was fought, in the year 1265^e. From these and other circumstances this piece appears to have been composed about the year 1280. It is exhibited in the manuscripts, is cited by many antiquaries, and printed by Hearne, in the Alexandrine measure: but with equal probability might have been written in four-lined stanzas. This rhyming chronicle is totally destitute of art or imagination. The author has clothed the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth in rhyme, which have often a more poetical air in Geoffrey's prose. The

In a blank page of the Bodleian manuscript, from which these extracts are made, is written, "*Iste liber constat fratri Johanni de Wallis monacho Ramesey.*" The name is elegantly enriched, with a device. This manuscript contains, among other things, *Planctus de Excidio Troje*, by Hugo Prior de Montacuto, in rhyming hexameters and pentameters, viz. fol. 89. Camden cites other Latin verses of Michael Blaupain, whom he calls "Merry Michael

"the Cornish poet." Rem. p. 10. See also p. 489. edit. 1674. He wrote many other Latin pieces, both in prose and verse.

^c Rot. Pip. an. 36. Henr. iii. "Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato magistro Ricardo Citharistæ regis, xl. fol. per Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi."

^d Pag. 224. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1724.
^e Pag. 560.

language is not much more easy or intelligible than that of many of the Norman Saxon poems quoted in the preceding section : it is full of Saxonisms, which indeed abound, more or less, in every writer before Gower and Chaucer. But this obscurity is perhaps owing to the western dialect, in which our monk of Gloucester was educated. Provincial barbarisms are naturally the growth of extreme counties, and of such as are situated at a distance from the metropolis: and it is probable, that the Saxon heptarchy, which consisted of a cluster of seven independent states, contributed to produce as many different provincial dialects. In the mean time it is to be considered, that writers of all ages and languages have their affectations and singularities, which occasion in each a peculiar phraseology.

Robert of Gloucester thus describes the sports and solemnities which followed king Arthur's coronation.

The kyng was to ys paleys, tho the servyse was y do ^e,
 Ylad wyth his menyne, and the quene to hire also.
 Vor hii hulde the olde usages, that men wyth men were
 By them fulve, and wymmen by hem fulve also there ^h.
 Tho hii were echone yfett, as yt to her stat bycom,
 Kay, king of Aungeo, a thousand knytes nome
 Of noble men, yclothed in ermyne echone
 Of on fywete, and servede at thys noble fest anon.
 Bedwer the botyler, kyng of Normandye,
 Nom also in ys half a vayr companye
 Of one fywyte ⁱ wort to servy of the botelerye.
 Byvore the quene yt was also of al suche cortefye,
 Vorto telle al the noblye thet ther was ydo,
 They my tonge were of stel, me sholde noght dure therto.

^e " When the service in the church was finished."

^h " They kept the antient custom at festivals, of placing the men and women separate. Kay, king of Anjou, brought

" a thousand noble knights cloathed in ermine of one suit, or *jeſſa*."

ⁱ " Brought also, on his part, a fair company cloathed uniformly."

Wymmen ne kepte of no kyngt as in druery ^k,
 Bote he were in armys wel yproved, and atte leste thrye ^l.
 That made, lo, the wymmen the chaftore lyf lede,
 And the kyngtes the ftalwordore ^m, and the betere in her dede.
 Sone after thys noble mete ⁿ, as ryght was of fuch tyde,
 The kynghts atyled hem aboute in eche fyde,
 In feldys and in medys to prove her bachelerye ^o.
 Somme wyth lance, fome wyth fuerd, wythoute vylenye,
 Wyth pleyinge at tables, other atte chekere ^p,
 Wyth caftyng, other wyth flettinge ^q, other in fome ogyrt
 manere.

And wuch fo of eny game adde the mayftrye,
 The kyng hem of ys gyfteth dyde large cortyfyte.
 Upe the alurs of the caftles the laydes thanne ftode,
 And byhulde thys noble game, and wyche kyngts were god.
 All the thre hexte dawes ^r ylafted thys nobleye
 In halles and in veldes, of mete and eke of pleye.
 Thys men com the verthe ^s day byvore the kynge there,
 And he gef hem large gyftys, evere as hii werthe were.
 Bifshopryches and cherches clerkes he gef fome,
 And caftles and townes kyngtes that were ycome ^t.

Many of thefe lines are literally tranflated from Geoffry of Monmouth. In king Arthur's battle with the giant at

^k Modesty, decorum. ^l Thrice.

^m More brave.

ⁿ "Soon after this noble feaft, which
 " was proper at fuch an occafion, the
 " knights accoutred themfelves."

^o Chivalry, courage, or youth.

^p Chefs. It is remarkable, that among the
 nine exercifes, or accomplifhments, men-
 tioned by Kolfon, an antient northern chief,
 one is Playing at chefs. Bartholin. ii. c. 8.
 p. 420. This game was familiarifed to the
 Europeans after the cruſades. The romances
 which followed theſe expeditions are full of
 it. Kolfon, above-mentioned, had made
 a pilgrimage into the holy land. But from
 the principles advanced in the firſt INTRO-

DUCTORY DISSERTATION, this game
 might have been known in the North before.
 In the mean time, it is probable that the Sa-
 racens introduced it into Spain before the
 cruſades. It is mentioned by G. of Mon-
 mouth, and in the Alexiad of Anna Com-
 mena. See Mem. Acad. Lit. v. 232.

^q Different ways of playing at chefs.
 " The ladies ſtood on the walks made
 " within the battlements of the caſtle."

^r " All the three high, or chief days.
 " In hills and fields, of ſcaſting, and tur-
 " neying, &c."

^s Fourth.

^t Pag. 191. 192.

Barbesfleet, there are no marks of Gothic painting. But there is an effort at poetry in the description of the giant's fall.

Tho grisflych yal the ffrewe tho, that grisflych was his bere,
He vel doun as a gret ok, that bynethe ycorve were,
That it thogte that al hul myd the vallynge flook “.

That is, “ This cruel giant yelled so horribly, and so vehement was his fall, that he fell down like an oak cut through at the bottom, and all the hill shook while he fell.” But this stroke is copied from Geoffry of Monmouth; who tells the same miraculous story, and in all the pomp with which it was perhaps dressed up by his favourite fablers. “ Exclamavit “ vero invifus ille; et velut quercus ventorum viribus eradicata, cum maximo fonitu corruit.” It is difficult to determine which is most blameable, the poetical historian, or the profaic poet.

It was a tradition invented by the old fablers, that giants brought the stones of Stonehenge from the most sequestered deserts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland; that every stone was washed with juices of herbs, and contained a medical power; and that Merlin the magician, at the request of king Arthur, transported them from Ireland, and erected them in circles on the plain of Amesbury, as a sepulchral monument for the Britons treacherously slain by Hengist. This fable is thus delivered, without decoration, by Robert of Glocester.

“ Sire kyng, quoth Merlin tho, fuche thynges y wis
“ Ne bethe for to schewe nogt, but wen gret nede ys,
“ For gef iche feid in bismare, other bute it ned were,
“ Sone from me he wold wende the goft, that doth me lere “:

^u Pag. 208.

^w If I should say any thing out of wantoness or vanity, the spirit, or demon, which teaches me, would immediately leave

me. “ Nam si ea in derisionem, sive vanitatem, proferrem, taceret Spiritus qui me docet, et, cum opus superveniret, recederet.” Galfrid. Mon. viii. 10.

The kyng, tho non other nas, bod hym fom quoyntise
 Bithinke about thilk cors that so noble were and wyfe ^x.
 “ Sire kyng, quoth Merlin tho, gef thou wolt here caste
 “ In the honour of men, a worke that ever schal ylaste ^y,
 “ To the hul of Kylar ^z send in to Yrlond,
 “ Aftur the noble stoncs that ther habbet ^a lenge yfsonde;
 “ That was the treche of giandes ^b, for a quoynte work ther ys
 “ Of stoncs al wyth art ymad, in the world such non ys.
 “ Ne ther nys nothing that me scholde myd strengthe adoune
 “ cast.
 “ Stode heo here, as heo doth there ever a wolde last ^c.
 The kyng fomdele to lyghe ^d, tho he herde this tale,
 “ How mygte, he seyde, suche stoncs so grete and so fale ^e,
 “ Be ybrogt of so fer lond? And get mist of were,
 “ Me wolde wene, that in this londe no ston to wonke nere,”
 “ Syre kyng, quoth Merlyn, ne make noght an ydel such
 “ lyghyng.
 “ For yt nys an ydel noght that ich tell this tythyng ^f.
 “ For in the farreste stude of Affric giands while sette ^g
 “ Thike stoncs for medycyne and in Yrlond hem sette,
 “ While heo wonenden in Yrlond to make here bathes there,
 “ Ther undir forto bathi wen thei fyk were.
 “ For heo wuld the stoncs wasch and ther enne bathe ywis.
 “ For ys no ston ther among that of gret vertu nys ^h.
 The kyng and ys conseil radde ⁱ the stoncs forto sette,
 And with gret power of batail gef any more hem lette

^x “ Bade him use his cunning, for the
 “ sake of the bodies of those noble and
 “ wise Britons.”

^y “ If you would build, to their honour,
 “ a lasting monument.”

^z “ To the hill of Kildare.”

^a Have.

^b “ The dance of giants.” The name
 of this wonderful assembly of immense stones.

^c “ Grandes sunt lapides, nec est aliquis
 “ ejus virtuti cedant. Quod si eo modo,
 “ quo ibi positi sunt, circa plateam loca-

“ buntur, stabunt in æternum.” Galfrid.
 Mon. viii. x. 11.

^d “ Somewhat laughed.”

^e “ So great and so many.” ^f Tyding.

^g “ Giants once brought them from the
 “ farthest part of Africa, &c.”

^h “ Lavabant namque lapides et infra
 “ balnea distendebant, unde ægroti cura-
 “ bantur. Miscebant etiam cum herbarum
 “ confectioibus, unde vulnerati sanaban-
 “ tur. Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento
 “ careat.” Galfrid. Mon. ibid. ⁱ Rode.

Uter the kynges brother, that Ambrose hett also,
 In another name ychose was therto,
 And fiteene thousand men this dede for to do
 And Merlyn for his quaintise thider went also *.

If any thing engages our attention in this passage, it is the wildness of the fiction; in which however the poet had no share.

I will here add Arthur's intrigue with Ygerne.

At the fest of Estre tho kyng fende ys sonde,
 That heo comen alle to London the hey men of this londe,
 And the levedys al so god, to ys noble fest wyde,
 For he schulde crowne here, for the hye tyde.
 Alle the noble men of this lond to the noble fest come,
 And heore wyves and heore dogtren with hem mony nome,
 This fest was noble ynow, and nobliche y do;
 For mony was the faire ledy, that y come was therto.
 Ygerne, Gorloys wyf, was fairest of echon,
 That was contasse of Cornewail, for so fair nas ther non.
 The kyng by huld hire faste y now, and ys herte on hire caste,
 And thogte, thay heo were wyf, to do folye atte last.

* Pag. 145. 146. 147. That Stonehenge is a British monument, erected in memory of Hengist's massacre, rests, I believe, on the sole evidence of Geoffry of Monmouth, who had it from the British bards. But why should not the testimony of the British bards be allowed on this occasion? For they did not invent facts, so much as fables. In the present case, Hengist's massacre in an allowed event. Remove all the apparent fiction, and the bards only say, that an immense pile of stones was raised on the plain of Ambresbury in memory of that event. They lived too near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge. The whole story was recent, and from the immensity of the work itself, must have been still more notorious. Therefore their forgery would have been too glaring. It may be objected, that they were fond of referring every thing stupendous to their fa-

vourite hero Arthur. This I grant: but not when known authenticated facts stood in their way, and while the real cause was remembered. Even to this day, the massacre of Hengist, as I have partly hinted, is an undisputed piece of history. Why should not the other part of the story be equally true? Besides the silence of Nennius, I am aware, that this hypothesis is still attended with many difficulties and improbabilities. And so are all the systems and conjectures ever yet framed about this amazing monument. It appears to me, to be the work of a rude people who had some ideas of art: such as we may suppose the Romans left behind them among the Britons. In the mean time I do not remember, that in the very controverted etymology of the word *Stonehenge* the name of HENGIST has been properly or sufficiently considered.

He made hire femblant fair y now, to non other so gret.
 The erl nas not ther with y payed, tho he yt under get.
 Aftur mete he nom ys wyfe myd stordy med y now,
 And, with oute leve of the kyng, to ys contrei drow.
 The kyng sende to hym tho, to by leve al nygt,
 For he moſte of gret conſel hadde ſom inſygt.
 That was for nogt. Wolde he nogt the kyng ſende get ys
 ſonde.

That he by levede at ys parlamente, for nede of the londe.
 The kyng was, tho he nolde nogt, anguyſſous and wroth.
 For deſpyte he wolde a wreke be he ſwor ys oth,
 Bute he come to amendement. Ys power atte laſte
 He garked, and wende forth to Cornewail faſte.
 Gorloys ys caſteles a ſtore al a boutte.
 In a ſtrong caſtel he dude ys wyf, for of hire was al ys doute.
 In another hym ſelf he was, for he nolde nogt,
 Gef cas come, that heo were bothe to dethe y brogt.
 The caſtel, that the erl inne was, the kyng by ſegede faſte,
 For he mygte ys gynnes for ſchame to the oter caſte.
 Tho he was ther ſene nygt, and he ſpedde nogt,
 Igerne the conteſſe ſo muche was in ys thogt,
 That he nuſte nen other wyt, ne he ne mygte for ſchame
 Telle yt bute a pryve knygt, Ulfyn was ys name,
 That he truſte meſt to. And tho the knygt herde this,
 “ Syre, he ſeide, y ne can wyte, wat red here of ys,
 “ For the caſtel ys ſo ſtrong, that the lady ys inne,
 “ For ich wene al the lond ne ſchulde yt myd ſtrengthe
 “ wyne.
 “ For the ſe geth al aboute, but entre on ther nys,
 “ And that ys up on harde rockes, and ſo narw wei it ys,
 “ That ther may go bote on and on, that thre men with inne
 “ Mygte fle al the londe, er heo com ther inne.
 “ And nogt for than, gef Merlyn at thi conſeil were,
 “ Gef any mygte, he couthe the beſt red the lere.”

Merlyn

Merlyn was fone of fend, pleid yt was hym fone,
 That he schulde the beste red fegge, wat were to done.
 Merlyn was fory ynow for the kynge's folye,
 And natheles, "Sire kyng, he seide, there mot to maistrerie,
 " The erl hath twey men hym nert, Brygthoel and Jordan.
 " Ich wol make thi self gef thou wolt, thoru art that y can,
 " Habbe al tho fourme of the erl, as thou were rygt he,
 " And Olfyn as Jordan, and as Brithoel me."
 This art was al clene y do, that al changet he were,
 Heo thre in the otheres forme, the felve at yt were.
 Ageyn even he wende forth, nuste nomon that cas,
 To the castel heo come rygt as yt evene was.
 The porter y se ys lord come, and ys mošte privey twei,
 With god herte he lette ys lord yn, and ys men beye.
 The contas was glad y now, tho hire lord to hire com
 And eyther other in here armes myd gret joye nom.
 Tho heo to bedde com, that so longe a two were,
 With hem was so gret delyt, that bitwene hem there
 Bi gete was the beste body, that ever was in this londe,
 Kyng Arthure the noble mon, that ever worthe understonde.
 Tho the kynge's men nuste amorwe, wer he was bi come,
 Heo ferde as wodemmen, and wende he were ynome.
 Heo a faileden the castel, as yt schulde a doun anon,
 Heo that with inne were, garked hem echon,
 And smyte out in a sole wille, and fogte myd here fon :
 So that the erl was y flave, and of ys men mony on,
 And the castel was y nome, and the folk to sprad there,
 Get, tho thei hadde al ydo, heo ne fonde not the kyng there.
 The tything to the contas fone was y come,
 That hire lord was y flawe, and the castel y nome.
 Ac tho the messinger hym sey the erl, as hym thogte,
 That he hadde so foule plow, ful fore hym of thogte,
 The contasse made som del deol, for no sothnesse heo nuste.
 The kyng, for to glade here, bi clupte hire and cust.

" Dame,

“ Dame, he seide, no fixt thou wel, that les yt ys al this :
 “ Ne wost thou wel ich am olyue. Ich wole the segge how
 “ it ys.
 “ Out of the castel stilleliche ych wende al in privete,
 “ That none of myne men yt nuste, for to speke with the.
 “ And tho heo miste me to day, and nuste wer ich was,
 “ Heo ferden rigt as gydie men, myd wam no red nas,
 “ And fogte with the folk with oute, and habbeth in this manere
 “ Y lore the castel and hem selue, ac wel thou wost y am here.
 “ Ac for my castel, that is ylore, fory ich am y now,
 “ And for myn men, that the kyng and ys power flog.
 “ Ac my power is now to lute, ther fore y drede fore,
 “ Leste the kyng us nyme here, and forwe that we were more.
 “ Ther fore ich wole, how so yt be, wende agen the kyng,
 “ And make my pays with hym, ar he us to schame
 “ brynge.”

Forth he wende, and het ys men that gef the kyng come,
 That hei schulde hym the castel gelde, ar he with strengthe
 it nome.

So he come toward ys men, ys own forme he nom,
 And levede the erle's fourme, and the kyng Uter by com.
 Sore hym of thogte the erle's deth, ac in other half he fonde
 Joye in hys herte, for the contaſſe of spoushed was unbonde,
 Tho he hadde that he wolde, and payfed with ys son,
 To the contaſſe he wende agen, me let hym in a non.
 Wat halt it to talle longe : bute heo were seth at on,
 In gret loue longe y now, wan yt nolde other gon ;
 And hadde to gedere this noble sone, that in the world ys
 pere nas,

The kyng Arture, and a dogter, Anne hire name was ¹.

In the latter end of the reign of Edward the first, many officers of the French king having extorted large sums of

¹ Chron. p. 156.

money from the citizens of Bruges in Flanders, were murdered: and an engagement succeeding, the French army, commanded by the count du Saint Pol, was defeated; upon which the king of France, who was Philip the Fair, sent a strong body of troops, under the conduct of the count de Artois, against the Flemings: he was killed, and the French were almost all cut to pieces. On this occasion the following ballad was made in the year 1301^m.

Lufteneth, lordinges, bothe zonge and olde,
Of the Freynshe men that were so proude ante bolde,
How the Flemmyshe men bohten hem ante folde,

Upon a Wednesday,

Betere hem were at home in huere londe,
Than force feche Flemishe bi the sea stronde
Whare rouch moni Frensh wyf wryngeth hire honde,
And syngeth welaway.

The kyng of Ffrance made statutes newe,
In the londe of Flaundres among false and trewe,
That the commons of Bruges full fore can arewe,
And seiden among hem,

Gedere we us to gedere hardilyche at ene,
Take we the bailifs by twenty and bi tene,
Clappe we of the hevedes an oven o the grene,
Ant cast we in the fen.

The webbes ant the fullaris asssembled hem alle,
And makeden huere counsail in huere commune halle,
Token Peter conyng huere kynge to call

Ant be huere cheveteyne, &cⁿ.

These verses shew the familiarity with which the affairs of France were known in England, and display the disposition of the English towards the French, at this period. It

^m The last battle was fought that year, Jul. 7.

ⁿ MSS. Harl. 2253, f. 73. b.

It appears from this and previous instances, that political ballads, I mean such as were the vehicles of political satire, prevailed much among our early ancestors. About the present era, we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers^o. There is a libel remaining, written indeed in French Alexandrines, on the commission of trayl-baſton^p, or the justices so denominated by Edward the first, during his absence in the French and Scotch wars, about the year 1306. The author names some of the justices or commissioners, now not easily discoverable: and says, that he served the king both in peace and war in Flanders, Gascony, and Scotland^q. There is likewise a ballad against the Scots, traitors to Edward the first, and taken prisoners at the battles of Dunbar and Kykenclaf, in 1305, and 1306^r. The licentiousness of their rude manners was perpetually breaking out in these popular pasquins, although this species of petulance usually belongs to more polished times.

Nor were they less dexterous than daring in publishing their satires to advantage, although they did not enjoy the many conveniencies which modern improvements have afforded for the circulation of public abuse. In the reign of Henry the sixth, to pursue the topic a little lower, we find a ballad of this species stuck on the gates of the royal palace, severely reflecting on the king and his counsellors then sitting in parliament. This piece is preserved in the Ashmolean museum, with the following Latin title prefixed. "*Copia scedulae valvis domini regis existentis in parlamento suo tento apud Westmonasterium mense marcii anno regni Henrici sexti vicesimo octavo.*" But the antient ballad was often applied to better purposes: and it appears from a valuable collection of these little pieces,

^o Ibid. f. 64. There is a song half Latin and half French, much on the same subject. Ibid. f. 137. b.

^p See Spelman and Dufresne in Voc.

And Rob. Brunne's Chron. ed. Hearne, p. 328.

^q MSS. Harl. ibid. f. 113. b.

^r Ibid. f. 59.

lately published by my ingenious friend and fellow-labourer doctor Percy, in how much more ingenuous a strain they have transmitted to posterity the praises of knightly heroism, the marvels of romantic fiction, and the complaints of love.

At the close of the reign of Edward the first, and in the year 1303, a poet occurs named Robert Mannyng, but more commonly called Robert de Brunne. He was a Gilbertine monk in the monastery of Brunne, or Bourne, near Depyng in Lincolnshire: but he had been before professed in the priory of Sixhille, a house of the same order, and in the same county. He was merely a translator. He translated into English metre, or rather paraphrased, a French book, written by Grosthead bishop of Lincoln, entitled, MANUEL PECHE, or MANUEL de PECHE, that is, the MANUAL OF SINS. This translation was never printed¹. It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue, and the seven deadly sins, which are illustrated with many legendary stories. This is the title of the translator. "Here bygynneth the boke that
" men clepyn in Frenshe MANUEL PECHE, the which boke
" made yn Frenshe Robert Groofste byshop of Lyncoln." From the Prologue, among other circumstances, it appears that Robert de Brunne designed this performance to be sung to the harp at public entertainments, and that it was written or begun in the year 1303².

For lewed³ men I undyrtoke,
In Englyshe tonge to make this boke:
For many beyn of fuche manere
That talys and rymys wyle blethly⁴ here,

¹ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. N. 415. membr.
fol. Cont. 80. pag. Pr. "Fadyr and sone
" and holy goste." And MSS. Harl. 1701.

² Fol. 1. a.
³ Laymen, illiterate.
⁴ Gladly.

In gamys and festys at the ale^x
 Love men to lestene trotonale^y:
 To all crystyn men undir sunne,
 And to gode men of Brunne;
 And specialli al bi name
 The felaushipe of Symprynghame^z,
 Roberd of Brunne greteth yow,
 In alle godenesse that may to prow^a.
 Of Brymwake yn Kestevene^b
 Syxe myle besyde Sympryngham evene,
 Y dwelled in the priorye
 Fyftene yere in cumpanye,
 In the tyme of gode Dane Jone
 Of Camelton that now is gone;
 In hys tyme was I ther ten yeres
 And knewe and herde of hys maneres;
 Sythyn with Dan Jon of Clyntone
 Fyve wyntyr wyth hym gan I wone,
 Dan Felyp was maystyr in that tyme
 That I began thys Englysh ryme,
 The yeres of grace fyd^c than to be
 A thousand and thre hundred and thre.
 In that tyme turned y thys
 In Englysh tonge out of Frankys.

^x So in the *Vision* of P. Plowman, fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.

I am occupied every day, holy day and other,
 With idle tales at the Ale, &c.

Again, fol. 1. b.

—Foughten at the Ale

In glotony, godwote, &c.

Chaucer mentions an *Alelake*, Prol. v. 669.
 Perhaps, a May-pole. And in the *Plow-*

man's Tale, p. 185. Urr. edit. v. 2110.

And the chief chantours at the *nale*.

^y Truth and all.

^z The name of his order. ^a Profit.

^b A part of Lincolnshire. Chron. Br. p. 311.

At Lincoln the parlement was in Lyndesay
 and Kestevene.

Lyndesay is Lincolnshire, *ibid.* p. 248. See
 a story of three monks of Lyndesay, *ibid.*
 p. 80. ^c Fell.

From the work itself I am chiefly induced to give the following specimen; as it contains an anecdote relating to bishop Grosthead his author, who will again be mentioned, and on that account.

Y shall you tell as I have herd
 Of the byshop feynt Roberd,
 Hys toname ^d is Grofeste
 Of Lyncolne, so feyth the geste.
 He lovede moche to here the harpe,
 For mans witte yt makyth sharpe.
 Next hys chamber, befyde hys study,
 Hys harper's chamber was fast the by.
 Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
 He hadd folace of notes and layes,
 One askede hem the resun why
 He hadde delyte in mynstrelsy?
 He answerde hym on thys manere
 Why he helde the harpe so dere.
 " The vertu of the harp, thurgh skyle and ryght,
 " Wyll destrye the fendys ^e myght;
 " And to the cros by gode skeyl
 " Ys the harpe lykened weyl.----
 " Thirefore, gode men, ye shall lere,
 " When ye any gleman ^f here,
 " To worthepe god at your power,
 " And Davyd in the fauter ^g.
 " Yn harpe and tabour and symphan gle ^h.
 " Worship God in trumpes ant fautre:

^d Surname. See Rob. Br. Chron. p. 168. "Thei cald hi this toname, &c."
 Fr. "Est furnomez, &c."

^e Fiend's. The *Devil's*.

^f Harper. Minstrel. ^g Pfalter.

^h Chaucer R. Sir Thop. v. 3321. Urr. edit. p. 135.

Here wonnith the queene of Fairie,
 With harpe, and pipe, and *Simphonie*.

" Yn

“ Yn cordes, yn organes, and bells ringyng,
 “ Yn all these worship the hevene kyng, &c ⁱ.”

But Robert de Brunne's largest work is a metrical chronicle of England ^k. The former part, from Æneas to the death of Cadwallader, is translated from an old French poet called MAISTER WACE or GASSE, who manifestly copied Geoffrey of Monmouth ^l, in a poem commonly entitled ROMAN DE ROIS D'ANGLETERRE. It is esteemed one of the oldest of the French romances; and begun to be written by Eustace, sometimes called Eustache, Wistace, or Huistace, who finished his part under the title of BRUT D'ANGLETERRE, in the year 1155. Hence Robert de Brunne, somewhat inaccurately, calls it simply the BRUT ^m. This romance was

ⁱ Fol. 30. b. There is an old Latin song in Burton's Melancholy, which I find in this MS. poem. Burton's Mel. Part iii. § 2. Memb. iii. pag. 423.

^k The second part was printed by Hearne at Oxford, which he calls PETER LANGTOFT'S CHRONICLE, 1725. Of the First part Hearne has given us the Prologue, Pref. p. 96. An Extract, *ibid.* p. 188. And a few other passages in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester. But the First Part was never printed entire. Hearne says this Chronicle was not finished till the year 1338. Rob. Gloucester. Pref. p. 59. It appears that our author was educated and graduated at Cambridge, from Chron. P. 337.

^l In the British Museum there is a fragment of a poem in very old French verse, a romantic history of England, drawn from Geoffrey of Monmouth, perhaps before the year 1200. MSS. Harl. 1605. 1. f. 1. Cod. membran. 4to. In the manuscript library of doctor N. Johnson of Pontefract, now perhaps dispersed, there was a manuscript on vellum, containing a history in old English verse from Brute to the eighteenth year of Edward the second. And in that of Basil lord Denbigh, a metrical history in English from the same period, to Henry the third. Wanly supposed it to have been of the hand-writing of the time of Edward the fourth.

^m The BRUT OF ENGLAND, a prose Chronicle of England, sometimes continued as low as Henry the sixth, is a common manuscript. It was at first translated from a French Chronicle [MSS. Harl. 200. 4to.] written in the beginning of the reign of Edward the third. I think it is printed by Caxton under the title of *Fruetus Temporum*. The French have a famous ancient prose romance called BRUT, which includes the history of the Sangreal. I know not whether it is exactly the same. In an old metrical romance, The story of ROLLO, there is this passage. MS. Vernon, Bibl. Bodl. f. 123.

Lordus gif ye wil lesten to me,
 Of Croteye the nobile citee
 As wrytten i fynde in his story
 Of BRUIT the chronicle, &c.

In the British Museum we have *Le petit Bruit*, compiled by Maître Raufe de Boun, and ending with the death of Edward the first. MSS. Harl. 902. f. 1. Cod. chart. fol. It is an abridgement of the grand BRUT. In the same library I find *Liber de BRUTO et de gestis Anglorum metrificatus*. That is, turned into rude Latin hexameters. It is continued to the death of Richard the second. Many prose annotations are intermixed. MSS. *ibid.* 1808. 24. f. 31. Cod. membran. 4to. In another copy of this

soon afterwards continued to William Rufus, by Robert Wace or Vace, Gasse or Gace, a native of Jersey, educated at Caen, canon of Bayeux, and chaplain to Henry the second, under the title of *LE ROMAN LE ROU ET LES VIES DES DUCS DE NORMANDIE*, yet sometimes preserving its original one, in the year 1160ⁿ. Thus both parts were blended, and became one work. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum it is thus entitled: "*LE BRUT, ke maistre Wace translatata de Latin en Franceis de tutt les Reis de Brit-taigne*." That is, from the Latin prose history of Geoffry of Monmouth. And that master Wace aimed only at the merit of a translator, appears from his exordial verses.

Maistre Gasse l' a translata
Que en conte le verite.

Otherwise we might have suspected that the authors drew their materials from the old fabulous Armoric manuscript, which is said to have been Geoffry's original.

this piece, one Peckward is said to be the versifier. MSS. ib. 2386. 23. f. 35. In another manuscript the grand *BRUT* is said to be translated from the French by "John Maundeule parson of Brunham Thorpe." MSS. ibid. 2279. 3.

ⁿ See Lenglet, *Biblioth. des Romans*, ii. p. 226. 227. And Lacombe, *Diction. de vieux Lang. Fr.* pref. p. xviii. Paris. 1767. 8vo. And compare Montfauc. *Catal. Manusc.* ii. p. 1669. See also M. Galland, *Mem. Lit.* iii. p. 426. 8vo.

^o 3 A. xxi. 3. It occurs again, 4 C. xi. "*Histoire d'Angleterre en vers, par Maistre Wace*." I cannot help correcting a mistake into which both Wanley and bishop Nicholson have fallen, with regard to this Wace. In the Cotton library, a Saxo-norman manuscript occurs twice, which seems to be a translation of Geoffry's History, or very like it. *Calig. A.* ix. And *Otho. C.* 13. 4to. In vellum. The translator is one Lazamon, a priest, born at

Ernly on Severn. He says, that he had his original from the book of a French clergyman, named *Wate*; which book *Wate* the author, had presented to Eleanor, queen of Henry the second. So Lazamon in the preface. "*Bot he nom the thridde, leide ther amidden: tha makede a frenchis clerc: Wate [Wate] wes ihoten, &c.*" Now because Geoffry of Monmouth in one of his prefaces, cap. i. b. 1. says, that he received his original from the hands of Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford; both Wanley and Nicholson suppose that the *Wate* mentioned by Lazamon is *Walter Mapes*. Whereas Lazamon undoubtedly means Wace, perhaps written or called Wate, author of *LE ROMAN LE ROU* above-mentioned. Nor is the Saxon t [τ] perfectly distinguishable from c. See Wanley's *Catal. Hickes's Thesaur.* ii. p. 228. And Nicholson *Hist. Libr.* i. 3. And compare Leland's *Coll.* vol. i. P. ii. p. 509. edit. 1770.

Although

Although this romance, in its antient and early manuscripts, has constantly passed under the name of its finisher, Wace; yet the accurate Fauchett cites it by the name of its first author Eustace^p. And at the same time it is extraordinary, that Robert de Brunne, in his Prologue, should not once mention the name of Eustace, as having any concern in it: so soon was the name of the beginner superseded by that of the continuator. An ingenious French antiquary very justly supposes, that Wace took many of his descriptions from that invaluable and singular monument the *Tapestry of the Norman conquest*, preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Bayeux^q, and lately engraved and explained in the learned doctor Du Carell's Anglo-Norman ANTIQUITIES. Lord Lyttleton has quoted this romance, and shewn that important facts and curious illustrations of history may be drawn from such obsolete but authentic resources^r.

The measure used by Robert de Brunne, in his translation of the former part of our French chronicle or romance, is exactly like that of his original. Thus the Prologue.

Lordynges that be now here,
 If ye wille listene and lere,
 All the story of Englande,
 Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,
 And on Inglysch has it schewed,
 Not for the lered but for the lewed;
 For tho that on this lond wonn
 That the Latin ne Frankys conn,
 For to half solace and gamen
 In felauschip when tha sitt famen
 And it is wisdom forto wyten
 The state of the land, and hef it wryten,

^p Rec. p. 82. edit. 1581.

^q Monf. Lancelot, Mem. Lit. viii. 602. 4to. And see Hist. Acad. Inscript. xiii. 41. 4to.

^r Hist. Henr. II. vol. iii. p. 180.

What manere of folk first it wan,
 And of what kynde it first began.
 And gude it is for many thynges,
 For to here the dedis of kynges,
 Whilk were foles, and whilk were wyse,
 And whilk of tham couth most quantyfe;
 And whylk did wrong, and whilk ryght,
 And whilk mayntened pes and fyght.
 Of thare dedes fall be mi sawe,
 In what tyme, and of what law,
 I sholl yow from gre to gre,
 Sen the tyme of Sir Noe:
 From Noe unto Eneas,
 And what betwixt tham was,
 And fro Eneas till Brutus tyme,
 That kynde he tells in this ryme.
 For Brutus to Cadweladres,
 The last Briton that this lande lees.
 Alle that kynd and alle the frute
 That come of Brutus that is the Brute;
 And the ryght Brute is told no more
 Than the Brytons tyme wore.
 After the Bretons the Inglis camen,
 The lordschip of this land thai namen;
 South, and north, west, and east,
 That call men now the Inglis gest.
 When thai first among the Bretons,
 That now ere Inglis than were Saxons,
 Saxons Inglis hight all oliche.
 Thai aryved up at Sandwyche,
 In the kynges synce Vortogerne
 That the lande wolde tham not werne, &c.
 One mayster WACE the Frankes telles
 The Brute all that the Latin spelles,

Fro Eneas to Cadwaladre, &c.
 And ryght as mayfter Wace fays,
 I telle myne Inglis the fame ways, &c.^o.

The second part of Robert de Brunne's CHRONICLE, beginning from Cadwallader, and ending with Edward the first, is translated, in great measure, from the second part of a French metrical chronicle, written in five books, by Peter Langtoft, an Augustine canon of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote not many years before his translator. This is mentioned in the Prologue preceding the second part.

Frankis spech is cald romance',
 So fais clerkes and men of France.
 Pers of Langtoft, a chanon
 Schaven in the house of Bridlyngton
 On Frankis stile this storie he wrote
 Of Inglis kinges, &c.^o.

As Langtoft had written his French poem in Alexandrines^w, the translator, Robert de Brunne, has followed him, the Prologue excepted, in using the double distich for one line, after the manner of Robert of Gloucester. As in the first part he copied the metre of his author Wace. But I will exhibit a specimen from both parts. In the first, he gives

^o Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 98.

ⁱ The Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France about the ninth century; and was succeeded by what was called the ROMANCE tongue, a mixture of Frankish and bad Latin. Hence the first poems in that language are called ROMANS or ROMANTS. Essay on POPE, p. 281. In the following passages of this Chronicle, where Robert de Brunne mentions ROMANCE, he sometimes means Langtoft's French book, from which he translated. viz. Chron. p. 205.

This that I have said it is Pers sawe
 Als he in *Romance* laid thereafter gan I
 drawe.

See Chauc. Rom. R. v. 2170. Also *Balades*, p. 554. v. 508. Urr. And Crescemb. litor. della Volg. Poef. vol. i. L. v. p. 316. seq.

^u Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 106.

^w Some are printed by Hollinsh. Hist. iii. 469. Others by Hearne, Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 58. And in the margin of the pages of the Chronicle.

us this dialogue between Merlin's mother and king Vortigern, from Master Wace.

Dame, said the kyng, welcom be thou :
 Nedeli at the I mette witte how ^x
 Who than gate ^y thi sone Merlyn
 And on what maner was he thin ?
 His moder stode a throwe ^z and thought
 Are scho ^a to the kyng anfuerd ouht :
 When scho had standen a litelle wight ^b,
 Scho said, by Jhesu in Mari light,
 That I ne faugh hym never ne knewe
 That this knave ^c on me sewe ^d.
 Ne I wist, ne I herd,
 What maner schap with me so ferd ^e.
 But this thing am I wole ograunt ^f,
 That I was of elde avenaunt ^g :
 One com to my bed I wist,
 With force he me halfed ^h and kist :
 Als ⁱ a man I him felte,
 Als a man he me welte ^k ;
 Als a man he spake to me.
 Bot what he was, myght I not se ^l.

The following, extracted from the same part, is the speech of the Romans to the Britons, after the former had built a wall against the Picts, and were leaving Britain.

We haf closed ther most nede was ;
 And yf ye defend wele that pas

^x " I must by all means know of you."

^y Begott. ^z Awbile. ^a E'er she.

^b *White*, while. ^c Child. ^d Begott.

^e Lay. ^f Assured.

^g " I was then young and beautiful."

^h Embraced. ⁱ As. ^k *Wielded*, moved.

^l Apud Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glouc. p.

721.

With archers^m and with magnelsⁿ,
 And kepe wele the kyrnels;
 Ther may ye bothe schote and cast
 Waxes bold and fend you fast.
 Thinkes your faders wan franchise,
 Be ye no more in other servise:
 Bot frely lyf to your lyves end:
 We fro you for ever wenðe^o.

Vortigern king of the Britons, is thus described meeting the beautiful princess Rouwen, daughter of Hengist, the Ro-

^m Not *Bozmen*, but apertures in the wall for shooting arrows. Viz. In the repairs of Taunton castle, 1266. Comp J. Gerneys, Episc. Wint. "TANTONIA. *Expense domorum*. In mercede Cementarii pro muro erigendo juxta turrim ex parte orientali cum Kernellis et Archeriis faciendis, xvi. s. vi. d." In Archiv. Wolvef. apud Wint. *Kernells* mentioned here, and in the next verse, were much the same thing: or perhaps Battlements. In repairs of the great hall at Wolvesey-palace I find, "In kyrnillis emptis ad idem, xii. d." Ibid. There is a patent granted to the monks of Abingdon, in Berkshire, in the reign of Edward the third, "Pro kernellatione monasterii." Pat. an. 4. par. 1.

ⁿ Cotgrave has absurdly interpreted this word, an *old-fashioned sling*. V. MANGONEAU. It is a catapult, or battering-ram. Viz. Rot. Pip. An. 4. Hen. iii. [A. D. 1219.] "NORDHANT. Et in expensis regis in obsidione castri de Rockingham, 100l. per Br. Reg. Et custodibus ingeniorum [engines] regis ad ea carianda usque Bisham, ad castrum illud obsidendum, 13s. 10d. per id. Br. Reg. Et pro duobus corliis, emptis apud Northampton ad fundas petrariorum et mangonellorum regis faciendas, 5s. 6d. per id. Br. Reg."—Rot. Pip. 9. Hen. iii. [A. D. 1225.] "SURRE. Comp. de Cnareburc. Et pro vii. cablis emptis ad petraras et mangonellos in eodem castro, 7s. 11d." Rot. Pip. 5. Hen. iii. [A. D. 1220.] "DE-

"VONS. Et in custo posito in 1. petraria et 11. mangonellis cariatis a Nottingham usque Bisham, et in eisdem reductis a Bisham usque Nottingham, 7l. 4s." Chaucer mentions both *Mangonels* and *Kyrnills*, in a castle in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 4195. 6279. Also *archers*, i. e. *archerie*, v. 4191. So in the French *Roman de la Rose*, v. 3945.

Vous puissiez bien les *Mangonneaulx*,
 Voir la par-dessus les *Creneaulx*.
 Et aux *archieres* de la Tour
 Sont arbalestres tout entour.

Archieres occur often in this poem. Chaucer, in translating the above passage, has introduced guns, which were not known when the original was written, v. 4191.

I am of opinion, that some of the great military battering engines, so frequently mentioned in the histories and other writers of the dark ages, were fetched from the crusades. See a species of the catapult, used by the Syrian army in the siege of Mecca, about the year 680. Mod. Univ. Hist. B. i. c. 2. tom. ii. p. 117. These expeditions into the east undoubtedly much improved the European art of war. Tasso's warlike machines, which seem to be the poet's invention, are formed on descriptions of such wonderful machines which he had read in the crusade historians, particularly Wilhelmus Tyrensis.

^o Gloss. Rob. Glouc. p. 664.

famond

famond of the Saxon ages, at a feast of wassaile. It is a curious picture of the gallantry of the times.

Hengeſt that day did his might,
That alle were glad, king and knight,
And as thei were beſt in glading,
And ^p wele cop ſchotin knight and king,
Of chambir Rouewen ſo gent,
Be fore the king in halle ſcho went.
A coupe with wyne ſche had in hand,
And hir ^q hatire was wele ^r farand.
Be fore the king on kne ſett,
And on hir langage ſcho him grett.
“ Lauerid ^s king, Waſſaille,” ſeid ſche.
The king aſked, what ſuld be.
On that langage the king ^t ne couthe.
A knight ^u ther langage ^w lerid in youthe.
Breg ^x hiht that knight born Bretoun,
That lerid the langage of ^y Seſſoun..
This Breg was the ^z latimer.
What ſcho ſaid told Vortager.

^p Sending about the cups apace. Carouſ-
ing briskly.

^q Attire. ^r Very rich. ^s Lord.

^t Was not ſkilled. ^u The. ^w Learned.

^x Was called. ^y Saxons.

^z For *Latiner*, or *Latinier*, an *Interpreter*. Thus, in the Romance of KING RICHARD, hereafter cited at large, Saladin's *Latimer* at the ſiege of Babylon proclaims a truce to the chriſtian army from the walls of the city. Signat. M. i.

The LATEMERE tho tourned his eye
To that other ſyde of the toune,
And cryed trues with gret ſoune.

In which ſenſe the French word occurs in the Roman de GARIN. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris. Num. 7542.

LATIMER fu ſi fot parler Roman,
Englois, Gallois, et Breton, et Norman.

And again,

Un LATINIER vieil ferant et henu
Molt fot de plet, et molt entrefnie fu.

And in the manuſcript Roman de Rou,
which will again be mentioned.

L' archeveſque Franches a Jumeſes ala,
A Rou, et a ſa gent par LATINIER parla.

We find it in Freſſart, tom. iv. c. 87.
And in other antient French writers. In the old Norman poem on the ſubject of king Dermot's expulſion from his kingdom of Ireland, in the Lambeth library, it ſeems
more

" Sir, Breg feid, Rowen yow gretis,
 " And king callis and lord yow ^a letis.
 " This es ther custum and ther gest,
 " Whan thei are atte the ale or fest.
 " Ilk man that lous quare him think,
 " Salle say Woffeille, and to him drink.
 " He that bidis falle say, Waffaille,
 " The tother falle say again, Drinkhaille.
 " That fais Woffeille drinkis of the cop,
 " Kiffand ^b his felaw he gives it up.
 " Drinkheille, he fais, and drinke ther of,
 " Kiffand him in bourd and ^c skof."
 The king said, as the knight gan ^d ken,
 Drinkheille, smiland on Rouewen.
 Rouwen drank as hire list,
 And gave the king, ^e fine him kist.
 There was the first waffaille in dede,
 And that first of fame ^f gede.
 Of that waffaille men told grete tale,
 And waffaille whan thei were at ale.
 And drinkheille to tham that drank,
 Thus was waffaille ^g tane to thank.
 Fele ^h sithes that maidin ⁱ ying,
 Waffailed and kist the king.
 Of bodi sche was right ^k avenant,
 Of fair colour, with swete ^l semblaunt.

more properly to signify, in a limited sense,
 the king's domestic SECRETARY.

Par son *demeine* LATINIER

Que moi conta de luy l'histoire, &c.

See lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen ii. vol. iv.
 App. p. 270. We might here render it
 literally his *Latinist*, an officer retained by
 the king to draw up the public instruments
 in Latin. As in DOMESDAY-BOOK. "God-
 " *winus accipitrarius*, Hugo LATINA-

" RIUS, Milo portarius." MS. Ex-
 cerpt. penes me. But in both the last in-
 stances the word may bear its more general
 and extensive signification. Camden ex-
 plains LATIMER by *interpreter*. Rem. p.
 158. See also p. 151. edit. 1674.

^a Esteems. ^b Kissing. ^c Sport, joke.

^d To signify. ^e Since, afterwards.

^f Went. ^g Taken. ^h Many times.

ⁱ Young.

^j Handsome, gracefully shaped, &c.

^k Countenance.

Hir

Hir^m hatire fulle wele it femed,
 Mervelikⁿ the king fche^o quemid.
 Oute of meffure was he glad,
 For of that maidin he wer alle mad.
 Drunkenes the feend wrought,
 Of that^p paen was al his thoght.
 A mefchaunche that time him led.
 He asked that paen for to wed.
 Hengift^q wild not draw a lite,
 Bot graunted him alle fo tite.
 And Hors his brother consentid fone.
 Her frendis faid, it were to done.
 Thei asked the king to gife hir Kent,
 In douary to take of rent.
 O pon that maidin his hert fo cast,
 That thei askid the king made fast.
 I wene the king toke her that day,
 And wedded hire^r on paiens lay.
 Of preft was ther no^s benifon
 No mes fongen, no orifon.
 In feifine he had her that night.
 Of Kent he gave Hengift the right.
 The erelle that time, that Kent alle held,
 Sir Goragon, that had the fcheld,
 Of that gift no thing^t ne wift
 To^u he was cast oute^w with Hengift^x.

In the second part, copied from Peter Langtoft, the attack of Richard the first, on a castle held by the Saracens, is thus described.

^m Attire. ⁿ Marvellously. ^o Pleased.

^p Pagan, heathen.

^q Would not fly off a bit.

^r In pagans law. According to the heathenish custom.

^s Benediction, blessing. ^t Knew not.

^u Till.

^w By.

^x Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glo. p. 695.

The dikes were fulle wide that closed the castle about,
 And depe on ilka side, with bankis hie without.
 Was ther non entre that to the castelle gan ligge ^x,
 Bot a streiht kauce ^y; at the end a drauht brigge.
 With grete duble cheynes drauhen over the gate,
 And fifti armed fuyenes ^z porters at that yate.
 With slenges and magneles ^a thei kast ^b to kyng Rychard
 Our cristen by parcelles kasted ageynward ^c.
 Ten sergeauns of the best his targe gan him bere
 That egre were and prest to covere hym and to were ^c.
 Himself as a geaunt the cheynes in tuo hew,
 The targe was his warant ^c, that non tille him threw.
 Right unto the gate with the targe thei yede
 Fightand on a gate, undir him the flouh his stede,
 Therfor ne wild he fesse ^f, alone into the castele
 Thorgh tham all wild presse on fote faught he fulle wele.
 And whan he was withinne, and fauht as a wilde leon,
 He fondred the Sarazins otuynne ^g, and fauht as a dragon,
 Without the cristen gan crie, allas! Richard is taken,
 Tho Normans were forie, of contenance gan blaken,
 To flo downe and to stroye never wild thei stint
 Thei left for dede no noye ^h, ne for no wound no dynt,
 That in went alle their pres, maugre the Sarazins alle,
 And fond Richard on des fightand, and wonne the halle ⁱ.

From these passages it appears, that Robert of Brunne has scarcely more poetry than Robert of Glocester. He has however taken care to acquaint his readers, that he avoided

^x Lying. ^y Causey.

^z *Savains*, young men, soldiers.

^a *Maignesels*. vid. supr. ^b Cast.

In Langtoft's French,

"Dis seriauntz des plus feres e de melz
vanez,

"Devaunt le cors le Reis sa targe ount
portez."

^d *Ward*, defend.

^e Guard, defence.

^f "He could not cease."

^g "He formed the Saracens into two
parties."

^h Annoy.

ⁱ Chron. p. 182. 183.

high description, and that sort of phraseology which was then used by the minstrels and harpers: that he rather aimed to give information than pleasure, and that he was more studious of truth than ornament. As he intended his chronicle to be sung, at least by parts, at public festivals, he found it expedient to apologise for these deficiencies in the prologue; as he had partly done before in his prologue to the *MANUAL OF SINS*.

I mad noght for no difours ^k
 Ne for seggers no harpours,
 Bot for the luf of symple men,
 That strange Inglis cannot ken ^l:
 For many it ere ^m that strange Inglis
 In ryme wate ⁿ never what it is.
 I made it not for to be prayfed,
 Bot at the lewed men were ayfed ^o.

He next mentions several sorts of verse, or prosody; which were then fashionable among the minstrels, and have been long since unknown.

If it were made in ryme *couwce*,
 Or in *strangere* or *enterlaced*, &c.

He adds, that the old stories of chivalry had been so disguised by foreign terms, by additions and alterations, that they

^k Tale-tellers, *Narratores*, Lat. *Conteurs*, Fr. *Seggers* in the next line perhaps means the same thing, i. e. *Sayers*. The writers either of metrical or of prose romances. See *Antholog. Fran.* p. 17. 1765. 8vo. Or *Difours* may signify *Discourse*, i. e. adventures in prose. We have the "Devil's difours," in *P. Plowman*, fol. xxxi. b. edit. 1550. *Difour* precisely signifies a tale-teller at a feast in Gower, *Conf. Amant*. Lib. vii. fol. 155. a. edit. Berthel. 1554.

He is speaking of the coronation festival of a Roman Emperor.

When he was gladdest at his mete,
 And every minstrell had plaide
 And every dissour had faide
 Which most was pleasaunt to his ere.

Du Cange says, that *Diseurs* were judges of the turney. *Diff. Joinv.* p. 179.

^l Know. ^m *It ere*, There are. ⁿ Knew.
^o Eased.

were now become unintelligible to a common audience: and particularly, that the tale of SIR TRISTRAM, the noblest of all, was much changed from the original composition of its first author THOMAS.

I see in song in fedgeying tale^p
Of Erceldoune, and Kendale,
Non tham says as thai tham wrought^q,
And 'in ther sayng it femes noght,
That may thou here in Sir Tristram^r;
Over gestes^s ' it has the steem^u,
Over all that is or was,
If men yt sayd as made Thomas.----

^p " Among the romances that are sung,
" &c."

^q " None recite them as they were first
" written."

^r " As *They* tell them."

^s " This you may see, &c."

^t Hearne says that *Gests* were opposed to *Romance*. Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 37. But this is a mistake. Thus we have the *Geste of kyng Horne*, a very old metrical Romance. MSS. Harl. 2253. p. 70. Also in the Prologue of *Rychard Cœur de Lyon*.

King Richard is the best
That is found in any *geste*.

And the passage in the text is a proof against his assertion. Chaucer, in the following passage, by *Jestours*, does not mean *Jesters* in modern signification, but writers of adventures. *House of Fame*, v. 108.

And *Jestours* that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game.

In the *House of Fame* he also places those who wrote "olde *Gestes*." v. 425. It is however obvious to observe from whence the present term *Jest* arose. See Fauchet,

Rec. p. 73. In P. Plowman, we have *Job's Jestes*. fol. xlv. b.

Job the gentyl in his *jestes*, greatly wyt-
nesseth.

That is, " Job in the account of his Life."

In the same page we have,

And japers and judgelers, and jangelers of
jestes.

That is, Minstrels, Reciters of tales. Other illustrations of this word will occur in the course of the work. *Chansons de gestes* were common in France in the thirteenth century among the troubadours. See Mem. concernant les principaux monumens de l'histoire de France, Mem. Lit. xv. p. 582. By the very learned and ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye. I add the two first lines of a manuscript entitled, *Art de Kalender par Rauf*, who lived 1256. Bibl. Bodl. J. b. 2. Th. [Langb. MSS. 5. 439.]

De *geste* ne voil pas chanter,
Ne *veilles estoires* el canter.

There is even *Gesta Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi*, in many manuscript libraries.

^u Esteem.

Thai

Thai sayd in so quaynte Inglis
 That manyone ^w wate not what it is.----
 And forfooth I couth nought
 So strange Inglis as thai wrought.

On this account, he says, he was persuaded by his friends to write his chronicle in a more popular and easy style, that would be better understood.

And men besought me many a time,
 To turn it bot in light ryme.
 Thai said if I in strange it turne
 To here it manyon would skurne ^x,
 For it are names fulle felcouthe ^y
 That ere not used now in mouth.---
 In the hous of Sixille I was a throwe ^z
 Danz Robert of Meltone, ^a that ye knowe,
 Did it wryte for felawes sake,
 When thai wild solace make ^b.

Erceldoune and Kendale are mentioned, in some of these lines of Brunne, as old romances or popular tales. Of the latter I can discover no traces in our antient literature. As to the former, Thomas Erceldoun, or Ashelington, is said to have written *Prophecies*, like those of Merlin. Leland, from the *Scale Chronicon* ^c, says, that "William Banastre ^d, and

^w Many a one.

^x Scorn. ^y Strange. ^z A little while.

^a "Sir Robert of Malton." It appears from hence that he was born at Malton in Lincolnshire.

^b Pref. Rob. Glouc. p. 57. 58.

^c An antient French history or Chronicle of England, never printed, which Leland says was translated out of French rhyme into French prose. Coll. vol. i. P. ii. pag. 59. edit. 1770. It was probably written or reduced by Thomas Gray into prose. Londinenf. Antiquitat. Cant. lib. i. p. 38. Others affirm it to have been the

work of John Gray, an eminent churchman, about the year 1212. It begins, in the usual form, with the creation of the world, passes on to Brutus, and closes with Edward the third.

^d One Gilbert Banestre was a poet and musician. The *Prophecies of Banister of England* are not uncommon among manuscripts. In the *Scotch Prophecies*, printed at Edinburgh, 1680, Banastre is mentioned as the author of some of them. "As Berlington's books and Banester tell us." p. 2. Again, "Beid hath brieded in his book and Banister also." p. 18. He

“ Thomas Erceldoune, spoke words yn figure as were the
“ prophecies of Merlin “. In the library of Lincoln cathedral, there is a metrical romance entitled, THOMAS OF ERS-
SELDOWN, which begins with the usual addrefs,

Lordynges both great and small.

In the Bodleian library, among the theological works of John Lawern, monk of Worcester, and student in theology at Oxford, about the year 1448, written with his own hand, a fragment of an English poem occurs, which begins thus :

Joly chepert [sheperd] of Askeldowne ^c.

In the British Museum a manuscript English poem occurs, with this French title prefixed, “ La Countesse de Dunbar, “ demanda a Thomas Effedoune quant la guere d’ Escoce “ prendret fyn ^e. ” This was probably our prophesier Thomas of Erceldown. One of his predictions is mentioned in an antient Scots poem entitled, A NEW YEAR’S GIFT, written in the year 1562, by Alexander Scott ^h. One Thomas Leirmouth, or Rymer, was also a prophetic bard, and lived at Erslingtoun, sometimes perhaps pronounced Ersfeldoun.

seems to be confounded with William Bannister, a writer of the reign of Edward the third. Berlington is probably John Bridlington, an augustine canon of Bridlington, who wrote three books of *Carmina Vaticinalia*, in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England. MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 89. And 186. There are also *Versus Vaticinales* under his name, MSS. Bodl. NE. E. ii. 17. f. 21. He died, aged sixty, in 1379. He was canonised. There are many other *Prophetiæ*, which seem to have been fashionable at this time, bound up with Bridlington in MSS. Digb. 186.

^c Ub sup. p. 510.

^f MSS. Bodl. 692. fol.

^e MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 127. It begins thus,

When man as mad a kingge of a capped
man

When mon is lever other monnes thyng
then ys owen.

^h Ancient Scots poems, Edinb. 1770. 12mo. p. 194. See the ingenious editor’s notes, p. 312.

This

This is therefore probably the same person. One who personates him, says,

In ERSLINGTOUN I dwell at hame,
THOMAS RYMER men call me.

He has left vaticinal rhymes, in which he predicted the union of Scotland with England, about the year 1279¹. Fordun mentions several of his prophecies concerning the future state of Scotland^k.

Our author, Robert de Brunne, also translated into English rhymes the treatise of cardinal Bonaventura, his cotemporary^l, *De cæna et passione domini et pænis S. Mariæ Virginis*, with the following title. "Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde "Jhesu, and also of hys Passyun, and eke of the Peynes of "hys fwete Modyr mayden Marye, the whyche made yn "Latyn Bonaventure Cardynall^m." But I forbear to give further extracts from this writer, who appears to have possessed much more industry than genius, and cannot at present be read with much pleasure. Yet it should be remembered, that even such a writer as Robert de Brunne, uncouth and unpleasing as he naturally seems, and chiefly employed in turning the theology of his age into rhyme, contributed to form a style, to teach expression, and to polish his native tongue. In the infancy of language and composition, nothing is wanted but writers: at that period even the most artless have their use.

¹ See *Scotch Prophecies*, ut sup. p. 19. 11. 13. 18. 36. viz. *The Prophecy of Thomas Rymer*. Pr. "Stille on my wayes as I "went."

^k Lib. x. cap. 43. 44. I think he is also mentioned by Spotswood. See Dempst. xi. 810.

^l He died 1272. Many of Bonaventura's tracts were at this time translated into English. In the Harleian manuscripts we have, "The Treatis that is kallid *Prickyng*

"*of Love*, made bi a Frere menour Bonaventure, that was Cardinall of the courte "of Rome." 2254. 1. f. 1. This book belonged to Dame Alys Braintwat "the worchypfull prioras of Dartforde." This is not an uncommon manuscript.

^m MSS. Harl. 1701. f. 84. The first line is,

Almighti god in trinite.

It was never printed.

Robert

Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln^a, who died in 1253, is said in some verses of Robert de Brunne, quoted above, to have been fond of the metre and music of the minstrels. He was most attached to the French minstrels, in whose language he has left a poem, never printed, of some length. This was probably translated into English rhyme about the reign of Edward the first. Nor is it quite improbable, if the translation was made at this period, that the translator was Robert de Brunne; especially as he translated another of Grossthead's pieces. It is called by Leland *Chateau d'Amour*^o. But in one of the Bodleian manuscripts of this book we have the following title, *Romance par Mestre Robert Grosstefeste*^p. In another it is called, *Ce est la vie de D. Jhu de sa humanite fet a ordine de Saint Robert Grosstefeste ke fut eveque de Nichole*^q. And in this copy, a very curious apology to the clergy is prefixed to the poem, for the language in which it is written^r. "Et quamvis lingua romana [romance] coram CLE-
 "RICIS SAPOREM SUAVITATIS non habeat, tamen pro laicis
 "qui minus intelligunt opusculum illud aptum est^s." This piece professes to treat of the creation, the redemption, the day of judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell: but the whole is a religious allegory, and under the ideas of chivalry the fundamental articles of christian belief are represented. It has the air of a system of divinity written

^a See DISS. II.—The author and translator are often thus confounded in manuscripts. To an old English religious poem on the holy Virgin, we find the following title. *Incipit quidam cantus quem composuit frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum minorum*, &c. MSS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. 85. *supr. citat.* But this is the title of our friar's original, a Latin hymn de B. MARIA VIRGINE, improperly adopted in the translation. Thomas de Hales was a Franciscan friar, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and flourished about the year 1340. We shall see other proofs of this.

^o Script. Brit. p. 285.

^p MSS. Bodl. NE. D. 69.

^q F. 16. Laud. fol. membran. The word *Nicole* is perfectly French, for *Lincoln*. See likewise MSS. Bodl. E. 4. 14.

^r In the hand-writing of the poem itself, which is very antient.

^s f. 1. So also in MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 232. In MSS. Harl. 1121. 5. "De Robert Grosstefeste le evesque de Nichole un tretis en Franceis, del commencement du monde, &c." f. 156. Cod. membran.

by a troubadour. The poet, in describing the advent of Christ, supposes that he entered into a magnificent castle, which is the body of the immaculate virgin. The structure of this castle is conceived with some imagination, and drawn with the pencil of romance. The poem begins with these lines.

Ki pense ben, ben peut dire :
Sanz penfer ne poet suffise :
De nul bon oure commencer
Deu nos dont de li penfer
De ki par ki, en ki, font
Tos les biens ki font en el mond.

But I hasten to the translation, which is more immediately connected with our present subject, and has this title.
“ Her bygenet a tretys that ys yclept CASTEL OF LOVE that
“ biscop Grosfeyzt made ywis for lewde mennes by hove ‘.”
Then follows the prologue or introduction.

That good thinketh good may do,
And God wol help him thar to :
Ffor nas never good work wrought
With oute biginninge of good thought.
Ne never was wrought non vuel ^u thyng
That vuel thought nas the biginnyng.
God ffuder, and sone and holigofte
That alle thing on eorthe fixt ^w and wofst,
That one God art and thrillihod ^x,
And threo perfonen in one hod ^y,
Withouten end and bi ginninge,
To whom we ougten over alle thinge,

^t Bibl. Bodl. MS. Vernon, f. 292.
This translation was never printed : and is,
I believe, a rare manuscript.

^u Well, good.
^x Trinity.

^w F. *best*. highest.
^y Unity.

Worschepe him with trewe love,
 That kineworthe king art us above,
 In whom, of whom, thorw whom beoth,
 Alle the good schipes that we hire i feoth,
 He leve us thenche and worchen so,
 That he us schylde from vre fo,
 All we habbeth to help neode
 That we ne beth all of one theode,
 Ne i boren in one londe,
 Ne one speche undirftonde,
 Ne mowe we al Latin wite ^a
 Ne Ebreu ne Gru ^a that beth i write,
 Ne Ffrench; ne this other spechen,
 That me mihte in worlde fechen.
 To herie god our derworthi drihte ^b,
 As vch mon ougte with all his mihte;
 Loft song syngen to god zerne ^c,
 With such speche as he con lerne:
 Ne monnes mouth ne be i dut
 Ne his ledene ^d i hud,
 To serven his god that him wrougte,
 And maade al the worlde of nougte.
 Of Englishe I shal nir refun schowen
 Ffor hem that can not i knowen,
 Nouthen French ne Latyn
 On Englisch I chulle tullen him.
 Wherefor the world was i wroht,
 Ther after how he was bi tauht,

^a Understand.

^a Greek. In John Trevisas's dialogue concerning the translation of the Polychronicon, MSS. Harl. 1900. b. f. 42. "Arif-
 totile's bokes, &c. were translated out of
 "grue into Latin. Also with praying of

"kyng Charles [the Bald], Johan

"Scott translated Denys bookes out of

"gru into Latyn."

^b "To blefs God our beloved lord."

^c Earnestly.

^d Language.

Adam vre ffader to ben his,
 With al the merthe of paradys
 To wonen and welden to fuch ende
 Til that he scholde to hevene wende,
 And hou fone he' hit fu les
 And feththen hou for bouht wes,
 Thurw the heze kynges fone
 That here in eorthe wolde come,
 Ffor his fustren that were to boren,
 And ffor a prifon thas was for loren
 And hou he made as ze fchal heren
 That heo i cuft and fauht weren
 And to wruche a castel he alihte, &c.

But the following are the most poetical passages of this poem.

God nolde a lihte in none manere,
 But in feir ftude^e and in clere,
 In feir and clene fiker hit wes,
 Ther god almihti his in ches^f
 In a CASTEL well comeliche,
 Muche^g and ffeire, and loveliche,
 That is the castell of alle floure,
 Of folas and of focour,
 In the mere he ftont bi twene two,
 Ne hath he forlak for no fo:
 For the tour^h is fo wel with outen,
 So depe i diked al abouten,
 That non kunnes afayling,
 Ne may him derven fer no thing;
 He ftont on heiz rocke and found,
 And is y planed to the ground,

^e Place.

^f "Chose his habitation."

^g Great.

^h La tur est si bien en clos. *Fr. Orig.*

That ther may won non vuelⁱ thing,
 Ne derve ne gynnes castyng;
 And thaug he be so lovliche,
 He is so dredful and hatcliche,
 To all thulke that ben his son,
 That heo flen him everichon;
 Ffor smal toures that beth abouten,
 To witen the heige toure withouten,
 Sethe^k beoth thre bayles withalle^l,
 So feir i diht with strunge walle,
 As heo beth here after I write,
 Ne may no man the^m feirschipe i wite,
 Ne may no tongue ne may hit telle,
 Ne thought thincke, ne mouthe spelle:
 On trusti rocke heo stondeth fast,
 And with depe diches bethe bi cast,
 And the carnelsⁿ so stondeth upright,
 Wel I planed, and feir i dight:
 Seven barbicanes ther beth i wrouht
 With gret ginne al bi thought^o,
 And evrichon hath gat and toure,
 Ther never fayleth ne focoure.
 Never schal fo him stonde with
 That thider wold flen to fechen grith^p.
 This castel is fiker fair abouten,
 And is al depeynted withouten,
 With threo heowes that wel beth sene^q;
 So is the foundement al grene,

ⁱ Vile.^k Tres bailes en tour. *Fr. Orig.*^l Moreover there are three, &c.^m Beauty.ⁿ Kernels. — Kerneaus bien poli. *Fr. Orig.*^o Pur bon engin fait. *Fr. Orig.*^p Counsel.^q La chafel est a bel bon
De hors de peint a en virun
De treis culurs diversement. *Fr. Orig.*

That

That to the rock fast lith.
 Wel is that ther murthe i fith,
 Ffor the greneschip lasteth evere,
 And his heuh ne leofeth nevere,
 Sethen abouten that other heug
 So is ynde so ys blu[†].
 That the midel heug we clepeth ariht
 And schyneth so faire and so briht.
 The thridde heug an ovemaft
 Over wrigeth al and so ys i cast
 That withinnen and withouten,
 The castel lihteth al abouten,
 And is raddore than eny rose schal
 That shunneth as hit barnd[‡] were[‡].
 Withinne the castel is whit schinyng
 So[‡] the snows that is snewyng,
 And casteth that liht so wyde,
 After long the tour and be fyde,
 That never cometh ther wo ne woug,
 As swetnesse ther is ever i noug.
 Amydde[¶] the heige toure is springyng
 A well that ever is eorning^{*}
 With four stremes that striketh wel,
 And erneth upon the gravel,
 And fulleth the duches about the wal,
 Much blisse ther is over al,
 Ne dar he seeke non other leche
 That mai riht of this water eleche.

[†] Si est ynde si est blu. *Fr. Orig.*

[‡] Burned, on fire.

[‡] Plus est vermeil ke nest rose
 E piert un ardant chose. *Fr. Orig.*

[¶] As.

[¶] In mi la tur plus hauteine

Est furdant une funtayne
 Dunt issent quater ruisell.

Ki bruinet par le gravel, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

^{*} Running.

In ^y thulke derworthi faire toure
 Ther stont a trone with much honour,
 Of whit yvori and feiroke of liht
 Than the someres day when heis briht,
 With cumpas i throwen and with gin al i do
 Seven steppes ther beoth therto, &c.
 The ffoure smale toures abouten,
 That with the heige tour withouten,
 Ffour had thewes that about hire i feoth,
 Ffour vertus cardinals beoth, &c.
 And ^z which beoth threo bayles get,
 That with the carnels ben so wel i set,
 And i cast with cumpas and walled abouten
 That wileth the heihe tour with outhen:
 Bote the inmost bayle i wote
 Bitokeneth hire holi maydenhode, &c.
 The middle bayle that wite ge,
 Bitokeneth hire holi chastite
 And fethen the overmast bayle
 Bitokeneth hire holi spofaile, &c.
 The seven kernels abouten,
 That with gret gin beon y wrougt withouten,
 And witeth this castel so well,
 With arwe and with quarrel ^a,
 That beoth the seven vertues with wunne
 To overcum the seven deadly finne, &c. ^b

^y En cele bel tur a bone
 A de yvoire un trone
 Ke plufa eissi blanchor
 Ci en mi este la beau jur
 Par engin est compassez, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

^z Les treis bailles du chastel
 Ki sunt overt au kernel
 Qui a compas sunt en virun
 E defendent le dungun. *Fr. Orig.*

^a Les barbicanes feet
 Kis hors de bailles sunt fait,
 Ki bien gardent le chastel,
 E de feete e de quarrel. *Fr. Orig.*

^b Afterwards the fountain is explained
 to be God's grace: Charity is constable of
 the castle, &c. &c.

It was undoubtedly a great impediment to the cultivation and progressive improvement of the English language at these early periods, that the best authors chose to write in French. Many of Robert Grossthead's pieces are indeed in Latin; yet where the subject was popular, and not immediately addressed to learned readers, he adopted the Romance or French language, in preference to his native English. Of this, as we have already seen, his *MANUEL PECHE*, and his *CHATEAU D'AMOUR*, are sufficient proofs, both in prose and verse: and his example and authority must have had considerable influence in encouraging this practice. Peter Langtoft, our Augustine canon of Bridlington, not only compiled the large chronicle of England, above recited, in French; but even translated Herbert Boscam's Latin Life of Thomas of Beckett into French rhymes^c. John Hoveden, a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to queen Eleanor mother of Edward the first, wrote in French rhymes a book entitled, *Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, Ascensione, Ihesu Chrijti*^d. Various other proofs have before occurred. Lord Lyttelton quotes from the Lambeth library a manuscript poem in French or Norman verse on the subject of king Dermot's expulsion from Ireland, and the recovery of his kingdom^e. I could mention many others. Anonymous French

^c Pittf. p. 890. Append. Who with great probability supposes him to have been an Englishman.

^d MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Cant. G. 16. where it is also called the *Nightingale*. Pr. "Alme fessie lit de pereffe." Our author, John Hoveden, was also skilled in sacred music, and a great writer of Latin hymns. He died, and was buried, at Hoveden, 1275. Pittf. p. 356. Bale, v. 79.

There is an old French metrical life of Tobiah, which the author, most probably an Englishman, says he undertook at the request of William, Prior of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. MSS. Jef. Coll. Oxon. 85. *supr.* citat.

Le prior Gwilleyme me prie
De l' eglyse seynt Marie

De Kenelworth an Ardenne,
Ki porte le plus haute peyne
De charite, ke nul eglyse
Del reaume a devyse
Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie
De celui ki ont nun Tobie, &c.

^e Hist. Hen. ii. vol. iv. p. 270. Notes. It was translated into prose by Sir George Carew in Q. Elizabeth's time: this translation was printed by Harris in his *Hibernia*. It was probably written about 1192. See Ware, p. 56. And compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. 28. Notes. The Lambeth manuscript seems to be but a fragment. viz. MSS. Bibl. Lamb. Hib. A. See *supr.* p. 70.

pieces both in prose and verse, and written about this time, are innumerable in our manuscript repositories^f. Yet this fashion proceeded rather from necessity and a principle of convenience, than from affectation. The vernacular English, as I have before remarked, was rough and unpolished: and although these writers possessed but few ideas of taste and elegance, they embraced a foreign tongue, almost equally familiar, and in which they could convey their sentiments with greater ease, grace, and propriety. It should also be considered, that our most eminent scholars received a part of their education at the university of Paris. Another, and a very material circumstance, concurred to countenance this fashionable practice of composing in French. It procured them readers of rank and distinction. The English court, for more than two hundred years after the conquest, was totally French: and our kings, either from birth, kindred, or marriage, and from a perpetual intercourse, seem to have been more closely connected with France than with England. It was however fortunate that these French pieces were written, as some of them met

^f I have before hinted that it was sometimes customary to intermix Latin with French. As thus. MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 137. b.

Dieu roy de Mageste,
Ob *personas trinas*,
Nostre roy e fa meyne
Ne *perire finas*, &c.

Again, *ibid.* f. 76. Where a lover, an Englishman, addresses his mistress who was of Paris.

Dum ludis floribus velut lacinia,
Le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel *Angustia*, &c.

Sometimes their poetry was half French and half English. As in a song to the holy virgin on our Saviour's passion. *Ibid.* f. 83.

Mayden moder milde, oyez cel oreyfoun,
From shome thou me shilde, e de ly mal
feloun:

For love of thine childe me menez de
tresfoun,
Ich wes wod and wilde, ore fu en prifoun,
&c.

In the same manuscript I find a French poem probably written by an Englishman, and in the year 1300, containing the adventures of Gilote and Johanne, two ladies of gallantry, in various parts of England and Ireland; particularly at Winchester and Pontefract. f. 66. b. The curious reader is also referred to a French poem, in which the poet supposes that a minstrel, *jugleour*, travelling from London, clothed in a rich tabard, met the king and his retinue. The king asks him many questions; particularly his lord's name, and the price of his horse. The minstrel evades all the king's questions by impertinent answers; and at last pretends to give his majesty advice. *Ibid.* f. 107. b.

with

with their translators : who perhaps unable to aspire to the praise of original writers, at least by this means contributed to adorn their native tongue : and who very probably would not have written at all, had not original writers, I mean their cotemporaries who wrote in French, furnished them with models and materials.

Hearne, to whose diligence even the poetical antiquarian is much obliged, but whose conjectures are generally wrong, imagines, that the old English metrical romance, called RYCHARDE CUER DE LYON, was written by Robert de Brunne. It is at least probable, that the leisure of monastic life produced many rhymers. From proofs here given we may fairly conclude, that the monks often wrote for the minstrels : and although our Gilbertine brother of Brunne chose to relate true stories in plain language, yet it is reasonable to suppose, that many of our antient tales in verse containing fictitious adventures, were written, although not invented, in the religious houses. The romantic history of *Guy earl of Warwick*, is expressly said, on good authority, to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan Friar of Carocus in Cornwall, about the year 1292⁶. The libraries of the monasteries were full of romances. *Bevis of Southampton*, in French, was in the

⁶ Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 59. edit. ut supr. I suppose Carew means the metrical Romance of GUY. But Bale says that Walter wrote *Vitam Guidonis*, which seems to imply a prose history. x. 78. Giraldus Cambrensis also wrote Guy's history. Hearne has printed an *Historia Guidonis de Warwick*, Append. ad Annal. Dunstaple, num. xi. It was extracted from Girald. Cambrenf. hist. Reg. West-Sax. capit. xi. by Girardus Cornubienfis. Lydgate's *life of Guy*, never printed, is translated from this Girardus ; as Lydgate himself informs us at the end. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. D. 31. f. 64. Tit. *Here gynneth the liyf of Guy of Warwyk*.

Out of the Latyn made by the Chronyler
Called of old GIRARD CORNUBYENCE:
Which wrote the dedis, with grete diligence,

Of them that were in Westsex crowned
kynges, &c.

See Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 89. Some have thought, that Girardus Cornubienfis and Giraldus Cambrenfis were the same persons. This passage of Lydgate may perhaps shew the contrary. We have also in the same Bodleian manuscript, a poem on Guy and Colbrand, viz. MSS. Laud. D. 31. f. 87. More will be said on this subject.

library of the abbey of Leicester^h. In that of the abbey of Glastonbury, we find *Liber de Excidio Trojæ, Gesta Ricardi Regis*, and *Gesta Alexandri Regis*, in the year 1247ⁱ. These were some of the most favorite subjects of romance, as I shall shew hereafter. In a catalogue of the library of the abbey of Peterborough are recited, *Amys and Amelion*^k, *Sir Tristram*, *Guy de Burgoyne*, and *Gesta Osuclis*^l, all in French: together with *Merlin's Prophecies*, *Turpin's Charlemagne*, and the *Destruction of Troy*^m. Among the books given to Winchester college by the founder William of Wykeham, a prelate of high rank, about the year 1387, we have *Chronicon Trojæ*ⁿ. In the library of Windsor college, in the reign of Henry the eighth, were discovered in the midst of missals, psalters, and homilies, *Duo libri Gallici de Romances, de quibus unus liber de ROSE, et alius difficilis materiæ*^o. This is the language of the king's commissioners, who searched the archives of the college: the first of these two French romances is perhaps John de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*. A friar, in Pierce Plowman's Visions, is said to be much better acquainted with the *Rimes* of

^h See *Registrum Librorum omnium et Joacalium in monasterio S. Mariæ de Pratis prope Leycestriam*. fol. 132. b. In MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I. 75. This catalogue was written by Will. Charite one of the monks, A. D. 1517. fol. 139.

ⁱ Hearne's Joann. Glaston. Catal. Bibl. Glaston. p. 435. One of the books on Troy is called *bonus et magnus*. There is also "Liber de Captione Antiochiæ, Gallice. "legibilis." *ibid*.

^k The same Romance is in MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. 2386. §. 42. See Du Cang. Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Auctor. p. 193. There is an old manuscript French MORALITY on this subject, *Comment Amille tue ses deux enfans pour guerir d'un son compaignon*, &c. Beauchamps, Rech. Theatr. Fr. p. 109. There is a French metrical romance *Histoire d'Amys et Amilion*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12. C. xii. 9.

^l There is a Romance called OTUEL, MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edingb. W. 4. 1. xxviii. I think he is mentioned in Charlemagne's story. He is converted to christianity, and marries Charlemagne's daughter.

^m Gunton's Peterb. p. 168. seq.—I will give some of the titles as they stand in the catalogue. *Dares Phrygius de Excidio Trojæ*, bis. p. 180. *Prophetiæ Merlini versificæ*. p. 182. *Gesta Caroli secundum Turpinum*. p. 187. *Gesta Æneæ post destructionem Trojæ*. p. 198. *Bellum contra Runcivallum*, p. 202. There are also the two following articles, viz. "Certamen inter regem Johannem et Barones, versifice." Per H. de Davenech." p. 188. This I have never seen, nor know any thing of the author. "Versus de ludo scaccorum." p. 195.

ⁿ Ex archivis Coll. Wint.

^o Dugd. Mon. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 80.

Robin Hood, and *Randal of Chester*, than with his Pater-noster^p. The monks, who very naturally sought all opportunities of amusement in their retired and confined situations, were fond of admitting the minstrels to their festivals; and were hence familiarised to romantic stories. Seventy shillings were expended on minstrels, who accompanied their songs with the harp, at the feast of the installation of Ralph abbot of Saint Augustin's at Canterbury, in the year 1309. At this magnificent solemnity, six thousand guests were present in and about the hall of the abbey^q. It was not deemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, visited his cathedral priory of Saint Swithin in that city, a minstrel named Herbert was introduced, who sung the *Song of Colbrond* a Danish giant, and the tale of *Queen Emma delivered from the plough-shares*, in the hall of the prior Alexander de Herriard, in the year 1338. I will give this very curious article, as it appears in an ancient register of the priory. "*Et cantabat Joculator quidam* "*nomine Herebertus* CANTICUM Colbrondi, necnon Gestum Emme "*regine a judicio ignis liberate, in aula prioris*." In an annual accompt-roll of the Augustine priory of Bicester in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, the following entries relating to this subject occur, which I chuse to exhibit in the words of the original. "DONA PRIORIS. *Et in datis cuidam cithari-* "*zatori in die sancti Jeronimi, viii. d. — Et in datis alteri ci-*

^p Fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.

^q Dec. Script. p. 2011.

^r Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MSS. pergam. in Archiv. de Wolvesey Wint. These were local stories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond a Danish champion, just without the northern walls of the city of Winchester, in a meadow to this day called Danemarch: and Colbrond's battle-ax was kept in the treasury of S. Swithin's priory till the dissolution. Th. Rudb. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 211. This history remained in rude painting

against the walls of the north transept of the cathedral till within my memory. Queen Emma was a patroness of this church, in which she underwent the trial of walking blindfold over nine red hot ploughshares. Colbrond is mentioned in the old romance of the *Squyr of Lowe Degree*. Signat. a. iii.

Or els so doughty of my honde
As was the gyaunte fyr Colbronde.

See what is said above of Guy earl of Warwick, who will again be mentioned.

N

tharizatori

“ *thbarizatori in ffeſto Apoſtolorum Simonis et Jude cognomine Hendy,*
 “ *xii d. — Et in datis cuidam minſtrallo domini le Talbot infra*
 “ *natale domini, xii. d. — Et in datis miniſtrallis domini le*
 “ *Straunge in die Epiphanie, xx. d. — Et in datis duobus mi-*
 “ *niſtrallis domini Lovell in craſtino S. Marci evangelifte, xvi. d.*
 “ *— Et in datis miniſtrallis ducis Gloceſtrie in ffeſto natiuitatis*
 “ *beate Marie, iii s. iv d.”* I muſt add, as it likewise paints
 the manners of the monks, “ *Et in datis cuidam Urfario,*
 “ *iiii d.”* In the prior’s accounts of the Auguſtine canons
 of Maxtoke in Warwickſhire, of various years in the reign
 of Henry the ſixth, one of the ſtyles, or general heads, is
 DE JOCULATORIBUS ET MIMIS. I will, without apology,
 produce ſome of the particular articles; not diſtinguiſhing
 between *Mimi*, *Joculatores*, *Jocatores*, *Lufores*, and *Cithariſtæ* :
 who all ſeem alternately, and at different times, to have
 exerciſed the ſame arts of popular entertainment. “ *Jocu-*
 “ *latori in ſeptimana S. Michaelis, iv d. — Cithariſte tempore na-*
 “ *talis domini et aliis jocatoribus, iv d. — Mimis de Solihull, vi d.*
 “ *— Mimis de Coventry, xx d. — Mimo domini Ferrers, vi d. —*
 “ *Luforibus de Eton, viii d. — Luſoribus de Coventry, viii d. —*
 “ *Luforibus de Daventry, xii d. — Mimis de Coventry, xii d. —*
 “ *Mimis domini de Aſteley, xii d. — Item iii. mimis domini de*
 “ *Warewyck, x d. — Mimo ceco, ii d. — Sex mimis domini de*
 “ *Clynton. — Duobus Minis de Rugeby, x d. — Cuidam cithariſte,*
 “ *vi d. — Mimis domini de Aſteley, xx d. — Cuidam cithariſte,*
 “ *vi d. — Cithariſte de Coventry, vi. d. — Duobus cithariſtis de*
 “ *Coventry, viii d. — Mimis de Rugeby, viii d. — Mimis domini*
 “ *de Buckeridge, xx d. — Mimis domini de Stafford, ii s. — Lu-*
 “ *ſoribus de Colceſhille, viii d.”* Here we may obſerve, that

’ Ex. Orig. in Rotul. pergamen. Tit.
 “ *Computus dni Ricardi Parentyn Prioris,*
 “ *et fratris Ric. Albon canonici, burſarii*
 “ *ibidem, de omnibus bonis per eodem*
 “ *receptis et liberatis a craſtino Michaelis*
 “ *anno Henrici Sexti poſt conqueſtum oc-*
 “ *tavo uſque in idem craſtinum anno R.*

“ *Henrici prædicti nono.*” In Theſauriar.
 Coll. SS. Trin. Oxon. Biſhop Kennet has
 printed a *Computus* of the ſame monaſtery
 under the ſame reign, in which three or four
 entries of the ſame ſort occur. *Paroch. An-*
tiq. p. 578.

’ Ex orig. penes me.

the minstrels of the nobility, in whose families they were constantly retained, travelled about the county to the neighbouring monasteries; and that they generally received better gratuities for these occasional performances than the others. Solihull, Rugby, Colehill, Eton, or Nun-Eton, and Coventry, are all towns situated at no great distance from the priory^u. Nor must I omit that two minstrels from Coventry made part of the festivity at the consecration of John, prior of this convent, in the year 1432, viz. "*Dat. duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris, xii d.*" Nor is

^u In the antient annual rolls of account of Winchester college, there are many articles of this sort. The few following, extracted from a great number, may serve as a specimen. They are chiefly in the reign of Edward iv. viz. *In the year 1481.* "Et in sol. ministrallis dom. Regis venientibus ad collegium xv. die Aprilis, cum 12*d.* solut. ministrallis dom. Episcopi Wynton venientibus ad collegium primo die junii, iiii*s.* iiii*d.*—Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Arundell ven. ad Coll. cum viii*d.* dat. ministrallis dom. de Lawarr, ii*s.* iiii*d.*"—*In the year 1483.* "Sol. ministrallis dom. Regis ven. ad Coll. iii*s.* iiii*d.*"—*In the year 1472.* "Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Regis cum viii*d.* dat. duobus Berewardis ducis Clarentie, xx*d.*—Et in dat. Johanni Stulto quondam dom. de Warewyco, cum iiii*d.* dat. Thome Nevyle taborario.—Et in datis duobus ministrallis ducis Glocestrie, cum iiii*d.* dat. uni ministrallo ducis de Northumberland, viii*d.*—Et in datis duobus citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad collegium viii*d.*"—*In the year 1479.* "Et in datis satrapis Wynton venientibus ad coll. festo Epiphanie, cum xii*d.* dat. ministrallis dom. episcopi venient. ad coll. infra octavas epiphanie, iii*s.*"—*In the year 1477.* "Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Principis venient. ad coll. festo Ascensionis Domini, cum xx*d.* dat. ministrallis dom. Regis, v*s.*"—*In the year 1464.* "Et in dat. ministrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad Coll. in mense julii, iiii*s.* iiii*d.*"—*In the*

year 1467. "Et in datis quatuor mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad Coll. xiii. die febr. ex curialitate dom. Custodis, ii*s.*"—*In the year 1466.* "Et in dat. satrapis, [*ut supr.*] cum ii*s.* dat. iiii. interludentibus et J. Meke ci-tharistæ eodem festo, iiii*s.*"—*In the year 1484.* "Et in dat. uni ministrallo dom. principis, et in aliis ministrallis ducis Glocestrie v. die julii, xx*d.*"—The minstrels of the bishop, of lord Arundel, and the duke of Gloucester, occur very frequently. In domo muniment. coll. prædict. in cista ex orientali latere.

In rolls of the reign of Henry the sixth, the countess of Westmoreland, sister of cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the minstrels of her household, who received gratuities. Ex Rot. Comp. orig.

In these rolls there is an entry, which seems to prove that the *Lufors* were a sort of actors in dumb show or masquerade. Rot. ann. 1467. "Dat luforibus de civitate Winton venientibus ad collegium in apparatu suo mens. julii, v*s.* viii*d.*" This is a large reward. I will add from the same rolls, ann. 1479. "In dat. Joh. Pontifery and socio ludentibus in aula in die circumcissionis, ii*s.*"

^w Ibid. It appears that the Coventry-men were in high repute for their performances of this sort. In the entertainment presented to queen Elizabeth at Killingworth castle, in the year 1575, The Coventry-men exhibited "their old storiall sheaw." Laneham's *Narrative*, &c. p. 32. Minstrel

it improbable, that some of our greater monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay. So early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry the second, *Jeffrey the harper* received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hyde near Winchester^{*}; undoubtedly on condition that he should serve the monks in the profession of a harper on public occasions. The abbies of Conway and Stratflur in Wales respectively maintained a bard[†]: and the Welsh monasteries in general were the grand repositories of the poetry of the British bards[‡].

In the statutes of New-college at Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder bishop William of Wykeham orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days in the hall after dinner and supper, to entertain themselves with songs, and other diversions consistent with decency: and to recite poems, chronicles of kingdoms, the wonders of the world, together with the like compositions, not misbecoming the clerical character. I will transcribe his words. “Quando
 “ ob dei reverentiam aut sue matris, vel alterius sancti cujus-
 “ cunque, tempore yemali, ignis in aula fociis ministratur;
 “ tunc scolaribus et fociis post tempus prandii aut cene, li-
 “ ceat gracia recreationis, in aula, in Cantilenis et aliis fo-
 “ laciis honestis, moram facere condecens; et Poemata,
 “ regnorum Chronicas, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera

strels were hired from Coventry to perform at Holy Crosse feast at Abingdon, Berks, 1422. Hearn's Lib. Nig. Scacc. ii. p. 598. See an account of their play on Corpus Christi day, in Stevens's Monasticon, i. p. 138. And Hearn's Fordun, p. 1450. sub. an. 1492.

^{*} Madox, Hist. Exchequer, p. 251. Where he is styled, “Galfidus citharæ-duc.”

[†] Powell's CAMBRIA. To the Reader. pag. 1. edit. 1531.

[‡] Evans's Diss. de Bardis. Specimens of Welsh poetry. p. 92. Wood relates a

story of two itinerant priests coming, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacrist, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their *gesticulatoriis ludicrisque artibus*, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics who could only administer spiritual consolation, and being consequently disappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the monastery. Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 67. Under the year 1224.

que

“ que statum clericalem condecorant, serioſius pertractare ^a.” The latter part of this injunction ſeems to be an explication of the former : and on the whole it appears, that the *Cantilenæ* which the ſcholars ſhould ſing on theſe occaſions, were a ſort of *Poemata*, or poetical Chronicles, containing general hiſtories of kingdoms ^b. It is natural to conclude, that they preferred pieces of Engliſh hiſtory : and among Hearne’s manuſcripts I have diſcovered ſome fragments on vellum ^c, containing metrical chronicles of our kings ; which, from the nature of the compoſition ſeem to have been uſed for this purpoſe, and anſwer our idea of theſe general *Chronicæ regnorum*. Hearne ſuppoſed them to have been written about the time of Richard the firſt ^d : but I rather aſſign them to the reign of Edward the firſt, who died in the year 1307. But the reader ſhall judge. The following fragment begins abruptly with ſome rich preſents which king Athelſtan received from Charles the third, king of France : a nail which pierced our Saviour’s feet on the croſs, a ſpear with which Charlemagne fought againſt the Saracens and which ſome ſuppoſed to be the ſpear which pierced our Saviour’s ſide, a part of the holy croſs enſloſed in cryſtal, three of the thorns from the crown on our Saviour’s head, and a crown formed entirely of precious ſtones, which were endued with a myſtical power of reconciling enemies.

Ther in was cloſyd a nayle grete
That went thorw oure lordis fete.

^a Rubric. xviii. The ſame thing is en-joined in the ſtatutes of Wincheſter college, Rubr. xv. I do not remember any ſuch paſſage in the ſtatutes of preceding colleges in either univerſity. But this injunction is afterwards adopted in the ſtatutes of Magdalene college ; and from thence, if I recollect right, was copied into thoſe of Corpus Chriſti, Oxford.

^b Hearne thus underſtood the paſſage.

“ The wiſe founder of New college permitted them [metrical chronicles] to be ſung by the fellows and ſcholars upon extraordinary days.” Heming. Cartul. ii. APPEND. Numb. ix. § vi. p. 662.

^c Given to him by Mr. Murray. See Heming. Chartul. ii. p. 654. And Rob. Glouc. ii. p. 731. Nunc MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. RAWLINS. Cod. 4to. [E. Pr. 87.]

^d Ubi ſupr.

Gyt * he prefentyd hym the spere
 That Charles was wont to bere
 Agens the Sarafyns in batayle;
 Many swore and sayde faunfayle ^f,
 That with that spere smerte ^s
 Our lorde was stungen to the herte.
 And a party ^b of the holi crosse
 In crystal done in a cloos.
 And three of the thornes kene
 That was in Cristes hede fene,
 And a ryche crowne of golde
 Non rycher kyng wer y scholde,
 Y made within and withowt
 With pretius stonys alle a bowte,
 Of eche manir vertu thry ⁱ
 The stonys hadde the maystry
 To make frendes that evere were fone,
 Such a crowne was never none,
 To none erthelyche mon y wroght
 Syth God made the world of nogth.
 Kyng Athelstune was glad and blythe,
 And thankud the kynge of Ffraunce fwythe,
 Of gyfts nobul and ryche
 In crystiantie was no hym leche.
 In his tyme, I understonde,
 Was Guy of Warwyk yn Inglonde,
 And ffor Englund dede batayle
 With a mygti gyande, without fayle;
 His name was hote Colbrond
 Gwy hym slough with his hond.

* Yet. Moreover.

^f Without doubt. *Fr.*

^s Sharp, strong. So in the *Lives of the Saints*, MSS. *supr. citat.* In the Life of S. Edmund.

For Saint Edmund had a *smerte zerde*, &c.

i. e. "He had a strong rod in his hand, &c."

^b Part. Piece.

ⁱ Three.

Seven yere kyng Athelston
 Held this his kyngdome
 In Ingland that ys so mury,
 He dyedde and lythe at Malmesbury^{*}.
 After hym regned his brother Edmond
 And was kyng of Ingelond,
 And he ne regned here,
 But unneth nine yere,
 Sith hyt be falle at a feste
 At Caunterbury¹ a cas unwrest^m,
 As the kyng at the mete sat
 He behelde and under that
 Of a theef that was desgyse
 Amonge hys knyghtes god and wise;
 The kyng was hesty and sterre uppe
 And hent the thefe by the toppeⁿ
 And cast hym doune on a ston:
 The theefe brayde out a knyfe a non
 And the kyng to the hert threste,
 Or any of his knyghtes weste^o:
 The baronys sterre up anone,
 And slough the theefe swythe sone,
 But arst^p he wounded many one,
 Through the fflesh and through the bone:

^{*} To which monastery he gave the fragment of the holy cros given him by the king of France. Rob. Glouc. p. 276.

King Athelston lovede much Malmesbury
 y wis,
 He ges of the holy cros fom, that there
 gut ys.

It is extraordinary that Peter Langtoft should not know where Athelstan was buried: and as strange that his translator

Rob. de Brunne should supply this defect by mentioning a report that his body was lately found at Hexham in Northumberland. Chron. p. 32.

¹ Rob. of Gloucester says that this happened at Pucklechurch near Bristol. p. 277. But Rob. de Brunne at Canterbury, whether the king went to hold the feast of S. Austin. p. 33.

^m A wicked mischance.

ⁿ Head. ^o Perceived.

^p *Arst*. First.

To Glaſtenbury they bare the kynge,
 And ther made his buryinge ¹.
 After that Edmund was ded,
 Reyned his brother Edred;
 Edred reyned here
 But unnethe thre yere, &c.
 After hym reyned ſeynt Edgare,
 A wyſe kynge and a warre:
 Thilke nyghte that he was bore,
 Seynt Dunſtan was glad ther fore;
 Ffor herde that ſwete ſtevene
 Of the angels of hevene:
 In the ſonge thei ſonge bi ryme,
 " Y bleſſed be that ylke tyme
 " That Edgare y bore y was,
 " Ffor in hys tyme ſchal be paſ,
 " Ever more in hys kyngdome ²."
 The while he liveth and ſeynt Dunſton,
 Ther was ſo meche grete foyſon ³,
 Of all good in every tonne;
 All wyle that laſt his lyve,
 Ne lored he never fyght ne ſtryve.

*

*

*

The knyghtes of Wales, all and ſome
 Han to ſwery and othes holde,
 And trewe to be as y told,
 To bring trynge hym trewage ⁴ yeare,
 CCC. wolves eche zere;

¹ At Glouceſter, ſays Rob. de Brunne, p. 33. But Rob. of Glouceſter ſays his body was brought from Pucklechurch, and interred at Glaſtonbury: and that hence the town of Pucklechurch became part of

the poſſeſſions of Glaſtonbury abbey. p. 278.

² This ſong is in Rob. Gl. Chron. p. 281.

³ Proviſion.

⁴ Ready.

And

And so they dyde trewliche
 Three yere pleyneverlyche,
 The ferthe yere myght they fynde non
 So clene thay wer all a gon,

* * *

And the kyng hyt hem forgat
 For he nolde hem greve,
 Edgare was an holi man
 That oure lorde, &c.

Although we have taken our leave of Robert de Brunne, yet as the subject is remarkable, and affords a striking portraiture of antient manners, I am tempted to transcribe that chronicler's description of the presents received by king Athelstane from the king of France; especially as it contains some new circumstances, and supplies the defects of our fragment. It is from his version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle abovementioned.

At the feste of oure lady the Assumpcion,
 Went the king fro London to Abindon.
 Thider out of France, fro Charles kyng of fame,
 Com the of Boloyne, Adulphus was his name,
 And the duke of Burgoyne Edmonde sonne Reynere.
 The brouht kynge Athelston present withouten pere:
 Fro Charles kyng sanz faile thei brouht a gonfaynoun^u
 That saynt Morice in batayle before the legioun;
 And scharp lance that thrilled Jhesu side;
 And a fuerd of golde, in the hilde did men hide
 Tuo of tho nayles that war thorh Jhesu fete;
 Tached^w on the croys, the blode thei out lete;
 And som of the thornes that don were on his heved,
 And a fair pece that of the croys leved^x,
 That saynt Heleyn sonne at the batayle won

^u Banner.

^w Tacked. Fastened.

^x Remained.

Of the foudan of Askalone his name was Madan.
 Than blewe the trumpets full loud and full schille,
 The kyng com in to the halle that hardy was of wille :
 Than spak Reyner Edmunde sonne, for he was messengere,
 " Athelstan, my lord the gretes, Charles that has no pere ;
 " He fends the this present, and fais, he wille hym bynde
 " To the thorch ^y Ilde thi siftere, and tille alle thi kynde."
 Befor the messengers was the maiden brouht,
 Of body so gentill was non in erthe wrouht ;
 No non so faire of face, of spech so lusty,
 Scho granted befor tham all to Charles hir body :
 And so did the kyng, and alle the baronage,
 Mikelle was the richesse thei purveied in hir passage ^z.

Another of these fragments, evidently of the same composition, seems to have been an introduction to the whole. It begins with the martyrdom of saint Alban, and passes on to the introduction of Waffail, and to the names and division of England.

And now he ys alle so hole y fonde,
 As whan he was y leyde on grounde.
 And gyf ge wille not ^a trow me,
 Goth to Westmynstere, and ye mow fe.
 In that tyme Seynt Albon,
 For Goddys love ^b tholed martirdome,
 And xl. yere with schame and ^c schonde
 Was ^d drowen oute of Englonde.
 In that tyme ^e weteth welle,
 Cam ferst Waffayle and drynkehayl

^y "Thee through."

^z Chron. p. 29. 30. Afterwards follows the combat of Guy with "a hogge" [huge] geant, hight Colibrant." As in our fragment. p. 31. See Will. Malmf. Gest. Angl. ii. 6. The lance of Charle-

magne is to this day shewn among the relics of St. Dennis's in France. Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du-cang, tom. ii. p. 994. edit. 1766.

^a Believe. ^b Suffered. ^c Confusion.
^d Driven, drawn. ^e Know ye.

In to this lond, with owte ^f wene,
 Thurghe a mayde ^g brygh and ^h fchene.
 Sche was ⁱ cleput mayde Ynge.
 For hur many dothe rede and fynge
 Lordyngys ^k gent and free.
 This lond hath y hadde namys thre.
 Fereft hit was cleput Albyon,
 And fyth ^l for Brut Bretayne a non,
 And now Ynglond cleput hit ys,
 Aftir mayde Ynge y wyffe.
 Thilke Ynge fro Saxone was come,
 And with here many a moder sonne.
 For gret hungure y underftonde
 Ynge went oute of hure londe.
 And thorow leue of oure kyng
 In this land fche hadde reftyng.
 As meche lande of the kyng fche ^m bade,
 As with a hole hyde ⁿ me mygth fprede.
 The kyng ^o graunt he bonne.
 A ftrong caftel fche made fone,
 And whan the caftel was al made,
 The kyng to the mete fche ^p bade.
 The kyng graunted here a none.
 He wyft not what thay wold done.

* * *

And fayde to ^q ham in this manere,
 “ The kyng to morow fchal ete here.
 “ He and alle hys men,
 “ Ever ^r one of us and one of them,

^f Doubt. ^g Bright. ^h Fair. ⁱ Called.
^k Gentle. ^l From, because of.
^m Requested, desired. ⁿ Men might.

^o Granted her request. ^p Bid.
^q Then. ^r Every.

" To geder ſchal fitte at the mete.
 " And when thay have al moſt y ete,
 " I wole fay waſſayle to the kyng,
 " And ſle hym with oute any ^a leyng.
 " And loke that ye in this manere
 " Eche of gow ſle his ^b fere."
 And ſo ſche dede thenne,
 Slowe the kyng and alle hys men.
 And thus, thorowgh here ^u queyntiſe,
 This londe was wonne in this wyſe.
 Syth ^w a non ſone an ^x ſwythe
 Was Englund ^y deled on fyve,
 To fyve kynggys trewelyche,
 That were nobyl and ſwythe ryche.
 That one hadde alle the londe of Kente,
 That ys free and ſwythe gente.
 And in hys lond byſſhopus tweye.
 Worthy men ^z where theye.
 The archebyſſhop of Caunturbery,
 And of Rocheſtore that ys mery.
 The kyng of Eſſex of ^a renon
 He hadde to his portion
 Weſtſchire, Barkſchire,
 Souſſex, Southamptſhire.
 And ther to Dorſetſhyre,
 All Cornewalle and Devenſhire.
 All thys were of hys ^b anypre.
 The king hadde on his hond
 Five byſſhopes ſtarke and ſtrong,
 Of Saluſbury was that on.

As to the *Mirabilia Mundi*, mentioned in the ſtatutes of New College at Oxford, in conjunction with theſe *Pocmata*

^a Lyc.^y Dividel.^c Companion.^z Were.^u Stratagem.^a Renown.^w After.^b Empire.^x Very.

and

and *Regnorum Chronicæ*, the immigrations of the Arabians into Europe and the crusades produced numberless accounts, partly true and partly fabulous, of the wonders seen in the eastern countries; which falling into the hands of the monks, grew into various treatises, under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*. There were also some professed travellers into the East in the dark ages, who surprised the western world with their marvellous narratives, which could they have been contradicted would have been believed^c. At the court of the grand Khan, persons of all nations and religions, if they discovered any distinguished degree of abilities, were kindly entertained and often preferred..

In the Bodleian library we have a superb vellum manuscript, decorated with antient descriptive paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Histoire de Graunt Kaan et des MERVEILLES DU MONDE*^d. The same work is among the royal manuscripts^e. A Latin epistle, said to be translated from the Greek by Cornelius Nepos, is an extremely common manuscript, entitled, *De situ et Mirabilibus Indiæ*^f. It is from

^c The first European traveller who went far Eastward, is Benjamin a Jew of Tudela in Navarre. He penetrated from Constantinople through Alexandria in Ægypt and Persia to the frontiers of Tzin, now China. His travels end in 1173. He mentions the immense wealth of Constantinople; and says that its port swarmed with ships from all countries. He exaggerates in speaking of the prodigious number of Jews in that city. He is full of marvellous and romantic stories. William de Rubruquis, a monk, was sent into Persia Tartary, and by the command of S. Louis king of France, about the year 1245. As was also Carpini, by Pope Innocent the fourth. Their books abound with improbabilities. Marco Polo a Venetian nobleman travelled eastward into Syria and Persia to the country constantly called in the dark ages Cathay, which proves to be the northern part of China. This was about the year 1260. His book is entitled *De*

Regionibus Orientis. He mentions the immense and opulent city of Cambalu, undoubtedly Pekin. Hakluyt cites a friar, named Oderick, who travelled to Cambalu in Cathay, and whose description of that city corresponds exactly with Pekin. Friar Bacon about 1280, from these travels formed his geography of this part of the globe, as may be collected from what he relates of the Tartars. See Purchas Pilgr. iii. 52. And Bac. Op. Maj. 228. 235.

^d MSS. Bodl. F. 10. fol. prægrand. ad calc. Cod. The hand-writing is about the reign of Edward the third. I am not sure whether it is not Mandeville's book.

^e Brit. Mus. MSS. Bibl. Reg. 19 D. i. 3.

^f It was first printed à *Jacobo Catala-nensi* without date or place. Afterwards at Venice 1499. The Epistle is inscribed: *Alexander Magnus Aristoteli præceptori sua salutem dicit*. It was never extant in Greek.

Alexander the Great to his preceptor Aristotle: and the Greek original was most probably drawn from some of the fabulous authors of Alexander's story.

There is a manuscript, containing *La Chartre que Prestre Jehan maunda a Fredewik l'Empereur DE MERVAILLES DE SA TERRE*². This was Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, or his successor; both of whom were celebrated for their many successful enterprises in the holy land, before the year 1230. Prestre John, a christian, was emperor of India. I find another tract, *DE MIRABILIBUS Terræ Sanctæ*³. A book of Sir John Mandeville, a famous traveller into the East about the year 1340, is under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*⁴. His Itinerary might indeed have the same title⁵. An English title in the Cotton library is, "The Voyage and Travailles of Sir John Maundevile knight, which treateth of the way to Hierufaleme and of the MARVEYLES of Inde with other ilands and countreyes." In the Cotton library there is a piece with the title, *Sanctæ rum Loca, MIRABILIA MUNDI, &c*⁶. Afterwards the wonders of other coun-

² Ibid. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. 3. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. E. 4. 3. "Litteræ Joannis Presbiteri ad Fredericum Imperatorem, &c."

³ MSS. Reg. 14 C. xiii. 3.

⁴ MSS. C. C. C. Cant. A. iv. 69. We find *De Mirabilibus Mundi Liber*, MSS. Reg. ut supr. 13. E. ix. 5. And again, *De Mirabilibus Mundi et Viris illustribus Tractatus* 14. C. vi. 3.

⁵ His book is supposed to have been interpolated by the monks. Leland observes, that Asia and Africa were parts of the world at this time, "Anglis de sola fere nomine umbra cognitæ." Script. Br. p. 366. He wrote his Itinerary in French, English, and Latin. It extends to Cathay, or China, before mentioned. Leland says, that he gave to Beckett's shrine in Canterbury cathedral a glass globe enclosing an apple, which he probably brought from the east.

Leland has this curiosity, in which the apple remained fresh and undecayed. Ubi supr. Maundeville, on returning from his travels, gave to the high altar of S. Alban's abbey church a sort of Patera brought from Egypt, now in the hands of an ingenious antiquary in London. He was a native of the town of S. Alban's, and a physician. He says that he left many MERVAYLES unwritten; and refers the curious reader to his MAPPA MUNDI, chap. cviii. cix. A history of the Tartars became popular in Europe about the year 1310, written or dictated by Aiton a king of Armenia, who having traversed the most remarkable countries of the east, turned monk at Cyprus, and published his travels; which, on account of the rank of the author, and his amazing adventures, gained great esteem.

⁶ Galb. A. xxi. 3.

tries were added: and when this sort of reading began to grow fashionable, Gyraldus Cambrensis composed his book *De MIRABILIBUS Hiberniæ*^m. There is also another *De MIRABILIBUS Angliæ*ⁿ. At length the superstitious curiosity of the times was gratified with compilations under the comprehensive title of *MIRABILIA Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Orientalis*^o. But enough has been said of these infatuations. Yet the history of human credulity is a necessary speculation to those who trace the gradations of human knowledge. Let me add, that a spirit of rational enquiry into the topographical state of foreign countries, the parent of commerce and of a thousand improvements, took its rise from these visions.

I close this section with an elegy on the death of king Edward the first, who died in the year 1307.

I.

Alle that beoth of, huert trewe^p
 A stounde herkneth to my songe^q,
 Of duel that Dethe has dihte us newe.
 That maketh me seke and forewe amonge:
 Of a knyht that wes so stronge
 Of whom god hath done ys wille;
 Methuncheth^r that Deth has don us wronge
 That he^s so sone shall ligge stille.

^m It is printed among the *Scriptores Hist. Angl.* Francof. 1602. fol. 692. Written about the year 1200. It was so favourite a title that we have even *De MIRABILIBUS Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. MSS. Coll. Æn. Naf. Oxon. Cod. 12. f. 190. a.

ⁿ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. C. 6.

^o As in MSS. Reg. 13 D. i. 11. I must not forget that the *Polybistor* of Julius So-

linus appears in many manuscripts under the title of *Selinus de Mirabilibus Mundi*. This was so favourite a book, as to be translated into hexameters by some monk in the twelfth century, according to Voss. *Hist. Latia.* iii. p. 721.

^p "Be of true heart."

^q A little while.

^r Methinks. ^s The king.

II.

II.

Al England ahte ^t forte knowe :
 Of whom that song ys that yfyng,
 Of Edward kynge that ys so bolde,
 Gent.^u al this world is nome con springe :
 Trewest mon of al thinge,
 Ant in werre ware and wise ;
 For hym we ahte our honden ^w wrynge,
 Of cristendome he bare the pris.

III.

Byfore that oure kynge was ded
 He speke as mon that was in care
 “ Clerkes, knyghts, barrons, he fed
 “ Ycharge ou ^x by oure fware ^y
 “ That ye be to Englonde trewe,
 “ Y deze ^z y ne may lyven na more ;
 “ Helpeth mi sone, ant crowneth him newe,
 “ For he is ^a nest to buen y-core.

IV.

“ Iche biqueth myn hirte aryht,
 “ That hit be write at mi devys,
 “ Over the sea that Hue ^b be diht,
 “ With fourscore knyghtes al of pris,
 “ In werre that buen war aut wys,
 “ Agein the hethene for te fyhte,
 “ To wynne the croize that lowe lys,
 “ Myself ycholde gef thet y myhte.

^t Ought *for* to.

^u Through. Sax. *gent*. *Yent*.

^w Hands. ^x You. ^y Oath.

^z Dege. DEYE, die.

^a “ Next, to be chofen.”

^b One of his Officers.

V.

Kyng of Fraunce! thou hevedest funne^c,
 That thou the counfail woldest fonde,
 To latte^d the wille of kyng Edward,
 To wende to the holi londe;
 Thet oure kynge hede take on honde,
 All Engeland to^e zeme and wyffe^f,
 To wenden in to the holy londe
 To wynnen us heveriche^g blisse.

VI.

The messager to the pope com
 And seyede that our kynge was dede^h,
 Ysⁱ owne honde the lettre he nom^k,
 Ywis his herte wes ful gret:
 The pope himself the lettre redde,
 And spec a word of gret honour.
 "Alas! he feid, is Edward ded?
 "Of cristendome he ber the flour!"

^c *Sin.*

^d *Let*, hinder.

^e *zeme*, protect.

^f *Govern*.

^g *Every*.

^h He died in Scotland, Jul. 7, 1307.

The chroniclers pretend, that the Pope knew of his death the next day by a vision or some miraculous information. So Robert of Brunne, who recommends this tragical event to those who "Singe and say in "romance and ryme." Chron. p. 340. edit. ut sup.

The Pope the tother day wist it in the court of Rome.

The Pope on the morn bifor the clergi cam.
 And tolde tham biforn, the floure of cristendom

Was ded and lay on bere, Edward of Ingeland.

He said with hevychere, in spirit he it fond.

He adds, that the Pope granted five years of pardon to those who would pray for his soul.

ⁱ *In his*.

^k *Took*.

VII.

The pope is to chaumbre wende
 For dole ne mihte he speke na more ;
 Ant aftur cardinales he fende
 That mucche couthen of Cristes lore.
 Both the lasse¹ ant eke the more
 Bed hem both red ant synge :
 Gret deol meⁿ myhte se thore^m,
 Many mon is honde wrynge.

VIII.

The pope of Peyters stod at is masse
 With ful gret solempnete,
 Ther me con ° the soule blisse :
 “ Kyng Edward, honoured thou be :
 “ God love thi sone come after the,
 “ Bringe to ende that thou hast bygonne,
 “ The holy crois ymade of tre
 “ So fain thou woldest hit have ywonne.

IX.

“ Jerufalem, thou hast ilore
 “ The floure of al chivalrie,
 “ Now kyng Edward liveth na more,
 “ Alas, that he yet shulde deye !
 “ He wolde ha rered up ful heyge
 “ Our baners that bueth broht to grounde :
 “ Wel longe we may clepe^p and crie,
 “ Er we such a kyng have yfounde !”

¹ *Lefs.*^m There.ⁿ Men.

• Began.

^p Call.

X.

Now is Edward of Carnarvan⁹,
 Kyng of Engelond al aplyht¹;
 God lete hem ner be worfe man
 Then his fader ne lasse of myht,
 To holden is pore man to ryht
 And understende good counfail,
 All England for to wyffe and dyht
 Of gode knightes darh² hym nout fail.

XI.

Thah mi tonge were mad of stel
 Ant min herte yzote of bras
 The godness myht y never telle
 That with kyng Edward was.
 Kyng as thou art cleped conquerour
 In vch battaile thou heedest prys,
 Gode bringe thi soule to the honeur
 That ever was and ever ys³.

That the pope should here pronounce the funeral panegyric of Edward the first, is by no means surprising, if we consider the predominant ideas of the age. And in the true spirit of these ideas, the poet makes this illustrious monarch's achievements in the holy land, his principal and leading topic. But there is a particular circumstance alluded to in

⁹ Edward the second born in Carnarvon castle.

¹ Completely.

² Thar, there.

³ MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. In a Miscellany called the *Muses Library*, compiled, as I have been informed, by an ingenious lady of the name of Cooper, there is an elegy on the death of Henry the first, "wrote immediately after his death, the

"author unknown." p. 4. Lond. Pr. for T. Davies, 1738. octavo. But this piece, which has great merit, could not have been written till some centuries afterwards. From the classical allusions and general colour of the phraseology, to say nothing more, it with greater probability belongs to Henry the eighth. It escaped me till just before this work went to press, that Dr. Percy had printed this elegy, Ball. ii. 9.

these stanzas, relating to the crusading character of Edward, together with its consequences, which needs explanation. Edward, in the decline of life, had vowed a second expedition to Jerusalem: but finding his end approach, in his last moments he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds to provide one hundred and forty knights *, who should carry his heart into Palestine. But this appointment of the dying king was never executed. Our elegist, and the chroniclers, impute the crime of withholding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the succeeding king. But it is more probable to suppose, that Edward the second, and his profligate minion Piers Gaveston, dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive pleasures.

* The poet says eighty.

S E C T. III.

WE have seen, in the preceding section, that the character of our poetical composition began to be changed about the reign of the first Edward: that either fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical and traditionary facts, or reality disguised by the misrepresentations of invention; and that a taste for ornamental and even exotic expression gradually prevailed over the rude simplicity of the native English phraseology. This change, which with our language affected our poetry, had been growing for some time; and among other causes was occasioned by the introduction and increase of the tales of chivalry.

The ideas of chivalry, in an imperfect degree, had been of old established among the Gothic tribes. The fashion of challenging to single combat, the pride of seeking dangerous adventures, and the spirit of avenging and protecting the fair sex, seem to have been peculiar to the northern nations in the most uncultivated state of Europe. All these customs were afterwards encouraged and confirmed by corresponding circumstances in the feudal constitution. At length the crusades excited a new spirit of enterprise, and introduced into the courts and ceremonies of European princes a higher degree of splendor and parade, caught from the riches and magnificence of eastern cities ^a. These oriental expeditions

^a I cannot help transcribing here a curious passage from old Fauchett. He is speaking of Louis the young, king of France about the year 1150. "Le quel fut le premier roy de sa maison, qui monstra dehors ses richesses allant en Jerusalem. Aussi la France commença de

" son temps a s'embellir de bastimens plus
" magnifiques: prendre plaisir a pierrieres,
" et autres delicatestes goustus en Levant
" par luy, ou les seigneurs qui avoient ja
" fait ce voyage. De forte qu'on peut
" dire qu'il a este le premier tenant Cour
" de grand Roy: estant si magnifique, que
" sa

established a taste for hyperbolical description, and propagated an infinity of marvellous tales, which men returning from distant countries easily imposed on credulous and ignorant minds. The unparalleled emulation with which the nations of christendom universally embraced this holy cause, the pride with which emperors, kings, barons, earls, bishops, and knights strove to excel each other on this interesting occasion, not only in prowess and heroism, but in sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognisances, splendid pavilions, and other expensive articles of a similar nature, diffused a love of war, and a fondness for military pomp. Hence their very diversions became warlike, and the martial enthusiasm of the times appeared in tilts and tournaments. These practices and opinions co-operated with the kindred superstitions of dragons^b, dwarfs, fairies, giants, and enchanters, which the traditions of the Gothic scalds had already planted; and produced that extraordinary species of composition which has been called ROMANCE.

Before these expeditions into the east became fashionable, the principal and leading subjects of the old fablers were the achievements of king Arthur with his knights of the round table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve peers. But in the romances written after the holy war, a new set of champions, of conquests and of countries, were introduced. Trebizonde took place of Roncevalles, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solyman, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the souldans, and the cities of Ægypt and Syria, became the favourite topics. The troubadours of Provence, an idle and unsettled race of men, took up arms, and followed their barons

^a *sa femme dedaignant la simplicité de ses predecesseurs, luy fit elever une sepulture d'argent, au lieu de pierre.* RECUEIL de la Lang. et Poës. Fr. ch. viii. p. 76. edit. 1581. He adds, that a great number

of French romances were composed about this period.

^b See Kircher's *Mund. Subterr.* viii. § 4. He mentions a knight of Rhodes made grand master of the order for killing a dragon, 1345.

in prodigious multitudes to the conquest of Jerusalem. They made a considerable part of the household of the nobility of France. Louis the seventh, king of France, not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but commanded a considerable company of them into his retinue, when he took ship for Palestine, that they might solace him with their songs during the dangers and inconveniencies of so long a voyage^c. The antient chronicles of France mention *Legions de poëtes* as embarking in this wonderful enterprize^d. Here a new and more copious source of fabling was opened: in these expeditions they picked up numberless extravagant stories, and at their return enriched romance with an infinite variety of oriental scenes and fictions. Thus these later wonders, in some measure, supplanted the former: they had the recommendation of novelty, and gained still more attention, as they came from a greater distance^e.

In the mean time we should recollect, that the Saracens or Arabians, the same people which were the object of the crusades, had acquired an establishment in Spain about the ninth century: and that by means of this earlier intercourse, many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, must have been known in Europe before the christian armies invaded Asia. It is for this reason the elder Spanish romances have professedly more Arabian allusions than any other. Cervantes makes the imagined writer of

^c Velley, Hist. Fr. sub. an. 1178.

^d Massieu, Hist. Poët. Fr. p. 105. Many of the troubadours, whose works now exist, and whose names are recorded, accompanied their lords to the holy war. Some of the French nobility of the first rank were troubadours about the eleventh century; and the French critics with much triumph observe, that it is the GLORY of the French poetry to number counts and dukes, that is *sovereigns*, among its professors, from its commencement. What a glory! The workshopfull company of Merchant-taylors in

London, if I recollect right, boast the names of many dukes, earls, and princes, enrolled in their community. This is indeed an honour to that otherwise respectable society. But poets can derive no lustre from counts, and dukes, or even princes, who have been enrolled in their lists; only in proportion as they have adorned the art by the excellence of their compositions.

^e The old French historian Mezeray goes so far as to derive the origin of the French poetry and romances from the crusades. Hist. p. 416, 417.

Don Quixote's history an Arabian. Yet exclusive of their domestic and more immediate connection with this eastern people, the Spaniards from temper and constitution were extravagantly fond of chivalrous exercises. Some critics have supposed, that Spain having learned the art or fashion of romance-writing, from their naturalised guests the Arabians, communicated it, at an early period, to the rest of Europe^f.

It has been imagined that the first romances were composed in metre, and sung to the harp by the poets of Provence at festival solemnities : but an ingenious Frenchman, who has made deep researches into this sort of literature, attempts to prove, that this mode of reciting romantic adventures was in high reputation among the natives of Normandy, above a century before the troubadours of Provence, who are generally supposed to have led the way to the poets of Italy, Spain, and France, commenced about the year 1162^g. If the critic means to insinuate, that the French troubadours acquired their art of versifying from these Norman bards, this reasoning will favour the system of those, who contend that metrical romances lineally took their rise from the historical odes of the Scandinavian scalds : for the Normans were a branch of the Scandinavian stock. But Fauchett, at the same time that he allows the Normans to have been fond of chanting the praises of their heroes in verse, expressly^h

^f Huet in some measure adopts this opinion. But that learned man was a very incompetent judge of these matters. Under the common term *Romance*, he confounds romances of chivalry, romances of gallantry, and all the fables of the Provencal poets. What can we think of a writer, who having touched upon the gothic romances, at whose fictions and barbarisms he is much shocked, talks of the *consummate degree of art and elegance to which the French are at present arrived in romances*? He adds, that the superior refinement and

politesse of the French gallantry has happily given them an advantage of shining in this species of composition. Hist. Rom. p. 138. But the sophistry and ignorance of Huet's Treatise has been already detected and exposed by a critic of another cast, in the SUPPLEMENT TO JARVIS'S PREFACE, prefixed to the *Translation of Don Quixote*.

^g Mons. L' Eveque de la Ravalement, in his *Revolutions de Langue Francoise*, à la suite des POESIES DU ROI DE NAVARRE.

^h "Ce que les Normans avoyent pris des François." Rec. liv. i. p. 70. edit. 1581.

pronounces

pronounces that they borrowed this practice from the Franks or French.

It is not my business, nor is it of much consequence, to discuss this obscure point, which properly belongs to the French antiquaries. I therefore proceed to observe, that our Richard the first, who began his reign in the year 1189, a distinguished hero of the crusades, a most magnificent patron of chivalry, and a Provencial poet ^h, invited to his court many minstrels or troubadours from France, whom he loaded with honours and rewards ⁱ. These poets imported into England a great multitude of their tales and songs; which before or about the reign of Edward the second became familiar and popular among our ancestors, who were sufficiently acquainted with the French language. The

^h See Observations on Spenser, i. § i. p. 28. 29. And Mr. Walpole's Royal and Noble authors, i. 5. See also Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy*, ch. vii. p. 73. edit. 1693. Savarie de Mauleon, an English gentleman who lived in the service of Saint Louis king of France, and one of the Provencial poets, said of Richard,

Coblas a teira faire adroitement
Pou voz oillez enten dompna gentiltz.

"He could make stanzas on the eyes of gentle ladies." Rymer, *ibid.* p. 74. There is a curious story recorded by the French chroniclers, concerning Richard's skill in the minstrel art, which I will here relate.—Richard, in his return from the crusade, was taken prisoner about the year 1193. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was imprisoned. Blondell de Nefle, Richard's favourite minstrel, resolved to find out his lord; and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained in custody. Here he found that the castle belonged to the duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place him-

self directly before a window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson, which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song, he knew it was Blondell who sung it; and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. On this, Blondell returned home to England, and acquainted Richard's barons with the place of his imprisonment, from which he was soon afterwards released. See also Fauchett, *Rec.* p. 93. Richard lived long in Provence, where he acquired a taste for their poetry. The only relic of his sonnets is a small fragment in old French accurately cited by Mr. Walpole, and written during his captivity; in which he remonstrates to his men and barons of England, Normandy, Poitiers, and Gascony, that they suffered him to remain so long a prisoner. *Catal. Roy. and Nob. Auth.* i. 5. Nostradamus's account of Richard is full of false facts and anachronisms. *Poet. Provenc. artic.* RICHARD.

ⁱ "De regno Francorum cantores et joculariores muneribus alllexerat." *Rog. Hoved. Ric.* i. p. 340. These gratuities were chiefly arms, cloaths, horses, and sometimes money.

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most early notice of a professed book of chivalry in England, as it should seem, appears under the reign of Henry the third; and is a curious and evident proof of the reputation and esteem in which this sort of composition was held at that period. In the revenue-roll of the twenty-first year of that king, there is an entry of the expence of silver clasps and studs for the king's great book of romances. This was in the year 1237. But I will give the article in its original drefs. "Et in firmaculis hapsis et clavis argenteis ad magnum librum ROMANCIS regis ^k." That this superb volume was in French, may be partly collected from the title which they gave it: and it is highly probable, that it contained the Romance of Richard the first, on which I shall enlarge below. At least the victorious atchievements of that monarch were so famous in the reign of Henry the second, as to be made the subject of a picture in the royal palace of Clarendon near Salisbury. A circumstance which likewise appears from the same antient record, under the year 1246. "Et in camera regis subtus capellam regis apud Clarendon lambruscanda, et muro ex transverso illius cameræ amovendo et hystoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum DUELLO REGIS RICARDI ^l." To these anecdotes we may add, that in the royal library at Paris there is, "*Lancelot du Lac mis en Francois par Robert de Borron, du commandement d'Henri roi de Angleterre avec figures* ^m." And the same manuscript occurs twice again in that library in three volumes, and in four volumes of the largest folio ⁿ. Which of our

^k Rot. Pip. an. 21. Henr. iii.

^l Rot. Pip. an. 36. Henr. iii. Richard the first performed great feats at the siege of Antioch in the crusade. The *Duellum* was another of his exploits among the Saracens. Compare Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. 10. Who mentions a certain great book borrowed for the queen, written in French containing *Gesta Antiochiæ et regum*

aliorum, &c. This was in the year 1249. He adds, that there was a chamber in the old palace of Westminster painted with this history, in the reign of Henry the third, and therefore called the *ANTIOCH-CHAMBER*: and another in the Tower.

^m Cod. 6783. fol. max. See Montfaucon. Catal. MSS. p. 785. a.

ⁿ See Montf. *ibid.*

Henry it was who thus commanded the romance of LAN-CELOT DU LAC to be translated into French, is indeed uncertain: but most probably it was Henry the third just mentioned, as the translator Robert Borron is placed soon after the year 1200 °.

But not only the pieces of the French minstrels, written in French, were circulated in England about this time; but translations of these pieces were made into English, which containing much of the French idiom, together with a sort of poetical phraseology before unknown, produced various innovations in our style. These translations, it is probable, were enlarged with additions, or improved with alterations of the story. Hence it was that Robert de Brunne, as we have already seen, complained of *strange* and *quaint* English, of the changes made in the story of SIR TRISTRAM, and of the liberties assumed by his cotemporary minstrels in altering facts and coining new phrases. Yet these circumstances enriched our tongue, and extended the circle of our poetry. And for what reason these fables were so much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne, it is obvious to conjecture. The gallantries of chivalry were exhibited with new splendour, and the times were growing more refined. The Norman fashions were adopted even in Wales. In the year 1176, a splendid carousal, after the manner of the Normans, was given by a Welsh prince. This was Rhees ap Gryffyth king of South Wales, who at Christmas made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then

° Among the infinite number of old manuscript French romances on this subject in the same noble repository, the learned Montfaucon recites, "Le Roman de Tristan et Iseult traduit de Latin en François par Lucas chevalier sieur du chastel du Gast pres de Salisberi, Anglois, avec figures." Cod. 6776. fol. max. And

again, "Livres de Tristan mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat." Cod. 6956. seq. fol. max. In another article, this translator the chevalier Lucas, of whom I can give no account, is called Huc or Hue. Cod. 6976. seq. Nor do I know of any castle, or place, of this name near Salisbury. See also Cod. 7174.

called Aberteivi, which he ordered to be proclaimed throughout all Britain; and to “ which came many strangers, who
 “ were honourably received and worthily entertained, so that
 “ no man departed discontented. And among deeds of arms
 “ and other shewes, Rhees caused all the poets of Wales^p to
 “ come thither: and provided chairs for them to be set in
 “ his hall, where they should dispute together to try their
 “ cunning and gift in their several faculties, where great
 “ rewards and rich giftes were appointed for the overcomers^q.”

^p In illustration of the argument pursued in the text we may observe, that about this time the English minstrels flourished with new honours and rewards. At the magnificent marriage of the countess of Holland, daughter of Edward the first, every king minstrel received xl. shillings. See Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. p. 303. And Dugd. Mon. i. 355. In the same reign a multitude of minstrels attended the ceremony of knight-ing prince Edward on the feast of Pentecost. They entered the hall, while the king was sitting at dinner surrounded with the new knights. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 342. edit. Oxon. The whole number knighted was two hundred and sixty-seven. Dugd. Bar. i. 80. b. Robert de Brunne says, this was the greatest royal feast since king Arthur's at Carleon: concerning which he adds, “ therof yit men *rime*.” p. 332. In the wardrobe-roll of the same prince, under the year 1306, we have this entry. “ Will. Fox et Cradoco socio suo CANTATORIBUS cantantibus coram Principe et aliis magnatibus in comitiva sua existente apud London, &c. xxj.” Again, “ Willo Ffox et Cradoco socio suo cantantibus in presentia principis et al. Magnatum apud London de dono ejusdem dni per manus Johis de Ringwode, &c. 8. die jun. xxj.” Afterwards, in the same roll, four shillings are given, “ Ministrallo comitis Mareschal. facienti menestralciam suam coram principe, &c. in comitiva sua existent. apud Penreth.” Comp. Garderob. Edw. Princip. Wall. ann. 35. Edw. i. This I chiefly cite to shew the greatness of the gratuity. Minstrels

were part of the establishment of the household of our nobility before the year 1307. Thomas earl of Lancaster allows at Christmas, cloth, or *vestis liberata*, to his household-minstrels at a great expence, in the year 1314. Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 134. edit. 1618. See *supr.* p. 91. Soon afterwards the minstrels claimed such privileges that it was thought necessary to reform them by an edict, in 1315. See Hearne's Append. Leland. Collectan. vi. 36. Yet, as I have formerly remarked in OBSERVATIONS ON Spenser's FAIRIE QUEENE, we find a person in the character of a minstrel entering Westminster-hall on horseback while Edward the second was solemnizing the feast of *Pentecost* as above, and presenting a letter to the king. See Walsing. Hist. Angl. Franc. p. 109.

^q Powell's Wales, 237. edit. 1584. Who adds, that the bards of “ Northwales won “ the prize, and amonge the musicians “ Rees's owne household men were counted “ best.” Rhees was one of the Welsh princes who, the preceding year, attended the parliament at Oxford, and were magnificently entertained in the castle of that city by Henry the second. Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. ii. edit. iii. p. 302. It may not be foreign to our present purpose to mention here, that Henry the second, in the year 1179, was entertained by Welsh bards at Pembroke castle in Wales in his passage into Ireland. Powell, ut *supr.* p. 238. The subject of their songs was the history of king Arthur. See Selden on POLYOLB. f. iii. p. 53.

Tilts and tournaments, after a long disuse, were revived with superiour lustre in the reign of Edward the first. Roger earl of Mortimer, a magnificent baron of that reign, erected in his stately castle of Kenelworth a Round Table, at which he restored the rites of king Arthur. He entertained in this castle the constant retinue of one hundred knights, and as many ladies; and invited thither adventurers in chivalry from every part of christendom^r. These fables were therefore an image of the manners, customs, mode of life, and favourite amusements, which now prevailed, not only in France but in England, accompanied with all the decorations which fancy could invent, and recommended by the graces of romantic fiction. They complimented the ruling passion of the times, and cherished in a high degree the fashionable sentiments of ideal honour, and fantastic fortitude.

Among Richard's French minstrels, the names only of three are recorded. I have already mentioned Blondell de Nesle. Fouquet of Marseilles, and Anselme Fayditt, many of whose compositions still remain, were also among the poets patronised and entertained in England by Richard. They are both celebrated and sometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. Fayditt, a native of Avignon, united the professions of music and verse; and the Provincials used to call his poetry *de bon mots e de bon son*. Petrarch is supposed to have copied, in his TRIUMFO DI AMORE, many strokes of high imagination, from a poem written by Fayditt on a similar subject: particularly in his description of the Palace of Love. But Petrarch has not left Fayditt without his due panegyric: he says that Fayditt's tongue was shield, helmet, sword, and spear^s. He is likewise in Dante's Paradise. Fayditt was extremely profuse and voluptuous. On the

^r Drayton's Heroic. Epist. MORT. ISABEL. v. 53. And Notes ibid. from Walsingham.

^s Triunf. Am. c. iv.

death of king Richard, he travelled on foot for near twenty years, seeking his fortune; and during this long pilgrimage he married a nun of Aix in Provence, who was young and lively, and could accompany her husband's tales and sonnets with her voice. Fouquett de Marseilles had a beautiful person, a ready wit, and a talent for singing: these popular accomplishments recommended him to the courts of king Richard, Raymond count of Tholouse, and Beral de Baulx; where, as the French would say, *il fit les delices de cour*. He fell in love with Adelasia the wife of Beral, whom he celebrated in his songs. One of his poems is entitled, *Las complanchas de Beral*. On the death of all his lords, he received absolution for his sin of poetry, turned monk, and at length was made archbishop of Tholouse¹. But among the many French minstrels invited into England by Richard, it is natural to suppose, that some of them made their magnificent and heroic patron a principal subject of their compositions². And this subject, by means of the constant communication

¹ See Beauchamps, Recherch. Theatr. Fr. Paris, 1735. p. 7. 9. It was Jeffrey, Richard's brother, who patronised Jeffrey Rudell, a famous troubadour of Provence, who is also celebrated by Petrarch. This poet had heard, from the adventurers in the crusades, the beauty of a countess of Tripoly highly extolled. He became enamoured from imagination: embarked for Tripoly, fell sick in the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore at Tripoly half expiring. The countess, having received the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes; and at once overpowered by his disease and her kindness, had just time to say inarticulately, that *having seen her he died satisfied*. The countess made him a most splendid funeral, and erected to his memory a tomb of porphyry, inscribed with an epitaph in Arabian verse. She commanded his sonnets to be richly copied and illuminated with letters of gold; was seized

with a profound melancholy, and turned nun. I will endeavour to translate one of the sonnets which he made on his voyage. *Vrat et dolent m'en partray*, &c. It has some pathos and sentiment, "I should depart pensive, but for this love of mine *so far away*; for I know not what difficulties I have to encounter, my native land being *so far away*. Thou who hast made all things, and who formed this love of mine *so far away*, give me strength of body, and then I may hope to see this love of mine *so far away*. Surely my love must be founded on true merit, as I love one *so far away*! If I am easy for a moment, yet I feel a thousand pains for her who is *so far away*. No other love ever touched my heart than this for her *so far away*. A fairer than she never touched any heart, either near, or *far away*." Every fourth line ends with *du luench*. See Nostradamus, &c.

² Fayditt is said to have written a *Chant funebre* on his death. Beauchamps, ib. p. 10.

between

between both nations, probably became no less fashionable in France: especially if we take into the account the general popularity of Richard's character, his love of chivalry, his gallantry in the crusades, and the favours which he so liberally conferred on the minstrels of that country. We have a romance now remaining in English rhyme, which celebrates the achievements of this illustrious monarch. It is entitled *RICHARD CUE DU LYON*, and was probably translated from the French about the period above-mentioned. That it was, at least, translated from the French, appears from the Prologue.

In Fraunce these rymes were wroht,
Every Englyshe ne knew it not.

From which also we may gather the popularity of his story, in these lines.

King Richard is the beste "
That is found in any geste *.

That this romance, either in French or English, existed before the year 1300, is evident from its being cited by Robert of Gloucester, in his relation of Richard's reign.

In *Romance* of him imade me it may finde iwrite ^z.

This tale is also mentioned as a romance of some antiquity among other famous romances, in the prologue of a voluminous metrical translation of Guido de Colonna, attributed to Lidgate ^y. It is likewise frequently quoted by Ro-

^w This agrees with what Hoveden says, ubi supr. "Dicebatur ubique quod non erat talis in orbe."

^x Impr. for W. C. 4to. It contains Sign. A. i.—Q. iii. There is another edition impr. W. de Worde, 4to. 1528. There is a manuscript copy of it in Caius College at Cambridge, A. 9.

^y Many speken of men that romaunces rede, &c.

Of Bevys, Gy, and Gawayne,
Of KYNG RYCHARD, and Owayne,
Of Tristram, and Percyvayle,
Of Rowland ris, and Aglavaule,
Of Archeroun, and of Octavian,
Of Charles, and of Cassibedlan,

^z Chron. p. 487.

Of

bert de Brunne, who wrote much about the same time with Robert of Gloucester.

Whan Philip tille Acres cam litelle was his dede,
 The ROMANCE fais gret sham who so that pas ^z wil rede.
 The ROMANCER it fais Richard did make a pele ^a.—
 The ROMANCE of Richard fais he wan the toun ^b.—
 He tellis in the ROMANCE sen Acres wonnen was
 How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Caifas ^c.—
 Sithen at Japhet was slayn fanuelle his stede
 The ROMANS tellis gret pas of his douhty dede ^d.—
 Soudan so curteys never drank no wyne,
 The same the ROMANS fais that is of Richardyn ^e.
 In prisoun was he bounden, as the ROMANCE fais,
 In cheynes and lede wonden that hevy was of peis ^f.—

I am not indeed quite certain, whether or no in some of these instances, Robert de Brunne may not mean his French original Peter Langtoft. But in the following lines he manifestly refers to our romance of RICHARD, between which and Langtoft's chronicle he expressly makes a distinction. And in the conclusion of the reign,

Of Keveloke, Horne, and of Wade,
 In romances that of hem bi made
 That gestours dos of him gestes
 At mangeres and at great festes,
 Here dedis ben in remembraunce,
 In many fair romaunce.
 But of the worthiest wyght in wede,
 That ever bystrode any strede
 Spekes no man, ne in romaunce redes,
 Off his battayle ne of his dedes;
 Off that battayle spekes no man,
 There all prowes of knyghtes began,
 Thet was forsothe of the batayle
 Thet at TROYE was faunfayle,
 Of swythe a fyght as ther was one, &c.—
 Ffor ther were in thet on side,
 Sixti kynges and dukes of pride.—

And there was the best bodi in dede
 Thet ever yit wered wede,
 Sithen the world was made so ferre,
 That was ECTOR in eche werre, &c.
 Laud K. 76. f. 1. fol. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.
 Cod. membr. Whether this poem was
 written by Lidgate, I shall not enquire at
 present. I shall only say here, that it is
 totally different from either of Lidgate's
 two poems on the THEBAN and TROJAN
 WARS; and that the manuscript, which
 is beautifully written, appears to be of the
 age of Henry the sixth.

^z PASSUS. Compare Percy's Ball. ii.
 66. 398. edit. 1767. ^a p. 157.

^b Ibid. ^c p. 175. ^d p. 175.

^e p. 188. ^f p. 198.

I knowe

I knowe no more to ryme of dedes of kyng Richard :
 Who so wille his dedes all the sothe se,
 The *romance* that men reden ther is propirte.
 This that I have said it is Pers sawe ^ε.
 Als he in romance ^h lad ther after gan I drawe ^l.

It is not improbable that both these rhyming chroniclers cite from the English translation: if so, we may fairly suppose that this romance was translated in the reign of Edward the first, or his predecessor Henry the third. Perhaps earlier. This circumstance throws the French original to a still higher period.

In the royal library at Paris, there is " *Histoire de Richard " Roi d' Angleterre et de Maquemoire d' Irlande en rime* ^k." Richard is the last of our monarchs whose achievements were adorned with fiction and fable. If not a superstitious belief of the times, it was an hyperbolical invention started by the minstrels, which soon grew into a tradition, and is gravely recorded by the chroniclers, that Richard carried with him to the crusades king Arthur's celebrated sword CALIBURN, and that he presented it as a gift, or relic, of inestimable value to Tancred king of Sicily, in the year 1191 ^l. Robert of Brunne calls this sword a *jewel* ^m.

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle,
 The gude swerd CALIBURNE which Arthur luffed so well ⁿ.

^ε " The words of my original *Peter Langtoft*."

^h In French.

ⁱ p. 205. Du Cange recites an old French manuscript prose romance, entitled *Histoire de la Mort de Richard Roy d' Angleterre*. Gloss. Lat. IND. AVCT. i. p. cxcii. There was one, perhaps the same, among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Martin of Palgrave in Suffolk.

^k Num. 7532.

^l In return for several vessels of gold and silver, horses, bales of silk, four great ships, and fifteen gallies, given by Tancred. Benedict. Abb. p. 642. edit. Hearne.

^m *Jocale*. In the general and true sense of the word. Robert de Brunne, in another place, calls a rich pavilion a *jorwelle*, p. 152.

ⁿ Chron. p. 153.

Indeed the Arabian writer of the life of the sultan Saladin, mentions some exploits of Richard almost incredible. But, as lord Lyttelton justly observes, this historian is highly valuable on account of the knowledge he had of the facts which he relates. It is from this writer we learn, in the most authentic manner, the actions and negotiations of Richard in the course of the enterprize for the recovery of the holy land, and all the particulars of that memorable war °.

But before I produce a specimen of Richard's English romance, I stand still to give some more extracts from its Prologues, which contain matter much to our present purpose: as they have very fortunately preserved the subjects of many romances, perhaps metrical, then fashionable both in France and England. And on these therefore, and their origin, I shall take this opportunity of offering some remarks.

Many romayns men make newe
 Of good knightes and of trewe:
 Of ther dedes men make romauns,
 Both in England and in Fraunce;
 Of *Rowland* and of *Olyvere*,
 And of everie *Dofepere* †,
 Of *Alysaundre* and *Charlemayne*,
 Of kyng *Arthur* and of *Gawayne*;
 How they wer knyghtes good and courtoys,
 Of *Turpin* and of *Oger* the Danois.
 Of *Troye* men rede in ryme,
 Of *Hector* and of *Achilles*,
 What folk they flewe in pres, &c ‡.

And again in a second Prologue, after a pause has been made by the minstrel in the course of singing the poem.

° See Hist. of Hen. ii. vol. iv. p. 361. App.

† Charlemagne's Twelve peers. *Deux Pairs*. Fr.

‡ Fol. 1. a.

Herkene now how my tale gothe
 Though I fwere to you no othe
 I wyll you rede romaynes none
 Ne of *Pertonaþe*, ne of *Ypomedon*,
 Ne of *Alifaunder*, ne of *Charlemayne*,
 Ne of *Arthur*, ne of *Gawayne*,
 Ne of *Lancelot du Lake*,
 Ne of *Bevis*, ne of *Guy of Sydrake* *,
 Ne of *Ury*, ne of *Oſtavian*,
 Ne of *Heſtor* the ſtrong man,
 Ne of *Jaſon*, neither of *Achilles*,
 Ne of *Eneas*, neither *Hercules* †.

* Perhaps Parthenope, or Parthenopeus.

† Read, "ne of *Guy* ne of *Sydrake*."

† Signat. P. iii. To ſome of theſe romances the author of the manuſcript *LIVES OF THE SAINTS*, written about the year 1200, and cited above at large, alludes in a ſort of prologue. See SECT. i. p. 14. ſupr.

Wel auht we loug criſtendom that is ſo
 dere y bougt,
 With oure lorde's herte blode that the ſpere
 hath y fought.
 Men wilneþe more yhere of batayle of
 kyngis,
 And of knygtis hardy, that mochel is le-
 ſyngis.
 Of *Roulond* and of *Olyvere*, and *Gy of*
Warwyk,
 Of *Warwayen* and *Triſtram* that ne foundde
 here y like.
 Who ſo loveth to here tales of ſuche
 thinge,
 Here he may y here thyng that nys no
 leſyng,
 Of poſtoles and marteres that hardi knygttes
 were,
 And ſtedfaſt were in bataile and fledde nogt
 for no ſere, &c.

The anonymous author of an antient manuſcript poem, called "*the boke of Stories*" "*called CURSOR MUNDI*," translated from the French, ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion. His work conſiſts of religious legends: but in the prologue he takes occaſion to mention many tales of another

kind, which were more agreeable to the generality of readers. MSS. Laud, K. 53. f. 117. Bibl. Bodl.

Men lykyn Jeſtis for to here
 And romans rede in divers manere
 Of *Alexandre* the conquerour,
 Of *Julius Ceſar* the emperour,
 Of *Greece* and *Troy* the ſtrong ſtryf,
 Ther many a man loſt his lyf:
 Of *Brut* that baron bold of hand
 The firſt conquerour of Englonde,
 Of kyng *Artour* that was ſo ryche,
 Was non in hys tyme ſo ilyche:
 Of wonders that among his knyghts felle,
 And auntyrs dedyn as men her telle,
 As *Gaweyn* and othir full abyll
 Which that kept the round tabyll,
 How kyng *Charles* and *Rowland* ſawght
 With Sarazins, nold thei be cawght;
 Of *Tryſtram* and *Yſoude* the ſwete,
 How thei with love firſt gan mete.
 Of kyng *John* and of *Iſenbras*
 Of *Ydoyne* and *Amadas*.
 Stories of divers thynges
 Of princes, prelates, and kynges,
 Many ſongs of divers ryme
 As Engliſh, French, and Latyne, &c.
 This ylke boke is translate
 Into Engliſh tong to rede
 For the love of Engliſh lede
 Ffor comyn folk of England, &c.
 Syldyn yt ys for any chaunce
 Engliſh tong preched is in Fraunce, &c.
 See Montf. Par. MSS. 7540. And p. 119. ſupr.

Here, among others, some of the most capital and favourite stories of romance are mentioned, Arthur, Charlemagne, the Siege of Troy with its appendages, and Alexander the Great: and there are four authors of high esteem in the dark ages, Geoffry of Monmouth, Turpin, Guido of Colonna, and Callisthenes, whose books were the grand repositories of these subjects, and contained most of the traditional fictions, whether of Arabian or classical origin, which constantly supplied materials to the writers of romance. I shall speak of these authors, with their subjects, distinctly.

But I do not mean to repeat here what has been already observed^a concerning the writings of Geoffry of Monmouth and Turpin. It will be sufficient to say at present, that these two fabulous historians recorded the achievements of Charlemagne and of Arthur: and that Turpin's history was artfully forged under the name of that archbishop about the year 1110, with a design of giving countenance to the crusades from the example of so high an authority as Charlemagne, whose pretended visit to the holy sepulchre is described in the twentieth chapter.

As to the Siege of Troy, it appears that both Homer's poems were unknown, at least not understood in Europe, from the abolition of literature by the Goths in the fourth century, to the fourteenth. Geoffry of Monmouth indeed, who wrote about the year 1160, a man of learning for that age, produces Homer in attestation of a fact asserted in his history: but in such a manner, as shews that he knew little more than Homer's name, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Homer's subject. Geoffry says, that Brutus having ravaged the province of Aquitaine with fire and sword, came to a place where the city of Tours now stands, *as Homer testifies*^{*}. But the Trojan story was still kept alive

^a See Diff. i.

^{*} L. i. ch. 14.

in two Latin pieces, which passed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. Dares's history of the destruction of Troy, as it was called, pretended to have been translated from the Greek of Dares Phrygius into Latin prose by Cornelius Nepos, is a wretched performance, and forged under those specious names in the decline of Latin literature ^y. Dictys Cretensis is a prose Latin history of the Trojan war, in six books, paraphrased about the reign of Dioclesian or Constantine by one Septimius, from some Grecian history on the same subject, said to be discovered under a sepulchre by means of an earthquake in the city of Cnossus, about the time of Nero, and to have been composed by Dictys, a Cretan, and a soldier in the Trojan war. The fraud of discovering copies of books in this extraordinary manner, in order to infer from thence their high and indubitable antiquity, so frequently practised, betrays itself. But that the present Latin Dictys had a Greek original, now lost, appears from the numerous grecisms with which it abounds: and from the literal correspondence of many passages with the Greek fragments of one Dictys cited by ancient authors. The Greek original was very probably forged under the name of Dictys, a traditionary writer on the subject, in the reign of Nero, who is said to have been fond of the Trojan story ^z. On the whole, the work appears to

^y In the Epistle prefixed, the pretended translator Nepos says, that he found this work at Athens, in the hand-writing of Dares. He adds, speaking of the controverted authenticity of Homer, *De ea re Athenis JUDICIUM fuit, cum pro infano Homerus haberetur quia deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit*. In which words he does not refer to any public decree of the Athenian judges, but to Plato's opinion in his *REPUBLIC*. Dares, with Dictys Cretensis next mentioned in the text, was first printed at Milan in 1477. Mabillon says, that a manuscript of the Pseudo-Dares occurs in the Laurentian library at Florence, upwards of

eight hundred years old. *Mus. Ital.* i. p. 169. This work was abridged by Vincentius Bellovacensis, a friar of Burgundy, about the year 1244. See his *Specul. Histor.* lib. iii. 63.

^z See Perizon. *Dissertat. de Dict. Cretens.* sect. xxix. Constantinus Lascaris, a learned monk of Constantinople, one of the restorers of Grecian literature in Europe near four hundred years ago, says that Dictys Cretensis in Greek was lost. This writer is not once mentioned by Eustathius, who lived about the year 1170, in his elaborate and extensive commentary on Homer.

have

have been an arbitrary metaphrase of Homer, with many fabulous interpolations. At length Guido de Colonna, a native of Messina in Sicily, a learned civilian, and no contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dares and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taste of his age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothic fiction easily admitted; at the same time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus^a, compiled a grand prose romance in Latin, containing fifteen books, and entitled in most manuscripts *Historia de Bello Trojano*^b. It was written at the request of Mattheo de Porta, archbishop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis seem to have been in some measure superseded by this improved and comprehensive history of the Grecian heroes: and from this period Achilles, Jason, and Hercules, were adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver, and other christian champions, whom they so nearly resembled in the extravagance of their adventures^c. This work abounds with oriental imagery, of which the subject was extremely susceptible. It has also some traies of Arabian literature.

^a The Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus are cited in Chaucer's *Hyppolyte and Medea*. "Let him rede the boke Argonauticon." v. 90. But Guido is afterwards cited as a writer on that subject, *ibid.* 97. Valerius Flaccus is a common manuscript. See pag. 133. *infr.*

^b It was first printed Argentorat, 1486. and *ibid.* 1489. fol. The work was finished, as appears by a note at the end, in 1287. It was translated into Italian by Philip or Christopher Ceffio, a Florentine, and this translation was first printed at Venice in 1481. 4to. It has also been translated into German. See Lambec. ii. 948. The purity of our author's Italian style has been much commended. For his Italian poetry, see Mongitor, *ubi sup.* p. 107.

Compare also, *Diar. Eruditor. Ital.* xiii. 258. Montfaucon mentions, in the royal library at Paris, *Le ROMAN de Tiebes qui fuiraine de Troye la grande.* Catal. MSS. ii. p. 923—198.

^c Bale says, that Edward the first, having met with our author in Sicily, in returning from Asia, invited him into England, xiii. 36. This prince was interested in the Trojan story, as we shall see below. Our historians relate, that he wintered in Sicily in the year 1270. Chron. Rob. Brun. p. 227. A writer quoted by Hearne, supposed to be John Stowe the chronicler, says, that "Guido de Columpna arriving in England at the commaundement of king Edward the first, made scholies and annotations upon Dictys Cretensis and
" Dares

The Trojan horse is a horse of brass ; and Hercules is taught astronomy, and the seven liberal sciences. But I forbear to enter at present into a more particular examination of this history, as it must often occasionally be cited hereafter. I shall here only further observe in general, that this work is the chief source from which Chaucer derived his ideas about the Trojan story ; that it was professedly paraphrased by Lydgate, in the year 1420, into a prolix English poem, called the *Boke of Troye*^a, at the command of king Henry the fifth ; that it became the ground-work of a new compilation in French, on the same subject, written by Raoul le Feure chaplain to the duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464, and partly translated into English prose in the year 1471, by Caxton, under the title of the *Recuyel of the histories of Troy*, at the request of Margaret dutchess of Burgundy : and that from Caxton's book afterwards modernised, Shakespeare borrowed his drama of *Troilus and Cressida*^c.

^a Dares Phrygius. Besides these, he writ at "large the Battayle of Troye." Heming. Cartul. ii. 649. Among his works is recited *Historia de Regibus Rebusque Angliæ*. It is quoted by many writers under the title of *Chronicum Britannorum*. He is said also to have written *Chronicum Magnum libris xxxvi*. See Mongitor. Bibl. Sic. i. 265.

^d Who mentions it in a French as well as Latin. edit. 1555. Signat. B. i. pag. 2.

As in the latyn and the frenshe yt is. It occurs in French, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. 16 F. ix. This manuscript was probably written not long after the year 1300.

^e The western nations, in early times, have been fond of deducing their origin from Troy. This tradition seems to be couched under Odin's original emigration from that part of Asia which is connected with Phrygia. Asgard, or *Asia's fortress*, was the city from which Odin led his colony ; and by some it is called Troy. To this place also they supposed Odin to return after his death, where he was to receive those who died in battle, in a hall roofed with glitter-

ing shields. See Bartholin. L. ii. cap. 8. p. 402, 403. seq. This hall, says the Edda, is in the city of Asgard, which is called the *Field of Ida*. Bartholin. *ibid*. In the very sublime ode on the Dissolution of the World, cited by Bartholine, it is said, that after the twilight of the gods should be ended, and the new world appear, *the Asie shall meet in the field of Ida, and tell of the destroyed habitations*. Barthol. L. ii. cap. 14. p. 597. Compare Arrgrim. Jon. Crymog, l. i. c. 4. p. 45, 46. See also Edda, fab. 5. In the poem to Resenius's Edda, it is said, "Odin appointed twelve judges or princes, at Sigtune in Scandinavia, as at Troy ; and established there all the laws of Troy, and the customs of the Trojans." See Hicck. Thesaur. i. Dissertat. Epist. p. 39. See also Mallett's Hist. Dannem. ii. p. 34. Bartholinus thinks, that the compiler of the Eddic mythology, who lived A.D. 1070, finding that the Britons and Franks drew their descent from Troy, was ambitious of assigning the same boasted origin to Odin. But this tradition appears to have

Proofs have been given, in the two prologues just cited, of the general popularity of Alexander's story, another branch of Grecian history famous in the dark ages. To these we may add the evidence of Chaucer.

Alifaundres storie is so commune,
That everie wight that hath discrecioun
Hath herde somewhat of or al of his fortune ^f.

And in the *House of Fame*, Alexander is placed with Hercules ^g. I have already remarked, that he was celebrated in a Latin poem by Gualtier de Chatillon, in the year 1212 ^h. Other proofs will occur in their proper places ⁱ. The truth

have been older than the Edda. And it is more probable, that the Britons and Franks borrowed it from the Scandinavian Goths, and adapted it to themselves; unless we suppose that these nations, I mean the former, were branches of the Gothic stem, which gave them a sort of inherent right to the claim. This reasoning may perhaps account for the early existence and extraordinary popularity of the Trojan story among nations ignorant and illiterate, who could only have received it by tradition. Geoffry of Monmouth took this descent of the Britons from Troy, from the Welsh or Armorican bards, and they perhaps had it in common with the Scandinavian scalds. There is not a syllable of it in the authentic historians of England, who wrote before him; particularly those ancient ones, Bede, Gildas, and the uninterpolated Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon began his history from *Cæsar*; and it was only on further information that he added *Brute*. But this information was from a manuscript found by him in his way to Rome in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, probably Geoffry's original. *H. Hunt. Epistol. ad Warin.* MSS. Cantabr. Bibl. publ. cod. 251. I have mentioned in another place, that Witlaf, a king of the West Saxons, grants in his charter, dated A. D. 833, among other things, to Croyland-abbey, his robe of tissue, on which was embroidered

The Destruction of Troy. Obs. on Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, i. sect. v. p. 176. This proves the story to have been in high veneration even long before that period: and it should at the same time be remembered, that the Saxons came from Scandinavia.

This fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans was solemnly alledged as an authentic and undeniable proof in a controversy of great national importance, by Edward the first and his nobility, without the least objection from the opposite party. It was in the famous dispute concerning the subjection of the crown of England to that of Scotland, about the year 1301. The allegations are in a letter to pope Boniface, signed and sealed by the king and his lords. *Ypodigm. Neustr. apud Camd. Angl. Norman.* p. 492. Here is a curious instance of the implicit faith with which this tradition continued to be believed, even in a more enlightened age; and an evidence that it was equally credited in Scotland.

^f V. 656. p. 165. Urr. ed.

^g V. 323.

^h See Second Dissertation.

ⁱ In the reign of Henry the first, the sheriff of Nottinghamshire is ordered to procure the queen's chamber at Nottingham to be painted with the *HISTORY OF ALEXANDER*. *Madox, Hist. Exch.* p. 249-259. "Depingi facias HISTORIAM ALEXAN-

" DRI

is, Alexander was the most eminent knight errant of Grecian antiquity. He could not therefore be long without his romance. Callisthenes, an Olinthian, educated under Aristotle with Alexander, wrote an authentic life of Alexander¹. This history, which is frequently referred to by antient writers, has been long since lost. But a Greek life of this hero, under the adopted name of Callisthenes, at present exists, and is no uncommon manuscript in good libraries¹. It is entitled, *Βίος Αλεξάνδρου του Μακεδόνος και Πραξεις*. That is, *The Life and Actions of Alexander the Macedonian*^m. This piece was written in Greek, being a translation from the Perfic, by Simeon Seth, styled *Magister*, and protovestiary or wardrobe keeper of the palace of Antiochus at Constantinopleⁿ, about the year 1070, under the emperor Michael Ducas^o.

“DRI undiquaque.” In the Romance of Richard, the minstrell says of an army assembled at a siege in the holy land, Sign. Q. iii.

Covered is both mount and playne,
Kyng ALYSAUNDER and Charlemayne
He never had halfe the route
As is the city now aboute.

By the way, this is much like a passage in Milton, Par. Reg. iii. 337.

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican, &c.

^k See Recherch. sur la Vie et les ouvrages de Callisthene. Par M. l'Abbe Sevin. Mem. de Lit. viii. p. 126. 4to. But many very antient Greek writers had corrupted Alexander's history with fabulous narratives, such as Orthagoras, Onesicritus, &c.

¹ Particularly Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MSS. Barocc. Cod. xvii. And Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 2064. See Montfauc. Catal. MSS. p. 733. See passages cited from this manuscript, in Steph. Byzant. Abr. Berckel. V. Βουκεφάλειον. Cæsar Bulenger de Circo, c. xiii. 30, &c. And Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiv. 148. 149. 150. It is adduced by Du Cange, Glossar. Gr. ubi vid. Tom. ii. Catal. Scriptor. p. 24.

^m Undoubtedly many smaller histories, now in our libraries were formed from this greater work.

ⁿ Πρωτοβεστιαριος, *Protovestiarius*. See du Cange, Constantinop. Christ. lib. ii. § 16. n. 5. Et ad Zonar. p. 46.

^o Allat. de Simeonibus. p. 181. And Labb. Bibl. nov. MSS. p. 115. Simeon Seth translated many Perfic and Arabic books into Greek. Allat. ubi supr. p. 182. seq. Among them he translated from Arabic into Greek, about the year 1100, for the use or at the request of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, the celebrated Indian Fables now commonly called the *Fables of Pilpay*. This work he entitled, *Σεφανίτης και Ινδιάνης*, and divided it into fifteen books. It was printed at Berlin, by Seb. Godfr. Starchius, A. D. 1697. 8vo. Under the title, *Σιμεων Μαγιστε και Φιλοσοφε του Σελ Κυλιε και Διμανε*. These are the names of two African or Asiatic animals, called in Latin *Thoes*, a sort of fox, the principal interlocutors in the fables. Sect. i. ii. This curious monument of a species of instruction peculiar to the orientals, is upwards of two thousand years old. It has passed under a great variety of names. Khofru a king of Persia, in whose reign

S

Mahomet

It was most probably very soon afterwards translated from the Greek into Latin, and at length from thence into

Mahomet was born, sent his physician named Burzvisch into India, on purpose to obtain this book, which was carefully preserved among the treasures of the kings of India: and commanded it to be translated out of the Indian language into the ancient Persic. Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. p. 456. It was soon afterwards turned into Syriac, under the title *Calaileg* and *Damnag*. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vi. p. 461. About the year of Christ 750, one of the caliphs ordered it to be translated from the ancient Persic into Arabic, under the name *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. ubi sup. In the year 920, the Sultan Ahmed, of the dynasty of the Samanides, procured a translation into more modern Persic: which was soon afterwards put into verse by a celebrated Persian poet named Roudeki. Herbel. ibid. Fabric. ibid. p. 462. About the year 1130, the Sultan Bahram, not satisfied with this Persian version, ordered another to be executed by Nasrallah, the most eloquent man of his age, from the Arabic text of Mocanna: and this Persian version is what is now extant under the title *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. ibid. See also Herbel. p. 118. But as even this last-mentioned version had too many Arabic idioms and obsolete phrases, in the reign of Sultan Hosein Mirza, it was thrown into a more modern and intelligible style, under the name of *Anwar Sobeli*. Fraser's Hist. Nad. Shaw. Catal. MSS. p. 19. 20. Nor must it be forgotten, that about the year 1100, the Emir Sohail, general of the armies of Hossain, Sultan of Khorassan of the posterity of Timer, caused a new translation to be made by the doctor Hussien Vaez, which exceeded all others in elegance and perspicuity. It was named *Anwair Sobaili*, *Splendor Canopi*, from the Emir who was called after the name of that star. Herbel. p. 118. 245. It would be tedious to mention every new title and improvement which it has passed through among the eastern people. It has been translated into the Turkish language both in prose and verse: particularly for the use of Bajazet the second and Solyman the second. Herbel. p. 118. It has been also translated into Hebrew, by

Rabbi Joel: and into Latin, under the title *Directorium Vitæ humanæ*, by Johannes of Capua. [fol. sine ann.] From thence it got into Spanish, or Castilian: and from the Spanish was made an Italian version, printed at Ferrara, A. D. 1583. oct. viz. *Lelo Damno* [for *Calilah* u *Damnab*] *del Governo de regni, sotto morali, &c.* A second edition appeared at Ferrara in 1610. oct. viz. *Philosophia morale del doni, &c.* But I have a notion there was an Italian edition at Venice, under the last-mentioned title, with old rude cuts, 1552. 4to. From the Latin version it was translated into German, by the command of Eberhard first duke of Wirtemberg: and this translation was printed at Ulm, 1583. fol. At Strasburgh, 1525. fol. Without name of place, 1548. 4to. At Francfort on the Mayne, 1565. oct. A French translation by Gilb. Gaulmin from the Persic of Nasrallah above-mentioned appeared at Paris, 1698. But this is rather a paraphrase, and was reprinted in Holland. See Starchius, ubi sup. præf. §. 19. 20. 22. Fabric. ubi sup. p. 463. seq. Another translation was printed at Paris, viz. "Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et De Lokman traduits d'Ali Tchellachi-Bengalek auteur Turc, par M. Galland, 1714." ii vol. Again, Paris, 1724. ii vol. Fabricius says, that Monsr. Galland had procured a Turkish copy of this book four times larger than the printed copies, being a version from the original Persic, and entitled *Humagoun Nameh*, that is, *The royal or imperial book*, so called by the orientals, who are of opinion that it contains the whole art of government. See Fabric. ubi sup. p. 465. Herbel. p. 456. A Translation into English from the French of the four first books was printed at London in 1747, under the title of PILPAY'S FABLES.—As to the name of the author of this book, Herbelot says that Bidpai was an Indian philosopher, and that his name signifies the *merciful physician*. See Herbelot. p. 206. 456. And Bibl. Lugdun. Catal. p. 301. Others relate, that it was composed by the Bramins of India, under the title *Kurtuk Damnik*. Fraser, ubi sup. p. 19. It is also said to have been written by
Isaïe

French, Italian, and German ^p. The Latin translation was printed Colon. Argentorat. A. D. 1489 ^q. Perhaps before. For among Hearne's books in the Bodleian library, there is an edition in quarto, without date, supposed to have been printed at Oxford by Frederick Corfellis, about the year 1468. It is said to have been made by one Æsopus, or by Julius Valerius ^r: supposititious names, which seem to have been forged by the artifice, or introduced through the ignorance, of scribes and librarians. This Latin translation, however, is of high antiquity in the middle age of learning: for it is quoted by Gyraldus Cambrensis, who flourished about the year 1190 ^s. About the year 1236, the substance

of same fifth king of the Indians, and translated into Arabic from the Indian tongue three hundred years before Alexander the Macedonian. Abraham Ecchelens. Not. ad Catal. Ebed Jesu, p. 87.—The Indians reckon this book among the three things in which they surpass all other nations. viz. "Liber CULILA et DIMNA, ludus Shah-tangri, et novem figuræ numerariæ." Saphad. Comment. ad Carm. Tograi. apud Hyde, prolegom. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. d. 3. Hyde intended an edition of the Arabic version. Præfat. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. vol. ii. 1767. edit. ad calc. I cannot forsake this subject without remarking, that the Persians have another book, which they esteem older than any writings of Zoroaster, entitled *Javidan Chrad*, that is, *æterna Sapientia*. Hyde Præfat. Relig. Vet. Perfarum. This has been also one of the titles of Pilpay's Fables.

^p Casaub. Epist. ad Jos. Scaliger. 402. 413. Scalig. Epist. ad Casaubon. 113. 115. Who mentions also a translation of this work from the Latin into Hebrew, by one who adopted the name of Jos. Gorionides, called Pseudo-Gorionides. This Latin history was translated into German by John Hartlieb Moller, a German physician, at the command of Albert duke of Bavaria, and published Augst. Vindel. A. D. 1478. fol. See Lambecc. lib. ii. de Bibl. Vindobon. p. 949. Labbe mentions a fabulous

history of Alexander; written, as he says, in 1217, and transcribed in 1455. Undoubtedly this in the text. Londinensis quotes "pervetustum quendam librum manuscriptum de actibus Alexandri." Hearne's T. Caius ut infr. p. 82. See also p. 86. 258.

^q Lenglet mentions "Historia fabulosa incerti authoris de Alexandri Magni præliis." fol. 1494. He adds, that it is printed in the last edition of Cæsar's Commentaries by Grævius in octavo. Bibl. des Romans, ii. p. 228. 229. edit. Amst. Compare Vogt's *Catalogus Librorum rarior*, pag. 24. edit. 1753. Montfaucon says this history of Callisthenes occurs often in the royal library at Paris, both in Greek and Latin: but that he never saw either of them printed. Cat. MSS. ii. pag. 733.—2543. I think a life of Alexander is subjoined to an edition of Quintus Curtius in 1584, by Joannes Monachus.

^r Du Cange Glossar. Gr. v. ΕΞΑΛΛΟΓΗ. Jurat. ad Symmach. iv. 33. Barth. Adversar. ii. 10. v. 14.

^s Hearne, T. Caii Vindic. Antiquit. Acad. Oxon. tom. ii. Not. p. 802. Who thinks it a work of the monks. "Nec dubium quin monachus quispiam Latine, ut potuit, scripserit. Eo modo, quo et alios id genus foetus parturiebant scriptores aliquot monastici, e fabulis quoque vulgo admodum placere sciebant." ibid.

of it was thrown into a long Latin poem, written in elegiac verse¹, by Aretinus Quilichinus². This fabulous narrative of Alexander's life and achievements, is full of prodigies and extravagancies³. But we should remember its origin. The Arabian books abound with the most incredible fictions and traditions concerning Alexander the Great, which they probably borrowed and improved from the Persians. They call him Escander. If I recollect right, one of the miracles of this romance is our hero's horn. It is said, that Alexander gave the signal to his whole army by a wonderful horn of immense magnitude, which might be heard at the distance of sixty miles, and that it was blown or sounded by sixty men at once⁴. This is the horn which Orlando won from the giant Jatmund, and which, as Turpin and the Islandic bards report, was endued with magical power, and might be heard at the distance of twenty miles. Cervantes says, that it was bigger than a massy beam⁵. Boyardo,

¹ A Greek poem on this subject will be mentioned below, written in politic verses, entitled *Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ Μακεδόνου*.

² Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS. p. 68. Ol. Borrich. Dissertat. de Poet. p. 89.

³ The writer relates, that Alexander, inclosed in a vessel of glass, dived to the bottom of the ocean for the sake of getting a knowledge of fishes and sea monsters. He is also represented as soaring in the air by the help of gryphons. At the end, the opinions of different philosophers are recited concerning the sepulchre of Alexander. Necelabanos, a magician and astrologer, king of Ægypt, is a very significant character in this romance. He transforms himself into a dragon, &c. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 319. b. seq. In some of the manuscripts of this piece which I have seen, there is an account of Alexander's visit to the trees of the sun and moon: but I do not recollect this in the printed copies. Undoubtedly the original has had both interpolations and omissions. Pseudo-Gorionides above-mentioned seems to hint at the ground-work of this history

of Alexander in the following passage. "Cæteras autem res ab Alexandro gestas, "et egregia ejus facinora ac quæcunque "demum perpetravit, ea in libris Medorum "et Persarum, atque apud Nicolaum, "Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris nativitatis Alexandri, rerumque ab ipso "gestarum, quos Magi ac Ægyptii eo "anno quo Alexander decessit, composuerunt, scripta reperies." Lib. ii. c. 12.—22. [Lat. Verf.] p. 152. edit. Jo. Frid. Briethaupt.

⁴ It is also in a manuscript entitled *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*, Lib. 5. MSS. Bodl. D. 1. 5. This treatise, ascribed to Aristotle, was antiently in high repute. It is pretended to have been translated out of Greek into Arabic or Chaldee by one John a Spaniard; from thence into Latin by Philip a Frenchman; at length into English verse by Lidgate: under whom more will be said of it. I think the Latin is dedicated to Theophina, a queen of Spain.

⁵ See Observat. Fair. Qu. i. § v. p. 202.

Berni, and Ariosto have all such a horn: and the fiction is here traced to its original source. But in speaking of the books which furnished the story of Alexander, I must not forget that Quintus Curtius was an admired historian of the romantic ages. He is quoted in the *POLICRATICON* of John of Salisbury, who died in the year 1181^z. Eneas Sylvius relates, that Alphonsus the ninth, king of Spain, in the thirteenth century, a great astronomer, endeavoured to relieve himself from a tedious malady by reading the bible over fourteen times, with all the glosses; but not meeting with the expected success, he was cured by the consolation he received from once reading Quintus Curtius^a. Peter Blefensis, archdeacon of London, a student at Paris about the year 1150, mentioning the books most common in the schools, declares that he *profited much by frequently looking into this author*^b. Vincentius Bellovacensis, cited above, a writer of the thirteenth century, often quotes Curtius in his *Speculum Historiale*^c. He was also early translated into French. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a fine copy of a French translation of this classic, adorned with elegant old paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Quinte Course Ruf, des faiz d' Alexandre, ix liv. translate par Vasque de Lucene Portugalois. Escrip̃t par la main de Jehan du Chesne, a Lille*^d. It was made in 1468. But I believe the Latin translations of Simeon Seth's romance on this subject, were best known and most esteemed for some centuries.

The French, to resume the main tenour of our argument, had written metrical romances on most of these subjects, before or about the year 1200. Some of these seem to have

^z viii. 18.

^a Op. p. 476.

^b Epist. 101. *Frequenter inspicere historias Q. Curtii, &c.*

^c iv. 61, &c. Montfaucon, I think, mentions a manuscript of Q. Curtius in the Colbertine library at Paris eight hundred

years old. See Barth. ad Claudian. p. 1165. Alexander Benedictus, in his history of Venice, transcribes whole pages from this historian. I could give other proofs.

^d 17 F. i. Brit. Mus. And again, 20 C. iii. And 15 D. iv.

been formed from prose histories, enlarged and improved with new adventures and embellishments from earlier and more simple tales in verse on the same subject. Chrestien of Troyes wrote *Le Romans du Graal*, or the adventures of the Sangrale, which included the deeds of king Arthur, Sir Tristram, Lancelot du Lake, and the rest of the knights of the round table, before 1191. There is a passage in a coeval romance, relating to Chrestien, which proves what I have just advanced, that some of these histories previously existed in prose.

Christians qui entent et paine
A rimoyer le meillor conte,
Par le commandement le Conte,
Qu'il soit contez in cort royal
Ce est li contes del Graal
Dont li quens li bailla le livre *.

Chrestien also wrote the romance of *Sir Percival*, which belongs to the same history^f. Godfrey de Leigni, a cotem-

* Apud Fauchett, Rec. p. 99. Who adds, " Je croy bien que Romans que nous avons aujourd'hui imprimez, tels que Lancelot du Lac, Tristan, et autres, sont refondus sur les vieilles proses et rymes et puis rafraichis de language." Rec. liv. ii. x. The oldest manuscripts of romances on these subjects which I have seen are the following. They are in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum. *Le Roman de Tristan*, 20 D. ii. This was probably transcribed not long after the year 1200.—*Histoire du Lancelot ou S. Grail*, ibid. iii. Perhaps older than the year 1200.—Again, *Histoire du S. Graal, ou Lancelot*, 20 C. vi. 1. Transcribed soon after 1200. This is imperfect at the beginning. The subject of Joseph of Arimathea bringing a vessel of the Sanguis realis, or Sangral, that is our Saviour's blood, into England, is of high antiquity. It is thus mentioned in *Morte Arthure*. " And then the old man had an harpe, and he sung an *old songe* how Jo-

seph of Arimathy came into this lande." B. iii. c. 5.

^f Fauchett, p. 103. This story was also written in very old rhyme by one Menesier, not mentioned in Fauchett, from whence it was reduced into prose 1530. fol. Paris. PERCAVAL LE GALOIS, *le quel acheva les aventures du Saint Graal, avec aucun faits du chevalier Gavain, translatée du rime de l'ancien auteur MESSENIER*, &c. In the royal library at Paris is LE ROMAN DE PERSEVAL le Galois, par CRESTIEN DE TROYES. In verse. fol. Mons. Galland thinks there is another romance under this title, Mem. de Lit. iii. p. 427. seq. 433. 8vo. The author of which he supposes may be Raoul de Biavais, mentioned by Fauchet, p. 142. Compare Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. p. 250. The author of this last-mentioned Percevall, in the exordium, says that he wrote among others, the romances of Eneas, Roy Marc, and Ufolt le Blonde: and that he translated into French, Ovid's Art of Love.

porary,

porary, finished a romance begun by Chrestien, entitled *La Charette*, containing the adventures of Launcelot. Fauchett affirms, that Chrestien abounds with beautiful inventions^g. But no story is so common among the earliest French poets as Charlemagne and his Twelve peers. In the British Museum we have an old French manuscript containing the history of Charlemagne, translated into prose from Turpin's Latin. The writer declares, that he preferred a sober prose translation of this authentic historian, as histories in rhyme, undoubtedly very numerous on this subject, looked so much like lies^h. His title is extremely curious. "Ci comence
" l' Estoire que Turpin le Ercevesque de Reins fit del bon
" roy Charlemayne, coment il conquist Espaigne, e delivera
" des Paens. Et pur ceo qe *Estoire rimce semble mensunge*,
" est ceste mis in prose, solun le Latin qe Turpin mesmes
" fist, tut ensi cume il le vist et vistⁱ."

Oddegir the Dane makes a part of Charlemagne's history; and, I believe, is mentioned by archbishop Turpin. But his exploits have been recorded in verse by Adenez, an old French poet, not mentioned by Fauchett, author of the two metrical romances of *Berlin* and *Cleomades*, under the name of *Ogier le Danois*, in the year 1270. This author was master of the musicians, or, as others say, herald at arms, to the duke of Brabant. Among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, we have a poem, *Le Livre de Ogeir de Dannemarche*^k. The French have likewise illustrated this

^g P. 105. *ibid*.

^h There is a curious passage to this purpose in an old French prose romance of Charlemagne, written before the year 1200. "Baudouin Comte de Hainau trouva a
" fens en Bourgongne le vie de Charle-
" magne: et mourant la donna a sa four
" Yolond Comtesse de S. Paul qui m'a
" prie que je la mette en *Roman sans ryme*.
" Parce que tel se delitera el Roman qui
" del Latin n'ent cure; et par le Roman

" fera mielx gardee. Maintes gens en ont
" ouy conter et chanter, mais n'est ce *men-
" songe* non ce qu'ils en disent et chantent
" cil conteour ne cil juleor. Nuz con-
" TES RYMEZ N'EN EST VRAIS: TOT
" MENSONGE CE QU'ILS DIENT." *Liv.*
quatr.

ⁱ MSS. Harl. 273. 23. Cod. membr. f. 86. There is a very old metrical romance on this subject, *ibid*. MSS. Harl. 527. 1. f. 1. Cod. membr. 4to. ^k 15 E. vi. 4.

champion

champion in Leonine rhyme. And I cannot help mentioning, that they have in verse *Visions of Oddegir the Dane in the kingdom of Fairy*, “*Vifions d’Ogeir le Danois au Royaume de “ Faerie en vers Francois,*” printed at Paris in 1548¹.

On the Trojan story, the French have an antient poem, at least not posterior to the thirteenth century, entitled *Roman de Troie*, written by Benoit de Sainct More. As this author appears not to have been known to the accurate Fauchett, nor la Croix du Maine; I will cite the exordium, especially as it records his name; and implies that the piece translated from the Latin, and that the subject was not then common in French.

Cette estoire n’est pas ufée,
N’en gaires livres n’est trouvée :
La retraite ne fut encore
Mais Beneoit de sainte More,
L’ a tranflatè, et fait et dit,
Et a sa main les mots escrit.

He mentions his own name again in the body of the work, and at the end.

Je n’en fait plus ne plus en dit ;
Beneoit qui c’est Roman fit^m.

Du Cange enumerates a metrical manuscript romance on this subject by Jaques Millet, entitled *De la Destruction de Troie*ⁿ. Montfaucon, whose extensive enquiries nothing could escape, mentions Dares Phrygius translated into French verse, at Milan, about the twelfth century^o. We find also, among the royal manuscripts at Paris, Dictys Cretensis,

¹ 8vo. There is also *L’Histoire du preux Meurvin fils d’OGIER le DANOIS*. Parif. 1359. 4to. And 1540. 8vo.

^m See M. Galland ut supr. p. 425.

ⁿ Gloss. Lat. IND. AUT. p. cxciii.

^o Monum. Fr. i. 374.

translated

translated into French verse ^p. To this subject, although almost equally belonging to that of Charlemagne, we may also refer a French romance in verse, written by Philippe Mousques, canon and chancellor of the church of Tournay. It is in fact, a chronicle of France: but the author, who does not chuse to begin quite so high as Adam and Eve, nor yet later than the Trojan war, opens his history with the rape of Helen, passes on to an ample description of the siege of Troy; and, through an exact detail of all the great events which succeeded, conducts his reader to the year 1240. This work comprehends all the fictions of Turpin's Charlemagne, with a variety of other extravagant stories dispersed in many professed romances. But it preserves numberless curious particulars, which throw considerable light on historical facts. Du Cange has collected from it all that concerns the French emperors of Constantinople, which he has printed at the end of his entertaining history of that city.

It was indeed the fashion for the historians of these times, to form such a general plan as would admit all the absurdities of popular tradition. Connection of parts, and uniformity of subject, were as little studied as truth. Ages of ignorance and superstition are more affected by the marvellous than by plain facts; and believe what they find written, without discernment or examination. No man before the sixteenth century presumed to doubt that the Franks derived their origin from Francus, a son of Hector; that the Spaniards were descended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scotch from Fergus. Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis the ninth of France, and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's sons, very gravely classes archbishop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real histories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cesar. He was himself an historian,

^p See Montf. Catal. MSS. ii. p. 1669.

and has left a large history of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the middle ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his cotemporaries, at present it serves only to record their prejudices, and to characterise their credulity^a.

Hercules and Jason, as I have before hinted, were involved in the Trojan story by Guido de Colonna, and hence became familiar to the romance writers^b. The Hercules, the Theseus, and the Amazons of Boccacio, hereafter more particularly mentioned, came from this source. I do not at present recollect any old French metrical romances on these subjects, but presume that there are many. Jason seems to have vied with Arthur and Charlemagne; and so popular was his expedition to Colchos, or rather so firmly believed, that in honour of so respectable an adventure, a duke of Burgundy instituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, in the year 1468. At the same time his chaplain Raoul le Feure illustrated the story which gave rise to this magnificent institution, in a prolix and elaborate history, afterwards translated by Caxton^c. But I must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, the French romance of *Hercules* occurs in two books, enriched with numerous ancient paintings^d. *Pertonape* and *Ippomedon*, in our Prologue, seem to be Parthenopeus and Hippomedon, belonging to the Theban story, and mentioned, I think, in Statius. An English romance in verse, called *Childe Ippomedone*, will be cited hereafter, most probably translated from the French.

^a He flourished about 1260.

^b The *TROJOMANNA SAGA*, a Scandic manuscript at Stockholm, seems to be posterior to Guido's publication. It begins with Jason and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos: proceeds to the rape of Helen, and ends with the siege and destruction of Troy. It celebrates all the Grecian and Asiatic heroes concerned in that

war. Wanl. Antiquit. Septentr. p. 315. col. 1.

^c See Observat. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. § v. P. 176. seq. Montfaucon mentions *Medee et Jasonis Historia a Guidone de Colonna*. Catal. MSS. Bibl. Coislin. ii. p. 1109.—818.

^d 17 E. ii.

The conquests of Alexander the great were celebrated by one Simon, in old Pic̄tavian or Limosin, about the twelfth century. This piece thus begins :

Chanſon voil diſ per ryme et per Leoin
Del fil Filippe lo roy de Macedoin ^u.

An Italian poem on Alexander, called *Trionfo Magno*, was preſented to Leo the tenth, by Dominicho Falugi Ancifeno, in the year 1521. Creſcimbeni ſays it was copied from a Pro-
vencial romance ^w. But one of the moſt valuable pieces of the old French poetry is on the ſubject of this victorious monarch, entitled, *Roman d'Alexandre*. It has been called the ſecond poem now remaining in the French language, and was written about the year 1200. It was confeſſedly tranſlated from the Latin; but it bears a nearer reſemblance to Simeon Seth's romance, than to Quintus Curtius. It was the confederated performance of four writers, who, as Fauchett expreſſes himſelf, were *affociez en leur JONGLERIE* ^x. Lambert li Cors, a learned civilian, began the poem; and it was continued and completed by Alexander de Paris, John le Nivelois, and Peter de Saint Cloſt ^y. The poem is cloſed with Alexander's will. This is no imagination of any of our three poets, although one of them was a civil lawyer. Alexander's will, in which he nominates ſucceſſors to his provinces and kingdom, was a tradition commonly received, and is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Mar-

^u Fauch. p. 77.

^w Iſtor. Volg. Poef. i. iv. p. 332. In the royal manuſcripts there is a French poem entitled *La Vengeance du graunt Alexandre*. 19 D. i. 2. Brit. Muſ. I am not ſure whether or no it is not a portion of the French *Alexander*, mentioned below, written by Jehan li Nivelois.

^x Fauchett, Rec. p. 83.

^y Fauchett, *ibid.* Monſ. Galland mentions a French romance in verſe, unknown to Fauchett, and entitled *Roman d'Arbys et de Propylas*, written by one Alexander, whom he ſuppoſes to be this Alexander of Paris. Mem. Lit. iii. p. 429. edit. Amſt. It is often cited by Carpentier, Suppl. Cang.

cellinus^z. I know not whether this work was ever printed. It is voluminous; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a vast folio manuscript of it on vellum, which is of great antiquity, richly decorated, and in high preservation^a. The margins and initials exhibit, not only fantastic ornaments and illuminations exquisitely finished, but also pictures executed with singular elegance, expressing the incidents of the story, and displaying the fashion of buildings, armour, dress, musical instruments^b, and other particulars appropriated to the times. At the end we read this hexameter, which points out the name of the scribe.

Nomen scriptoris est THOMAS PLENUS AMORIS.

Then follows the date of the year in which the transcript was completed, viz. 1338. Afterwards there is the name and date of the illuminator, in the following colophon, written in golden letters. “Che livre fu perfais de la enlumi-
niere an xviii^o. jour davryl par Jehan de grise l’an de
“ grace m.ccc.xliiii.” Hence it may be concluded, that the illuminations and paintings of this superb manuscript, which were most probably begun as soon as the scribe had finished his part, took up six years: no long time, if we consider the attention of an artist to ornaments so numerous, so various, so minute, and so laboriously touched. It has been supposed, that before the appearance of this poem, the *Romans*, or those pieces which celebrated GESTS, were constantly composed in short verses of six or eight syllables: and that in this *Roman d’Alexandre* verses of twelve syllables were first used. It has therefore been imagined, that the verses called ALEXANDRINES, the present French heroic measure, took

^z See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. c. iii. l. viii. p. 205.

^a MSS. Bodl. B. 264. fol.

^b The most frequent of these are organs, bagpipes, lutes, and trumpets.

^c The bishop of Gloucester has a most beautiful French manuscript on vellum of *Mort d’Arthur*, ornamented in the same manner. It was a present from Vertue the engraver.

their

their rise from this poem ; Alexander being the hero, and Alexander the chief of the four poets concerned in the work. That the name, some centuries afterwards, might take place in honour of this celebrated and early effort of French poetry, I think is very probable ; but that verses of twelve syllables made their first appearance in this poem, is a doctrine which, to say no more, from examples already produced and examined, is at least ambiguous^d. In this poem Gadifer, hereafter mentioned, of Arabian lineage, is a very conspicuous champion.

Gadifer fu moult preus, d'un Arrabi lignage.

A rubric or title of one of the chapters is, “ Comment “ Alexander fuit mys en un vesal de vooire pour veoir le “ merveiles, &c.” This is a passage already quoted from Simeon Seth's romance, relating Alexander's expedition to the bottom of the ocean, in a vessel of glass, for the purpose of inspecting fishes and sea monsters. In another place, from the same romance, he turns astronomer, and soars to the moon by the help of four gryphons. The caliph is frequently mentioned in this piece ; and Alexander, like Charlemagne, has his twelve peers.

These were the four reigning stories of romance. On which perhaps English pieces, translated from the French, existed before or about the year 1300. But there are some other English romances mentioned in the prologue of RICHARD CŒUR DE LYON, which we likewise probably received from the French in that period, and on which I shall here also enlarge.

BEUVES *de Hanton*, or *Sir Beavis of Southampton*, is a French romance of considerable antiquity, although the hero is not older than the Norman conquest. It is alluded to in

^d See Pref. *Le Roman de la Rose*, par Monf. L'Abbè Lenglet, i. p. xxvi.

our English romance on this story, which will again be cited, and at large.

Forth thei yode *so saith the boke* ^c.

And again more exprefsly,

Under the bridge wer fixty belles,
Right as the *Romans* telles ^f.

The *Romans* is the French original. It is called the Romance of *Beuves de Hanton*, by Pere Labbe ^g. The very ingenious Monsieur de la Curne de sainte Palaye mentions an antient French romance in prose, entitled *Beufres de Hanton* ^h. Chaucer mentions BEVIS, with other famous romances, but whether in French or English is uncertain ⁱ. *Beuves of Hantonne* was printed at Paris in 1502 ^k. Ascapart was one of his giants, a character ^l in very old French romances. Bevis was a Saxon chieftain, who seems to have extended his dominion along the southern coasts of England, which he is said to have defended against the Norman invaders. He lived at Downton in Wiltshire. Near Southampton is an artificial hill called *Bevis Mount*, on which was probably a fortress ^m. It is pretended that he was earl of Southampton. His sword is shewn in Arundel castle. This piece was evidently written after the crusades; as Bevis is knighted by the king of Armenia, and is one of the generals at the siege of Damascus.

GUY EARL OF WARWICK is recited as a French romance by Labbe ⁿ. In the British Museum a metrical history in very old French appears, in which Felicia, or Felice, is called the

^c Sign. P. ii. ^f Signat. E. iv.

^g Nov. Bibl. p. 334. edit. 1652.

^h Mem. Lit. xv. 582. 4to.

ⁱ Rim. Thop.

^k 4to. Percy's Ball. iii. 2:7.

^l Selden's Drayton. Polyolb. f. iii. p. 37.

^m It is now inclosed in the beautiful gardens of General Sir John Mordaunt, and gives name to his seat.

ⁿ Ubi supr.

daughter

daughter of an earl of Warwick, and Guido, or Guy of Warwick, is the son of Seguart the earl's steward. The manuscript is at present imperfect °. Montfaucon mentions among the royal manuscripts at Paris, *Roman de Guy et Beuves de Hanton*. The latter is the romance last mentioned. Again, *Le Livre de Guy de Warwick et de Harold d' Ardenne* †. This Harold d'Arden is a distinguished warrior of Guy's history, and therefore his achievements sometimes form a separate romance: as in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, where we find *Le Romant de Herolt Dardenne* ‡. In the English romance of Guy, mentioned at large in its proper place, this champion is called *Syr Heraude of Arderne* †. At length this favourite subject formed a large prose romance, entitled *Guy de Warwick Chevalier d' Angleterre et de la belle fille Felix samie*, and printed at Paris in 1525 §. Chaucer mentions Guy's story among the *Romaunces of Pris* †: and it is alluded to in the Spanish romance of *Tirante il Blanco*, or *Tirante the White*, supposed to have been written not long after the year 1430 ¶. This romance was composed, or perhaps enlarged, after the crusades; as we find, that Guy's redoubted encounters with Colbrond the Danish giant, with the monster of Dunsmore heath, and the dragon of Northumberland, are by no means equal to some of his achievements in the holy land, and the trophies which he won from the foldan under the command of the emperor Frederick.

The romance of SIDRAC, often entitled, *Le Livere Sydrac le philosophe le quel hom appelle le livere de le fontane de totes Sciences*, appears to have been very popular, from the present frequency of its manuscripts. But it is rather a romance of Arabian philosophy than of chivalry. It is a system of natural knowledge, and particularly treats of the virtues of

° MSS. Harl. 3775. 2.

† Catal. MSS. p. 792.

‡ 15 E. vi. 8. fol.

† Sign. L. ii. vers.

‡ Fol. And again, ib. 1526. 4to.

† Rim. Thop. ¶ Percy's Ball. iii. 100.

plants.

plants. Sidrac, the philosopher of this system, was astronomer to an eastern king. He lived eight hundred and forty-seven years after Noah, of whose book of astronomy he was possessed. He converts Bocchus, an idolatrous king of India, to the christian faith, by whom he is invited to build a mighty tower against the invasions of a rival king of India. But the history, no less than the subject of this piece, displays the state, nature, and migrations of literature in the dark ages. After the death of Bocchus, Sidrac's book fell into the hands of a Chaldean renowned for piety. It then successively becomes the property of king Madian, Namaan the Assyrian, and Grypho archbishop of Samaria. The latter had a priest named Demetrius, who brought it into Spain, and here it was translated from the Greek into Latin. This translation is said to be made at Toledo, by Roger de Palermo, a minorite friar, in the thirteenth century. A king of Spain then commanded it to be translated from Latin into Arabic, and sent it as a most valuable present to Emir Elmomenim, lord of Tunis. It was next given to Frederick the Second, emperor of Germany, famous in the crusades. This work, which is of considerable length, was translated into English verse, and will be mentioned on that account again. Sidrac is recited as an eminent philosopher, with Seneca and king Solomon, in the *Marchaunt's Second tale*, ascribed to Chaucer *.

It is natural to conclude, that most of these French romances were current in England, either in the French originals, which were well understood at least by the more polite readers, or else by translation or imitation, as I have before hinted; when the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, in whose prologue they are recited, was translated into English. That the latter was the case as to some of them,

* Urr. p. 616. v. 1932. There is an old translation of SIDRAC into Dutch, MSS. Marshall, Bibl. Bodl. 31. fol.

at least, we shall soon produce actual proofs. A writer, who has considered these matters with much penetration and judgment, observes, that probably from the reign of our Richard the first, we are to date that remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compositions which we discover to have taken place at some early period between the French and English minstrels. The same set of phrases, the same species of characters, incidents, and adventures, and often the identical stories, being found in the metrical romances of both nations *. From close connection and constant intercourse, the traditions and the champions of one kingdom were equally known in the other: and although Bevis and Guy were English heroes, yet on these principles this circumstance by no means destroys the supposition, that their achievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude English songs, might be first wrought into romance by the French †. And it seems probable, that we continued for some time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours. Even the titles of our oldest romances, such as *Sir Blanda-*

* Percy's Ess. on Anc. Engl. Minstr. p. 12.

† Dugdale relates, that in the reign of Henry the fourth, about the year 1410, a lord Beauchamp, travelling into the east, was hospitably received at Jerusalem by the Soldan's lieutenant: "Who hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whose story they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace; and royally feasting him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers cloaths of silk and gold given to his servants." Baron. i. p. 243. col. 1. This story is delivered on the credit of John Rouse, the traveller's cotemporary. Yet it is not so very improbable that Guy's history should be a book among the Saracens, if we consider, that Constantinople was not only a central and connecting point between the eastern and

western world, but that the French in the thirteenth century had acquired an establishment there under Baldwin earl of Flanders: that the French language must have been known in Sicily, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Antioch, in consequence of the conquests of Robert Guiscard, Hugo le Grand, and Godfrey of Bulloigne: and that pilgrimages into the holy land were excessively frequent. It is hence easy to suppose, that the French imported many of their stories or books of this sort into the east; which being thus understood there, and suiting the genius of the orientals, were at length translated into their language. It is remarkable, that the Greeks at Constantinople, in the twelfth century, and since, called all the Europeans by the name of Franks; as the Turks do to this day. See Seld. Polyolb. §. viii. p. 130.

meure, Sir Triamour, Sir Eglamour, of Artoys ², *La Mort d' Arthur*, with many more, betray their French extraction. It is likewise a presumptive argument in favour of this assertion, that we find no prose romances in our language, before Caxton translated from the French the History of Troy, the Life of Charlemagne, the Histories of Jason, Paris, and Vienne ³, the Death of King Arthur, and other prose pieces of chivalry: by which, as the profession of minstrelsy decayed and gradually gave way to a change of manners and customs, romances in metre were at length imperceptibly superseded, or at least grew less in use as a mode of entertainment at public festivities.

Various causes concurred, in the mean time, to multiply books of chivalry among the French, and to give them a superiority over the English, not only in the number but in the excellence of those compositions. Their barons lived in greater magnificence. Their feudal system flourished on a more sumptuous, extensive, and lasting establishment. Schools were instituted in their castles for initiating the young nobility in the rules and practice of chivalry. Their tilts and tournaments were celebrated with a higher degree of pomp; and their ideas of honour and gallantry were more exaggerated and refined.

² In our English *SYR EGLAMOUR OF ARTOYS*, there is this reference to the French from which it was translated. Sign. E. i.

His own mother there he wedde,
In ROMAUNCE as we rede.

Again, fol. ult.

In ROMAUNCE this cronycle ys.

The authors of these pieces often refer to their original. Just as Ariosto mentions Turpin for his voucher.

But I must not omit here that Du Cange

recites a metrical French romance in manuscript, *Le Roman de Girard de Lienne*, written by Bertrand le Clerc. Gloss. Lat. i. IND. AUCT. p. cxliii. Madox has printed the names of several French romances found in the reign of Edward the third, among which one on this subject occurs. Formul. Anglic. p. 12. Compare *Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. §. viii. p. 43. Among the royal manuscripts, in the British Museum, there is in verse *Histoire de Gyrart de Vienne et de ses freres*. 20 D. xi. 2. This manuscript was perhaps written before the year 1300.

We may add, what indeed has been before incidentally remarked, that their troubadours were the first writers of metrical romances. But by what has been here advanced, I do not mean to insinuate without any restrictions, that the French entirely led the way in these compositions. Undoubtedly the Provencial bards contributed much to the progress of Italian literature. Raimond the fourth of Aragon, count of Provence, about the year 1220, a lover and a judge of letters, invited to his court the most celebrated of the songsters who professed to polish and adorn the Provencial language by various sorts of poetry^b. Charles the first, his son-in-law, and the inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taste for the Provencial literature. At Florence especially this taste prevailed, where he reigned many years with great splendour, and where his successors resided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence^c. Hitherto the Latin language had only been in use. The Provencial writers established a common dialect: and their examples convinced other nations, that the modern languages were no less adapted to composition than those of antiquity^d. They introduced a love of reading, and diffused a general and popular taste for poetry, by writing in a language intelligible to the ladies and the people. Their verses being conveyed in a familiar tongue, became the chief amusement of princes and feudal lords, whose courts had now begun to assume an air of

^b Giovan. Villani, *Istor.* l. vi. c. 92.

^c Villani acquaints us, that Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, was the first who attempted to polish the Florentines by improving their taste and style; which he did by writing his grand work the *TESORO* in Provencial. He died in 1294. See Villan. *ibid.* l. ix. c. 135.

^d Dante designed at first that his *Inferno*, and Treatise on monarchy, should appear in

Latin. But finding that he could not so effectually in that language impress his satirical strokes and political maxims on the laity, or illiterate, he altered his mind, and published those pieces in Italian. Had Petrarch written his *Africa*, his *Eclogues*, and his prose compositions in Italian, the literature of his country would much sooner have arrived at perfection.

greater brilliancy: a circumstance which necessarily gave great encouragement to their profession, and by rendering these arts of ingenious entertainment universally fashionable, imperceptibly laid the foundation of polite literature. From these beginnings it were easy to trace the progress of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

This praise must undoubtedly be granted to the Provencial poets. But in the mean time, to recur to our original argument, we should be cautious of asserting in general and indiscriminating terms, that the Provencial poets were the first writers of metrical romance: at least we should ascertain, with rather more precision than has been commonly used on this subject, how far they may claim this merit. I am of opinion that there were two sorts of French troubadours, who have not hitherto been sufficiently distinguished. If we diligently examine their history, we shall find that the poetry of the first troubadours consisted in satires, moral fables, allegories, and sentimental sonnets. So early as the year 1180, a tribunal called the *Court of Love*, was instituted both in Provence and Picardy, at which questions in gallantry were decided. This institution furnished eternal matter for the poets, who threw the claims and arguments of the different parties into verse, in a style that afterwards led the way to the spiritual conversations of Cyrus and Clelia^c. Fontenelle does not scruple to acknowledge, that gallantry was the parent of French poetry^d. But to sing romantic and chivalrous adventures was a very different task, and required very different talents. The troubadours therefore who composed metrical romances form a different species, and ought always to be considered separately. And

^c This part of their character will be insisted upon more at large when we come to speak of Chaucer.

^d *Theatr. Fr.* p. 13.

this latter class seems to have commenced at a later period, not till after the crusades had effected a great change in the manners and ideas of the western world. In the mean time, I hazard a conjecture. Cinthio Giraldi supposes, that the art of the troubadours, commonly called the *Gay Science*, was first communicated from France to the Italians, and afterwards to the Spaniards^e. This perhaps may be true: but at the same time it is highly probable, as the Spaniards had their JUGLARES or convivial bards very early, as from long connection they were immediately and intimately acquainted with the fictions of the Arabians, and as they were naturally fond of chivalry, that the troubadours of Provence in great measure caught this turn of fabling from Spain. The communication, to mention no other obvious means of intercourse in an affair of this nature, was easy through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, by which the two nations carried on from early times a constant commerce. Even the French critics themselves universally allow, that the Spaniards, having learned rhyme from the Arabians, through this very channel conveyed it to Provence. Tasso preferred *Amadis de Gaul*, a romance originally written in Spain, by Vasco Lobeyra, before the year 1300^b, to the most celebrated pieces of the Provencial poetsⁱ. But this is a subject which will perhaps receive illustration from a writer of great taste, talents, and industry, Monsieur de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, who will soon oblige the world with an ample history of Provencial poetry; and whose researches into a kindred subject, already published, have opened a new and extensive field of information concerning the manners, institutions, and literature of the feudal ages^k.

^e Apud Huet, Orig. Rom. p. 108.

^b Nic. Antonius, Bibl. Hispan. Vet. tom. ii. l. viii. c. 7. num. 291.

ⁱ Disc. del Poem. Eroic. l. ii. p. 45. 46.

^k See *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, &c. Paris, 1759. ii. tom. 12^{mo}.

S E C T. IV.

VARIOUS matters suggested by the Prologue of RICHARD CŒUR DE LYON, cited in the last section, have betrayed us into a long digression, and interrupted the regularity of our annals. But I could not neglect so fair an opportunity of preparing the reader for those metrical tales, which having acquired a new cast of fiction from the crusades and a magnificence of manners from the encrease of chivalry, now began to be greatly multiplied, and as it were professedly to form a separate species of poetry. I now therefore resume the series, and proceed to give some specimens of the English metrical romances which appeared before or about the reign of Edward the second: and although most of these pieces continued to be sung by the minstrels in the halls of our magnificent ancestors for some centuries afterwards, yet as their first appearance may most probably be dated at this period, they properly coincide in this place with the tenour of our history. In the mean time, it is natural to suppose, that by frequent repetition and successive changes of language during many generations, their original simplicity must have been in some degree corrupted. Yet some of the specimens are extracted from manuscripts written in the reign of Edward the third. Others indeed from printed copies, where the editors took great liberties in accommodating the language to the times. However in such as may be supposed to have suffered most from depravations of this sort, the substance of the ancient style still remains, and at least the structure of the story. On the whole, we mean to give the reader an idea of those popular heroic tales in verse, professedly written for the harp, which began to be multiplied among us about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

century. We will begin with the romance of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, already mentioned.

The poem opens with the marriage of Richard's father, Henry the second, with the daughter of Carbarryne, a king of Antioch. But this is only a lady of romance. Henry married Eleanor the divorced queen of Louis of France. The minstrels could not conceive any thing less than an eastern princess to be the mother of this magnanimous hero.

----- His barons him redde ^a
That they graunted hem a wyfe to wedde,
Hastily he sent his fonde
Into many a divers londe,
The fayrest woman that was on lyve
They sholde bringe him to wyve.

The messengers or ambassadors, in their voyage, meet a ship adorned like Cleopatra's galley.

Suche ne sawe they never none,
For it was so gay begone
Every nayle with gold ygrave
Of pure gold was his sklave ^b,
Her mast was of yvory,
Of fameyte her fayle wytly,
Her ropes al of whyte fylke,
As whyte as ever was ony mylke.
The noble shyp was wythout
With clothes of gold spred about,
And her loft ^c and her wyndlace ^d
Al of gold depaynted was:
In the shyppe there were dyght
Knyghtes and lordes of myght,

^a Advised.

^b Rudder. *Clavus*.

^c Deck.

^d Windlafs.

And

And a lady therein was
 Bryght as sonne thorowe the glas.
 Her men abrode gon stonde
 And becked them with her honde,
 And prayed them for to dwell
 And theyr adventures to tell.----
 " To dyverse londes do we wende
 " For kyng Harry hath us fende
 " For to feche hym a quene,
 " The fayrest that myght on erthe bene."
 Up arose a kyng of chayre
 With that word, and spake fayre,
 The chayre was of carbunkell ston,
 Suche fawe they never none,
 And other dukes hym besyde,
 Noble men of moche pryde,
 And welcomed the messengers every chone,
 Into the shippe they gan gone.----
 Clothes of sylke wer sprad on borde,
 The kyng then anon badde,
 As it is in ryme radde,
 That his doughter wer forthe fet
 And in a chayre by hym fet,
 Trompettes bigan to blowe,
 She was fet in a throwe^f
 With xx knyghtes her aboute
 And double so many of ladyes stoute.----
 Whan thei had done their mete
 Of adventures they bygyn to speke.
 The kyng them told in his reason,
 How it cam hym in a vyfyon,
 In his lond that he came fro
 In to Engelond for to go

^e i. e. The French original.

^f Immediately.

And hys doughter that was hym dere
 For to wende with hym in fere ^g,
 And in this manner we bi dyght
 Unto your londe to wende ryght.
 Then answerede a messengere,
 His name was cleped Barnagere,
 " Ferther we will seeke nought
 " To my lorde she shal be brought."

They soon arrive in England, and the lady is lodged in the tower of London, one of the royal castles.

The messengers the kyng have tolde
 Of that lady fayre and bolde
 There she lay in the toure
 The lady that was whyt as floure ;
 Kyng Harry gan hym dyght
 With erles, barons, and many a knyght,
 Ayenst that ladye for to wende,
 For he was courteys and hende :
 The damosell to londe was ladde
 Clothes of golde bfore her spradde,
 The messengers on eche a fyde,
 And mynyftrells of moche pryde.
 Kyng Harry liked her feynge
 That fayre lady, and her fader the kyng.---
 To Westmynstir they went in fere
 Lordes, ladies, that ther were,
 Trompettes bigan for to blowe
 To mete ^h thei went in a throwe, &c ⁱ.

The first of our hero's achievements in chivalry is at a splendid tournament held at Salisbury. Clarendon near Salisbury was one of the king's palaces ^k.

^g Company.

^h To dinner.

ⁱ Sign. A. ii.—A. iii.

^k In the pipe-rolls of this king's reign, I find the following articles relating to this ancient

Kynge Rychard gan hym dysguyfe
 In a full stronge queyntyfe¹ :
 He cam out of a valaye
 For to fe of theyr playe,
 As a knyght avanturous
 His atyre was orgulous^m,
 Al together cole blacke
 Was his horse without lacke,
 Upon his cress a raven stoode
 That yanedⁿ as he were wode.---
 He bare a shafte that was grete and stronge
 It was fourtene fote longe,
 And it was gret and stoute,
 One or two inches aboute:
 The fyrst knyght that he ther mette
 Full egerly he hym grette,
 With a dint amynd the shelde
 His hors he bare downe in the feld, &c°.

ancient palace, which has been already mentioned incidentally. Rot. Pip. 1. Ric. i.
 " WILTES. Et in cariagio vini Regis a.
 " Clarendon usque Woodetoke, 34^s. 4^d.
 " per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 200 m.
 " [marcis] a Saresburia usque Bristow, 7^s.
 " 4^d. per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 2500
 " libris a Saresburia usque Glocestriam,
 " 26^s. 10^d. per Br. Reg. Et pro tonellis
 " et clavis ad eosdem denarios. Et in ca-
 " riagio de 4000 marcis a Sarum usque
 " Suthanton, et pro tonellis et aliis neces-
 " sariis, 8^s. et 1^d. per Br. Reg." And
 again in the reign of Henry the third. Rot.
 Pip. 30. Hen. iii. " WILTESCIRE. Et
 " in una marcellia ad opus regis et regi-
 " nae apud Clarendon cum duobus inter-
 " clusoriis, et duabus cameris privatis,
 " hostio veteris aulae amovendo in porticu,
 " et de eadem aula camera facienda cum
 " camino et fenestris, et camera privata,
 " et quadam magna coquina quadrata, et

" aliis operationibus, contentis in Brevi,
 " inceptis per eundem Nicolaum et non
 " perfectis, 526. l. 16^s. 5^d. ob. per Br.
 " Reg." Again, Rot. Pip. 39. Hen. iii.
 " SUDHAMT. Comp. Novae forestae. Et in
 " triginta miliaribus scindularum [shingles]
 " faciend. in eadem foresta et cariand. eas-
 " dem usque Clarendon ad domum regis
 " ibidem cooperiendam, 6^l. et 1 marc. per
 " Br. Reg. Et in 30 mill. scindularum
 " faciend. in eadem, et cariand. usque
 " Clarendon, 11^l. 10^s." And again, in
 the same reign the canons of Ivy church
 receive pensions for celebrating in the royal
 chapel there. Rot. Pip. 7. Hen. iii.
 " WILTES. Et canonicis de monasterio
 " ederofo ministrantibus in Capella de
 " Clarendon. 35^l. 7^d. ob." Stukeley
 is mistaken in saying this palace was built
 by King John.

¹ See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. COINTISE.

^m Proud, pompous. ⁿ Yawnd. ^o lb.

A battle-

A battle-ax which Richard carried with him from England into the holy land is thus described.

Kyng Rycharde I understonde
Or he went out of Engelonde
Let him make an axe ^p for the nones
To brake therewith the Sarafyns bones.
The heed was wrought right wele
Therein was twenti bounde ^r of stele:
And when he com into Cyprys londe
The axe toke he in his honde
All that he hytte he all to frapped
The gryffons ^s away faste rapped.
And the pryson when he came to
With his axe he smote ryght tho
Dores, barres, and iron chaynes, &c. ^t

This formidable axe is again mentioned at the siege of Acon, or Acre, the antient Ptolemais.

Kyng Rycharde after anone ryght
Towarde Acrys gan hym dyght,
And as he fayled towarde Surrye ^u,
He was warned of a spye,
How the folke of the hethen law,
A gret chayne thei had i drawe

^p Richard's battle-ax is also mentioned by Brunne, and on this occasion, Chron. p. 159.

^q The crusades imported the phrase *Jeu Sarrazionois*, for any sharp engagement, into the old French romances.—Thus in the ROMAN OF ALEXANDER, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. P. i.

Tholomer le regrette et le plaint en Grijois,
Et diit que s'il eussent o culz telz vingt et
trois,
Il nous eussent fet un JEU SARRAZIONOIS.

^r F. *pounde*.

^s The Byzantine Greeks are often called Griffones by the historians of the middle ages. See Du Cange Gloss. Ville-Hard. p. 363. See also Rob. Brun. Chron. p. 151. 157. 159. 160. 165. 171. 173. Wanley supposes that the *Griffin* in heraldry was intended to signify a Greek, or Saracen, whom they thus represented under the figure of an imaginary eastern monster, which never existed but as an armorial badge.

^t Sign. G. i.

^u Syria.

Over the haven of Acres fers
 Was fastened to two pyllers
 That no shyppe sholde in wyne^v.----
 Therfore seven yers and more
 All crysten kynges laye thore
 And with hongre suffre payne
 For lettyng of that same chayne.
 Whan kyng Rycharde herde that tydinge
 For joye his herte bigan to sprynge,
 A swyfte strong galey he toke.
Trenchemere^x, so faith the boke.—
 The galey yede as swift
 As ony fowle by the lyfte^y,
 And kyng Rycharde that was so goode,
 With his axe afore the shippe stode
 And whan he came to the chayne,
 With his axe he smote it a twayne^z,
 That all the barons verament
 Sayd it was a noble dent,
 And for joye of that dede
 The cuppes faste aboute yede^a,
 With good wyne, piment and clarè,
 And sailed towards Acrys cityè.
 Kyng Rycharde out of his galye
 Let caste wilde fire into the skye.
 His trompettes yede in his galye
 Men might here it to the skye,
 Trompettes, horne, and shalmys^b,
 The sea burnt al of fyre grekys^c.

^x So Fabyan of Rosamond's bower, "that
 "no creature, man or woman, myght
 "comye to her." i. e. *go in*, by contrac-
 tion, *Win. Chron.* vol. i. p. 320. col. i.
 edit. 1533.

^z Rob. Brun. Chron. p. 170.
 The kyng's owne galeie he cald it
Trenchemere.

^y A bird on wing.

^v In two. Thus R. de Brunne says,
 "he fondred the Sarazyns otuyne." p.
 574. He forced the Saracens into *two*
parties.

^a Went.

^b Shawms.

^c Sign. G. iii.

This *fyre grekys*, or Grecian fire, seems to be a composition belonging to the Arabian chemistry. It is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine historians, and was very much used in the wars of the middle ages, both by sea and land. It was a sort of wild-fire, said to be inextinguishable by water, and chiefly used for burning ships, against which it was thrown in pots or phials by the hand. In land engagements it seems to have been discharged by machines constructed on purpose. The oriental Greeks pretended that this artificial fire was invented by Callinicus, an architect of Helio- polis, under Constantine; and that Constantine prohibited them from communicating the manner of making it to any foreign people. It was however in common use among the nations confederated with the Byzantines: and Anna Commena has given an account of its ingredients ^d, which were bitumen, sulphur, and naphtha. It is called *feu gregois* in the French chronicles and romances. Our minstrell, I believe, is singular in saying that Richard scattered this fire on Saladin's ships: many monkish historians of the holy war, in describing the siege of Acon, relate that it was employed on that occasion, and many others, by the Saracens against the Christians ^e. Procopius, in his history of the Goths, calls it MEDEA'S OIL, as if it had been a preparation used in the sorceries of that enchantress ^f.

The quantity of huge battering rams and other military engines, now unknown, which Richard is said to have transported into the holy land, was prodigious. The names of some of them are given in another part of this romance ^g.

^d See Du Cange, Not. ad Joinvil. p. 71. And Gl. Lat. V. IGNIS GRÆCUS.

^e See more particularly Chron. Rob. Brun. p. 170. And Benediſt. Abb. p. 652. And Joinv. Hiſt. L. p. 39. 46. 52. 53. 62. 70.

^f iv. 11.

^g Twenty grete gynnes for the nones
Kynge Richard ſent for to caſt ſtones, &c.

Among theſe were the *Mategriffon* and the *Robynet*. Sign. N. iii. The former of theſe is thus deſcribed. Sign. E. iiii.

I have a caſtell I underſtonde
Is made of tembre of Englonde
With fyxe ſtages full of tourelles
Well flouryſhed with cornelles, &c.

See Du Cange Not. Joinv. p. 68. MATE-
GRYFFON

It is an historical fact, that Richard was killed by the French from the shot of an arcubalist, a machine which he often worked skillfully with his own hands: and Guillaume le Briton, a Frenchman, in his Latin poem called *Philippeis*, introduces Atropos making a decree, that Richard should die by no other means than by a wound from this destructive instrument; the use of which, after it had been interdicted by the pope in the year 1139, he revived, and is supposed to have shewn the French in the crusades ^g.

Gynnes ^h he had of wonder wyfe,
 Mangelles ⁱ of grete quyentyse ^k,
 Arblast bowe made with gynne
 The holy land therewith to wynne;
 Over all other utterly
 He had a myle ^l of grete maystry,
 In the myddes of a shyppe to stonde
 Suche ne sawe they never in no londe,

GRYFFON is the *Terror or plague of the Greeks*. Du Cange, in his Gallo-Byzantine history, mentions a castle of this name in Peloponnesus. Benedict says, that Richard erected a strong castle, which he called *Mate-griffon*, on the brow of a steep mountain without the walls of the city of Messina in Sicily. Benedict. Abb. p. 621. ed. Hearn. sub ann. 1190. Robert de Brunne mentions this engine from our romance. Chron. p. 157.

The romancer it sais Richarde did make a pele,

On kastle wife allwais wrought of tre ful wele.—

In schip he ded it lede, &c. — — — —

His pele from that dai forward he cald it *Mate-griffon*.

Pele is a house. Archbishop Turpin mentions Charlemagne's wooden castles at the siege of a city in France. cap. ix.

^a See Carpentier's Suppl. Du Cange,

Lat. Gl. tom. i. p. 434. And Du Cange ad Ann. Alex. p. 357.

^b Engines.

ⁱ See sup. p. 157. It is observable, that MANGANUM, *Mangoroll*, was not known among the Roman military machines, but existed first in Byzantine Greek *Μανγανον*, a circumstance which seems to point out its inventors, at least to shew that it belonged to the oriental art of war. It occurs often in the Byzantine Tactics, although at the same time it was perhaps derived from the Latin *Machina*: yet the Romans do not appear to have used in their wars so formidable and complicated an engine, as this is described to have been in the writers of the dark ages. It was the capital machine of the wars of those ages. Du Cange in his CONSTANTINOPOLIS CHRISTIANA mentions a vast edifice at Constantinople in which the machines of war were kept. p. 155.

^k See sup. p. 154.

^l Mill.

Fouré

Foure fayles were therto all newe
 Yelow and grene rede and blewe,
 With canvas i layde all aboute
 Full costly within and withoute,
 And all within ful of fyre
 Of torches made of wexe clere,
 Overth wart and endlonge,
 With spryngelles ^m of fyre they dyde honde,
 Grounde they neyther corne ne good,
 But robbed as thei were wood;
 Out of their eyen cam rede blode ⁿ :
 Before the trough one ther stode
 That all in blode was begone
 Such another was never none
 And hornes he had upon his hede
 The Sarafyns of hym had grete drede ^o.

^m Espringalles, Fr. engines. See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. SPINGARDA, QUADREL-LUS. And Not. Joinv. p. 78. Perhaps he means pellets of tow dipped in the Grecian fire, which sometimes were thrown from a sort of mortar. Joinville says, that the Greek fire thrown from a mortar looked like a huge dragon flying through the air, and that at midnight the flashes of it illuminated the christian camp, as if it had been broad day. When Louis's army was encamped on the banks of the Thanis in Ægypt, says the same curious historian, about the year 1249, they erected two *chats chatels*, or covered galleries, to shelter their workmen, and at the end of them two *lifrois*, or vast moveable wooden towers, full of cross-bow men who kept a continual discharge on the opposite shore. Besides eighteen other new-invented engines for throwing stones and bolts. But in one night, the deluge of Greek fire ejected from the Saracen camp utterly destroyed these enormous machines. This was a common disaster; but Joinville says, that his pious monarch sometimes averted the danger, by prostrating himself on the ground,

and invoking our Saviour with the appellation of *Beau Sire*. p. 37. 39.

ⁿ This device is thus related by Robert of Brunne, chron. p. 175. 176.

Richard als fuithe did raise his engyns
 The Inglis wer than blythe, Normans and
 Peteuvyns:

In bargeis and galeis he fet mylnes to go,
 The failes, as men fais, som were blak
 and blo,

Som were rede and grene, the wynde about
 them blewe.—

The stones were of Rynes, the noyse dread-
 full and grete

It affraied the Sarazins, as leven the fyre
 out schete.

The noyse was unride, &c.

Rynes is the river Rhine, whose shores or bottom supplied the stones shot from their military engines. The Normans, a barbarous people, appear to have used machines of immense and very artificial construction at the siege of Paris in 885. See the last note. And Vit. Saladin. per Schulteis, p. 135. 141. 167, &c.

^o Sign. ut supr.

The

The last circumstance recalls a fiend-like appearance drawn by Shakespeare; in which, exclusive of the application, he has converted ideas of deformity into the true sublime, and rendered an image terrible, which in other hands would have probably been ridiculous.

----- Methought his eyes
 Were two full moons, he had a thousand noses,
 Horns wheel'd and wav'd like the enridged sea.
 It was some fiend ^p.-----

At the touch of this powerful magician, to speak in Milton's language, "The griesly terror grows tenfold more dreadful
 "and deform."

The moving castles described by our minstrell, which seem to be so many fabrics of romance, but are founded in real history, afforded suitable materials for poets who deal in the marvellous. Accordingly they could not escape the fabling genius of Tasso, who has made them instruments of enchantment, and accommodated them, with great propriety, to the operations of infernal spirits.

At the siege of Babylon, the foldan Saladin sends king Richard a horse. The messenger says,

"Thou sayst thy God is full of myght:
 "Wilt thou graunte with spere and shelde,
 "To detryve the ryght in the felde,
 "With helme, hauberke, and brondes bryght,
 "On stronge stedes gode and lyght,
 "Whether ben of more power,
 "Thy God almight or Jupyter?
 "And he sent me to saye this
 "Yf thou wylt have an hors of his,

^p King Lear, iv. vi.

" In all the londes that thou haft gone
 " Suche ne thou sawest never none :
 " Favell of Sypres, ne Lyard of Prys¹,
 " Ben not at ned as he ys ;
 " And yf thou wylte, this same daye,
 " He shall be brought the to assaye."
 Rycharde answered, " thou sayest well
 " Suche an horse, by faynt Myghell,
 " I wolde have to ryde upon.----
 " Bydde hym fende that hors to me,
 " And I shall assaye what they be,
 " Yf he be trusti, withoute fayle,
 " I kepe none other to me in batayle."
 The messengers tho home wente,
 And told the fowdan in presente,
 That Rycharde in the felde wolde come hym unto :
 The ryche fowdan bade to com hym unto
 A noble clerke that coulede wel conjoure,
 That was a mayster nygromansfoure²;
 He commaunded, as I you telle,
 Thorough the fende's myght of helle,
 Two strong fendes of the ayre
 In lykenes of two stedes fayre

¹ Horses belonging to Richard, " Favel
 " of Cyprus and Lyard of Paris." Ro-
 bert de Brunne mentions one of these
 horses, which he calls PHANUEL. Chron.
 p. 175.

Sithen at Japhet was slayn PHANUEL his
 stede,
 The Romans telles gret pas ther of his
 douhty dede.

This is our romance, viz. Sign. Q. iii.

To hym gadered every chone
 And slewe FAVELL under hym,
 Tho was Richard wroth and grym.

This was at the siege of Jaffe, as it is here
 called. *Favell* of Cyprus is again men-
 tioned, Sign. O. ii.

FAVELL of Cyprus is forth fet
 And in the sadell he hym sett.

Robert of Brunne says that Saladin's bro-
 ther sent king Richard a horse. Chron. p.
 194.

He sent to king Richard a stede for curteisie
 On of the best reward that was in paemic.

² Necromancer.

Both lyke in hewe and here,
 As men fayd that ther were:
 No man fawe never none fyche
 That was one was a mare iliche,
 That other a colte, a noble ftede,
 Where that he wer in ony mede,
 (Were the knyght ^s never so bolde,)
 Whan the mare nye ^t wolde,
 (That hym sholde holde ayenst his wyll,)
 But soone he wolde go her tylle ^u,
 And kneel downe and fouke ^w his dame,
 Therewhyle the fowdan with shame
 Sholde kynge Rychard quelle,
 All this an aungell gan him telle,
 That to hym came aboute mydnyght,
 "Awake, he fayd, goddis knyght:
 "My lorde ^x doth the to onderfonde
 "That the shal com on hors to londe,
 "Fayre it is, of body ipyght,
 "To betray the if the fowdan myght;
 "On hym to ryde have thou no drede
 "For he the helpe shal at nede."

The angel then gives king Richard several directions about managing this infernal horse, and a general engagement ensuing, between the Christian and Saracen armies,^y

He lepte on hors whan it was lyght;
 Or he in his fadel did lepe

^s His Rider. ^t Neigh. ^u Go to her.

^w Suck. ^x God.

^y In which the Saracen line extended twelve miles in length, and

The ground might unmethe be fene
 For bryght armure and speres kene.

Again,

Lyke as snowe lyeth on the mountaynes
 So were fulfilled hylles and playnes
 With hauberkes bryght and harneys clere
 Of trompettes, and tabourere.

Of many thynges he toke kepe.---
 His men brought hem that he bad,
 A square tree of fourty fete,
 Before his sadell anone he it sete
 Faste that they shoud it braise, &c.
 Hymself was richely begone,
 From the creste ryght to the tone ^z,
 He was covered wonderfly wele
 All with splentes of good stele,
 And ther above an hauberke.
 A shafte he had of trusty werke,
 Upon his shoulders a shelde of stele,
 With the lybardes ^a painted wele;
 And helme he had of ryche entayle,
 Trusty and trewe was his ventayle:
 Upon his creste a dove whyte
 Sygnyfycaune of the holy sprite,
 Upon a crofs the dove stode
 Of gold iwroght ryche and gode,
 God ^b hymself Mary and Johon
 As he was done the rode upon ^c,
 In sygnyfycaunce for whom he faught,
 The spere hed forgot he nauht,
 Upon his shaft he wolde it have
 Goddis name theron was grave,
 Now herken what othe he fware,
 Or thay to the battayle went there:
 " Yf it were so, that Rycharde myght
 " Slee the fowdan in felde with fyght,
 " At our wyлле everychone
 " He and his shold gone

^z From head to foot.

^a Leopards.

^b Our Saviour.

^c " As he died upon the crofs." So in

an old fragment cited by Hearne, Gloss.

Rob. Br. p. 634.

Pyned under Ponce Pilat,

Don on the rod after that.

" In to the cyte of Babylone ;
 " And the kyng of Mafydoyne
 " He sholde have under his honde ;
 " And yf the fowdan of that londe
 " Myght flee Rycharde in the felde
 " With swerde or spere under shelde,
 " That Cryften men sholde go
 " Out of that londe for ever mo,
 " And the Sarasyns theyr wyll in wolde."
 Quod kyng Rycharde, " Therto I holde,
 " Therto my glove, as I am knyght."
 They be armyd and redy dyght :
 Kyng Rycharde to his fadell dyde lepe,
 Certes, who that wolde take kepe
 To se that fyght it were fayre ;
 Ther stedes ranne with grete ayre ^d,
 Al so hard as thei myght dyre ^e,
 After theyr fete sprange out fyre :
 Tabours and trompettes gan blowe :
 Ther men myght se in a throwe
 How kyng Rycharde that noble man
 Encountred with the fowdan,
 The chefe was tolde of Damas ^f ;
 His truste upon his mare was,
 And tharfor, as the boke us telles ^g,
 Hys crouper henge full of belles ^h,

^d Ire.^e Dare.

^f I do not understand this. He seems to mean the Sultan of Damas, or Damascus. See Du Cange, *Joinv.* p. 87.

^g The French romance.

^h Antiently no person seems to have been gallantly equipped on horseback, unless the horse's bridle or some other part of the furniture, was stuck full of small bells. Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about 1264, censures this piece of pride in the knights' templars. They have, he says, bridles em-

broidered, or gilded, or adorned with silver, " *Atque in pectoralibus CAMPANULAS* " *INFIXAS MAGNUM emittentes SONI-* " *TUM, ad gloriam eorum et decorem.*" *Hist. lib. xxx. cap. 85.* Wicliffe, in his *TRI-ALOGUE*, inveighs against the priests for their " fair hors, and jolly and gay fadeles, and " *bridles ringing by the way, &c.*" Lewis's *WICKLIFFE*, p. 121. And hence Chaucer may be illustrated, who thus describes the state of a monk on horseback. *Prol. Cant.* v. 170.

And his peytrell^l and hys arfowne^k
 Thre myle men myght here the fowne.
 His mare nyghed, his belles dyd ryng,
 For grete pryde, withoute lesyng,
 A faucon brode^l in honde he bare,
 For he thoght he wolde thare
 Have slayne Rycharde with treafowne
 Whan his colte sholde knele downe
 As a colte sholde fouk his dame,
 And he was ware of that shame,
 His eres^m with waxe were stopped faste,
 Therefore Rycharde was not agaste,
 He stroke the stede that under hym wente,
 And gave the Sowdan his deth with a dente:
 In his shelde verament
 Was paynted a serpent,
 Wyth the spere that Rycharde helde
 He bare hym thorugh under hys shelde,
 Non of hys armure myght hym laste,
 Brydell and peytrell al to braste,
 Hys gyrthes and hys steropes also
 Hys mare to grounde wente tho;
 Maugre her heed, he made her feche
 The grounde, withoute more speche,
 Hys feete towarde the fyrmament,
 Bihynde hym the spere outwent
 Ther he fell dede on the grene,
 Rycharde smote the fende with sporesⁿ kene,

And when he rode, men might his bridell
 here

GINGLING in a whistling wind as clere,
 And eke as lowde, as doth the chapell bell.

That is, because his horse's bridle or trap-
 pings were strung with bells.

^l The breast-plate, or breast-band of a
 horse. *Poitral*, Fr. *Peçtorale*, Lat. Thus

Chaucer of the Chanon YEMAN's horse.
 Chan. Yon. Prol. v. 575. Urr.

About the PAYNTRELL stode the some
 ful hie.

^k The saddle-bow. "*Arcenarium* exten-
 " *cellatum cum argento*," occurs in the
 wardrobe rolls, ab an. 21 ad an. 23 Edw.
 iii. Membr. xi. This word is not in Du
 Cange or his supplement.

^l F. bird. ^m Ears. ⁿ Spurs.

And

And yn the name of the holi goost
 He dryveth ynto the hethen hooft,
 And as sone as he was come,
 Afonder he brake the sheltron °,
 And al that ever afore hym stode,
 Hors and man to the grounde yode,
 Twenti fote on either fyde, &c.
 Whan the kyng of Fraunce and hys men wyfte
 That the mastry had the Crysten,
 They waxed bold, and gode herte toke
 Stedes bestrode, and shaftes shoke °.

Richard arming himself is a curious Gothic picture. It is certainly a genuine picture, and drawn with some spirit; as is the shock of the two necromantic steeds, and other parts of this description. The combat of Richard and the Soldan, on the event of which the christian army got possession of the city of Babylon, is probably the DUEL OF KING RICHARD, painted on the walls of a chamber in the royal palace of Clarendon⁹. The soldan is represented as meeting Richard with a hawk on his fist, to shew indifference, or a contempt of his adversary; and that he came rather prepared for the chace, than the combat. Indeed in the feudal times, and long afterwards, no gentleman appeared on horseback, unless going to battle, without a hawk on his fist. In the *Tapestry of the Norman conquest*, Harold is exhibited on horseback, with a hawk on his fist, and his dogs running before him, going on an embassy from king Edward the Confessor to William Duke of Normandy¹.

⁹ *Schiltren*. I believe soldiers drawn up in a circle. Rob. de Brunne uses it in describing the battle of Fowkirke, Chron. p. 305.

Thar SCHILTREN sone was shad with
 loghis that wer gode.

Schad: *separated*.

¹ Signat. M. ii. ⁹ See supr. p. 114.

¹ The hawk on the fist was a mark of great nobility. We frequently find it, upon antique seals and miniatures, attributed to persons of both sexes. So sacred was this bird esteemed, that it was forbidden in a code of Charlemagne's laws, for any one to give his hawk or his sword as
 part

Tabour, a drum, a common accompaniment of war, is mentioned as one of the instruments of martial music in this battle with characteristic propriety. It was imported into the European armies from the Saracens in the holy war. The word is constantly written *tabour*, not *tambour*, in Joinville's HISTORY OF SAINT LOUIS, and all the elder French romances. Joinville describes a superb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief, which he says was filled with cymbals, *tabours*, and Saracen horns^s. Jean d'Orronville, an old French chronicler of the life of Louis duke of Bourbon, relates, that the king of France, the king of Thrasimere, and the king of Bugie landed in Africa, according to their custom, with cymbals, kettle drums, *tabours*^t, and whistles^u. Babylon, here said to be besieged by king Richard, and so frequently mentioned by the romance writers and the chroniclers of the crusades, is Cairo or Bagdat. Cairo and Bagdat, cities of recent foundation, were perpetually confounded with Babylon, which had been destroyed many centuries before, and was situated at a considerable distance from either. Not the least enquiry was made in the dark ages concerning the true situation of places, or the disposition of the country in Palestine, although the theatre of so im-

part of his ransom. "*In compositionem Wirigildi volumus ut ea dentur que in lege continentur excepto accipitre et spatha.*" Lindebrog. Cod. Leg. Antiq. p. 895. In the year 1337, the bishop of Ely excommunicated certain persons for stealing a hawk, sitting on her perch, in the cloisters of the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark. This piece of sacrilege, indeed, was committed during service-time in the choir: and the hawk was the property of the bishop. Registr. Adami Orleton, Episc. Winton. fol. 56. b. In Archiv. Winton. In DOMESDEI-BOOK, a Hawk's Airy, *Ara Accipitris*, is sometimes returned among the most valuable articles of property.

^s Histo. de S. Loys, p. 30. The original has "*Cors Sarazinois.*" See also p. 52. 56. And Du Cange's Notes, p. 61.

^t I cannot find *Glais*, the word that follows, in the French dictionaries. But perhaps it answers to our old English *Glee*. See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. V. CLASSICUM..

^u Cap. 76. *Nacaires*, is here the word for kettle-drums. See Du Cange, ubi supr. p. 59. Who also from an old roll *de la chambre des COMPTES de Paris* recites, among the household musicians of a French nobleman, "*Menestrel du Cor Sarazinois,*" ib. p. 60. This instrument is not uncommon in the French romances.

portant

portant a war; and to this neglect were owing, in a great measure, the signal defeats and calamitous distresses of the christian adventurers, whose numerous armies, destitute of information, and cut off from every resource, perished amidst unknown mountains, and impracticable wastes. Geography at this time had been but little cultivated. It had been studied only from the antients: as if the face of the earth, and the political state of nations, had not, since the time of those writers, undergone any changes or revolutions.

So formidable a champion was king Richard against the infidels, and so terrible the remembrance of his valour in the holy war, that the Saracens and Turks used to quiet their froward children only by repeating his name. Joinville is the only writer who records this anecdote. He adds another of the same sort. When the Saracens were riding, and their horses started at any unusual object, "*ils disoient a leurs chevaux en les picquent de l'esperon, et 'cuides tu que ce soit le ROY RICHART'?*" It is extraordinary, that these circumstances should have escaped Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Benedict, Langtoft, and the rest of our old historians, who have exaggerated the character of this redoubted hero, by relating many particulars more likely to be fabulous, and certainly less expressive of his prowess.

^w Hist. de S. Louis, p. 16. 104. Who had it from a French manuscript chronicle

of the holy war. See Du Cange's Notes, p. 45.

S E C T. V.

THE romance of SIR GUY, which is enumerated by Chaucer among the "Romances of pris," affords the following fiction, not uncommon indeed in pieces of this sort, concerning the redemption of a knight from a long captivity, whose prison was inaccessible, unknown, and enchanted *. His name is Amis of the Mountaine.

Here befyde an Elfish knyhte^b
Has taken my lorde in fyghte,
And hath him ledde with him away
In the Fayry^c, Syr, permafay.
Was Amis, quoth Heraude, your hufbond?
A doughtyer knygte was none in londe.
Then tolde Heraude to Raynborne,
How he loved his father Guyon:
'Then fayd Raynburne, for thy fake,
To morrow I fhall the way take,
And nevermore come agayne,
Tyll I bring Amys of the Mountayne.

* The Romance of Sir Guy is a considerable volume in quarto. My edition is without date, "Imprinted at London in "Lothburye by Wylliam Copland." with rude wooden cuts. It runs to Sign. S. ii. It seems to be older than the *Squyr of lowe degree*, in which it is quoted. Sign. a. iii.

Or els so bolde in chivalrie
As was fyr Gawayne or fyr GIE.

The two best manuscripts of this romance are at Cambridge, MSS. Bibl. Publ. Mor. 690. 33. And MSS. Coll. Caii, A. 8.

^b In Chaucer's Tale of the *Chanon Ye-*

man, chemistry is termed an ELFISH art, that is, taught or conducted by Spirits. This is an Arabian idea. Chan. Yem. T. p. 122. v. 772. Urry's edit.

Whan we be ther as we shall exercise
Our ELVISHE craft. - - - -

Again, *ibid.* v. 863.

Though he sit at his boke both daie and
night,
In lerning of this ELVISH nicè lore.

^c "Into the land of Fairy, into the
"region of Spirits."

Z

Raynborne

Raynborne rose on the morrow erly,
 And armed hym full richely.—
 Raynborne rode tyll it was noone,
 Tyll he came to a rocke of stone;
 Ther he founde a strong gate,
 He blissed hym, and rode in thereat,
 He rode half a myle the waie,
 He saw no light that came of daie;
 Then cam he to a watir brode,
 Never man ovir fuche a one rode.
 Within he sawe a place greene
 Suche one had he never erst seene.
 Within that place there was a pallaice,
 Closed with walles of heathenesse^d:
 The walles thereof were of cristall,
 And the sommers of corall.
 Raynborne had grete dout to passe,
 The watir so depe and brode was:
 And at the laste his steede leepe
 Into the brode watir deepe.
 Thyrti fadom he sanke adowne,
 Then cleped^e he to god Raynborne.
 God hym help, his steede was goode,
 And bure hym ovir that hydious floode.
 To the pallaice he yode^f anone,
 And lyghted downe of his steede full soone.

^d “ Walls built by the Pagans or Saracens. Walls built by magic.” Chaucer, in a verse taken from *Syr Beveys*, [Sign. a. ii.] says that his knight had travelled,

As well in Christendom as in HETHNESS.

Prol. p. 2. v. 49. And in *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, Sign. E. ii.

Eglamour sayd to hym yeys,
 I am come out of HETHENES.

Syr Beveys of Hamptoun. Sign. b. iii.

They found shippes more and lesse
 Of panimes and of *bethevesse*.

Also, Sign. C. i.

The first dede withouten lesse
 That Beveys dyd in *bethevesse*.

^e Called.

^f Went.

Through

Through many a chamber yede Raynborne,
 A knyghte he found in dongeon.
 Raynborne grete hym as a knyght courtoise,
 Who oweth, he said, this fayrè Pallaice?
 That knyght answered hym, yt is noght,
 He oweth it that me hither broght.
 Thou art, quod Raynborne, in feeble plight,
 Tell me thy name, he sayd, fyr knight:
 That knyghte sayd to hym agayne,
 My name is Amys of the Mountayne.
 The lord is an Elvish man
 That me into thys pryson wan.
 Arte thou Amys, than sayde Raynborne,
 Of the Mountaynes the bold barrone?
 In grete perill I have gone,
 To seke thee in this rocke of stone.
 But blissed be God now have I thee
 Thou shalt go home with me.
 Let be, sayd Amys of the Mountayne,
 Great wonder I have of thee certayne;
 How that thou hythur wan:
 For fyth this world fyrst began
 No man hyther come ne myghte,
 Without leave of the Elvish knyghte.
 Me with thee thou mayest not lede, &c.*

Afterwards, the knight of the mountain directs Raynborne to find a wonderful sword which hung in the hall of the palace. With this weapon Raynborne attacks and conquers the Elvish knight; who buys his life, on condition of conducting his conqueror over the perillous ford, or lake, above described, and of delivering all the captives confined in his secret and impregnable dungeon.

* Sign. K k. iii. seq.

Guyon's expedition into the Souldan's camp, an idea furnished by the crusades, is drawn with great strength and simplicity.

Guy asked his armes anone,
 Hofen of yron Guy did upon :
 In hys hawberke Guy hym clad,
 He drad no stroke whyle he it had.
 Upon hys head hys helme he cast,
 And hasted hym to ryde full fast.
 A fyrle^b of gold thereon stoode,
 The emperarour had none so goode;
 Aboute the fyrle for the nones
 Were sett many precyous stones.
 Above he had a coate armour wyde ;
 Hys sword he toke by hys syde :
 And lept upon his stede anone,
 Styrope with foote touched he none.
 Guy rode forth without boste,
 Alone to the Soudan's hofte :
 Guy saw all that countrie
 Full of tentes and pavylyons bee :
 On the pavylyon of the Soudone
 Stoode a carbuncle-stone :
 Guy wist therebie it was the Soudones
 And drew hym thyther for the nones,
 Alt the meeteⁱ he founde the Soudone,
 And hys barrons everychone,
 And tenne kynges aboute hym,
 All they were stout and grymme :
 Guy rode forth, and spake no worde,
 Tyll he cam to the Soudan's borde^k ;

^b Circle.

ⁱ At dinner.

^k Table. Chaucer, Squ. T. 105.

And up he rideth to the hie borde.

Chaucer says that his knight had often

" *began the bord* abovin all nations." Prol. 52. The term of chivalry, *to begin the board*, is to be placed in the uppermost seat of the hall. *Antis. Ord. Gart. i. App. p. xv.* "The earl of Surry *began the borde* " in

He ne rought ¹ with whom he mette,
 But on thys wyse the Soudan he grette.
 " God's curse have thou and thyne
 " And tho that leve ^m on Apoline."
 Than sayd the Soudan, " What art thou
 " That thus prowldie speakest now ?
 " Yet found I never man certayne
 " That fuche wordes durst me sayne."
 Guy sayd, " So God me save from hell,
 " My ryght nam I shall the tell,
 " Guy of Warwicke my name is."
 Than sayd the Sowdan ywis,
 " Arte thou the bolde knyght Guyon,
 " That art here in my pavylyon ?
 " Thou fluest my cofyn Coldran
 " Of all Sarafyns the boldest man, &c^a.

" in presence : the earl of Arundel washed
 " with him, and satt both at the first messe.
 " . . . *Began the borde* at the chamber's
 " end." i. e. sat at the head of that table
 which was at the end of the chamber. This
 was at Windsor, A. D. 1519. In *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, we have to *begin the dese*,
 which is the same thing.

Lordes in halle wer sette
 And waytes blewe to the mete.—
 The two knyghtes the *dese* began.

Sign. D iii. See Chaucer, Squ. T. 99.
 And Kn. T. 2002. In a celebration of
 the feast of Christmas at Greenwich, in the
 year 1488, we have, " The duc of Bede-
 " ford *beganne the table* on the right side of
 " the hall, and next untoo hym was the
 " lorde Dawbeneye, &c." That is, *He*
sate at the head of the table. Leland. Coll.
 iii. 237. edit. 1770. To begin the *bourd*
 is to begin the *tournement*. Lydgate, Chron.
 Troy, B. ii. ch. 14.

The grete justes, *bordes*, or *tournay*.

I will here take occasion to correct Hearne's
 explanation of the word *Bourder* in Brunne's
 Chron. p. 204.

A knygt a *BOURDOUR* king Richard hade
 A douty man in stoure his name was
 Markade.

BOURDOUR, says Hearne, is *boarder*, pen-
 sioner. But the true meaning is, a *Wag*, an
 arch fellow, for he is here introduced put-
 ting a joke on the king of France. *BOURDE*
 is *jest*, *trick*, from the French. See above,
 p. 70. Chauc. Gam. 1974. and Non. Urr.
 2294. Knyghton, mentions a favourite
 in the court of England who could procure
 any grant from the king *burdando*. Du
 Cange Not. Joinv. p. 116. Who adds,
 " De là vient le mot de *Bourdeurs* qui es-
 " toient ces farceurs ou plaisantins qui di-
 " vertissoient les princes par le recit des
 " fables et des histoires des Romans.—
 " Aucuns estiment que ce mot vient des *be-*
 " *bourds* qui estoit une espece des Tour-
 " nois." See also Diff. Joinv. p. 174.
¹ Cared, valued. Chaucer, Rom. R.
 1873.

I ne rought of deth ne of life.

^m Those who believe.

^a Sign. Q. iii.

I will

I will add Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrond, as it is touched with great spirit, and may serve to illustrate some preceding hints concerning this part of our hero's history.

Then came Colbronde forthe anone,
 On foote, for horse could bare hym none.
 For when he was in armure dight
 Fower horse ne bare hym might.
 A man had ynough to done
 To bere hym hys wepon.
 Then Guy rode to Colbronde,
 On hys stede ful wele rennende °:
 Colbronde smote Guy in the fiede
 In the middest of Syr Guyes shelde;
 Through Guyes hawberk that stroke went
 And for no maner thyng it withstent °.
 In two yt share ° Guyes stedes body
 And fell to ground hastily.
 Guy upstert as an eger lyoune,
 And drue hys gode sworde browne:
 To Colbronde he let it flye,
 But he might not reche so hye.
 On hys shoulder the stroke fell downe
 Through all hys armure share Guyon °.
 Into the bodie a wounde untyde
 That the red blude gan oute glyde.
 Colbronde was wroth of that rap,
 He thought to give Guy a knap.
 He smote Guy on the helme bryght
 That out sprang the fyre lyght.
 Guy smote Colbronde agayne,
 Through shielde and armure certayne.

° Running.

° " Nothing could stop it."

° Divided.

° " Guy cut through all the giant's armour."

He made his fwerde for to glyde
Into his bodie a wound ryht wyde.
So smart came Guyes bronde
That it brafte in hys hond.

The romance of the SQUIRE OF LOW DEGREE, who loved the king's daughter of Hungary³, is alluded to by Chaucer in *the Rime of Sir Topas*⁴. The princess is thus represented in her closet, adorned with painted glass, listening to the squire's complaint⁵.

That ladi herde hys mournyng alle,
Ryght undir the chambre walle:
In her oryall⁶ there she was,
Clofyd well with royall glas,
Fulfyllyd yt was with ymagery,
Every windowe by and by
On eche fyde had ther a gynne,
Sperde⁷ with manie a dyvers pynne.
Anone that ladie fayre and fre
Undyd a pynne of yvere,
And wyd the wyndowes she open fet,
The funne shonne yn at hir closet.
In that arbre fayre and gaye
She saw where that sqyure lay, &c.

³ It contains thirty-eight pages in quarto.
"Imprinted at London by me Wylliam
"Copland." I have never seen it in manuscript.

⁴ See Observations on the Fairy Queen,
i. §. iv. p. 139.

⁵ Sign. a. iii.

⁶ An Oriol seems to have been a recess in a chamber, or hall, formed by the projection of a spacious bow-window from top to bottom. Rot. Pip. an. 18. Hen. iii. [A. D. 1234.] "Et in quadam capella pulchra
"et decenti facienda ad caput Orioli camere

"regis in castro Herefordie, de longitudine
"xx. pedum." This Oriol was at the end of the king's chamber, from which the new chapel was to be built. Again, in the castle of Kenilworth. Rot. Pip. an. 19. Hen. iii. [A. D. 1235.] "Et in uno magno Oriollo
"pulchro et competenti, ante ostium magne
"camere regis in castro de Kenilworth faci-
"ciendo, vii. xvi. iv. d. per Brev. regis."
⁷ Cf. also that. In P. Plowman, of a blind man, "unghard his eyne." i. e. opened his eyes.

I am persuaded to transcribe the following passage, because it delineates in lively colours the fashionable diversions and usages of antient times. The king of Hungary endeavours to comfort his daughter with these promises, after she had fallen into a deep and incurable melancholy from the supposed loss of her paramour.

To morow ye shall yn huntynge fare;
And yede, my doughter, yn a chare,
Yt shal be coverd wyth velvette reede
And clothes of fyne golde al about your heede,
With damaske whyte and asure blewe
Well dyaperd ^y with lyllyes newe :

^y Embroidered, Diversified. Chaucer of a bow, Rom. R. v. 934.

And it was painted wel and thwitten
And ore all *diapred*, and written, &c.

Thwitten is, *twisted, wreathed*. The following instance from Chaucer is more to our purpose. Knight's Tale, v. 2160.

Upon a stede bay, trappid in stele,
Coverid with cloth of gold *diaprid* welc.

This term, which is partly heraldic, occurs in the Provisor's rolls of the Great-wardrobe, containing deliveries for furnishing rich habiliments, at tilts and tournaments, and other ceremonies. "Et ad faciendum tria harnesia pro Rege, quorum duo de velveto albo operato cum garteriis de blu et *diaprez* per totam campedinem cum wodehoufes." Ex Comp. J. Coke clerici, Provisor. Magn. Garderob. ab ann. xxi. Edw. iii. de 23 membranis. ad ann. xxiii. memb. x. I believe it properly signifies embroidering on a rich ground, as tissue, cloth of gold, &c. This is confirmed by Peacham. "*DIA-PERING* is a term in drawing.—It chiefly serveth to counterfeit cloth of gold, silver, damask, brancht velvet, camblet, &c." Compl. Gent. p. 345. Anderson, in his History of Commerce, conjectures, that *Diaper*, a species of printed linen, took it's name from the city of Ypres in

Flanders, where it was first made, being originally called *d'ipre*. But that city, and others in Flanders, were no less famous for rich manufactures of stuff; and the word in question has better pretensions to such a derivation. Thus *rich cloth embroidered with raised work* we called *d'ipre*, and from thence *diaper*; and to do this, or any work like it, was called to *diaper*, from whence the participle. *Sattin of Bruges*, another city of Flanders, often occurs in inventories of monastic vestments, in the reign of Henry the eighth: and the cities of Arras and Tours are celebrated for their tapestry in Spenser. All these cities and others in their neighbourhood, became famous for this sort of workmanship before 1200. The *Armator* of Edward the third, who finishes all the costly apparatus for the shews above-mentioned, consisting, among other things, of variety of the most sumptuous and ornamented embroideries on velvet, sattin, tissue, &c. is John of Cologn. Unless it be Colonia in Italy. Rotul. prædict. memb. viii. memb. xiii. "*Quæ omnia ordinata fuerunt per garderobarium com-petentem, de precepto ipsius Regis: et facta et parata par manus Johis de Colonia, Armatoris ipsius domini nostri Regis.*" Johannes de Strawesburgh [Strasbourg] is mentioned as *braudier regis*, i. e. of Richard the second, in Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. 55. See also, ii. 42. I will add

Your pomelles shalbe ended with golde,
 Your chaynes enameled many a folde.
 Your mantell of ryche degre
 Purple palle and armyne fre.
 Jennets of Spayne that ben so wyght
 Trapped to the ground with velvet bryght.
 Ye shal have harpe, fautry, and songe,
 And other myrthes you amonge,
 Ye shal have rumney, and malespine,
 Both ypocrasse and vernage wyne;
 Mountrese and wyne of Greke,
 Both algrade and despice eke;
 Antioche and bastarde,
 Pymment^z also, and garnarde;

add a passage from Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, v. 450.

Of cloth-making she had such a haunt,
 She passid them of *Ipre* and of *Gaunt*.

"Cloth of Gaunt," i. e. Ghent, is mentioned in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 574. Bruges was the chief mart for Italian commodities, about the thirteenth century. In the year 1318, five Venetian galleasses, laden with Indian goods, arrived at this city in order to dispose of their cargoes at the fair. L. Guic. Descr. di Paesi bassi. p. 174. Silk manufactures were introduced from the east into Italy, before 1130. Gianon. Hist. Napl. xi. 7. The crusades much improved the commerce of the Italian states with the east in this article, and produced new artificers of their own. But to recur to the subject of this note. *Diaper* occurs among the rich silks and stuffs in the French *Roman de la Rose*, where it seems to signify *Damask*. v. 21867.

Samites, *dyaprés*, camelots.

I find it likewise in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, written about 1200. MSS. Bodl. fol. i. b. col. 2.

Dyapres d'Antioch, samis de Romanie.

Here is also a proof that the Asiatic stuffs were at that time famous: and probably *Romanie* is Romania. The word often occurs in old accounts of rich ecclesiastical vestments. Du Cange derives this word from the Italian *diaspro*, a jasper, a precious stone which shifts its colours. V. DIASPRUS. In Dugdale's *Monasticon* we have *diasperatus*, diapered. "Sandalia cum caligis de rubeo fameto DIASPERATO breu-
 "data cum imaginibus regum." tom. iii. 314. And 321.

^z Sometimes written *pimeate*. In the romance of *Syr Beuys*, a knight just going to repose, takes the usual draught of *pimeate*: which mixed with spices is what the French romances call *vin du coucher*, and for which an officer, called *ESPICIER*, was appointed in the old royal household of France. Signat. m. iii.

The knight and she to chamber went:—
 With *pimeate*, and with spifery,
 When they had dronken the wyne.

See Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du Cange, tom. iii. p. 842. So Chaucer, *Leg. Dido*, v. 185.

The spicis parted, and the wine agon,
 Unto his chamber he is lad anon.

Wine of Greke, and muscadell,
 Both clare, pyment, and rochell,
 The reed your stomake to defye
 And pottes of ofey sett you bye.
 You shall have venyson ybake^a,
 The best wyld fowle that may be take:
 A lefe of harehound^b with you to streke,
 And hart, and hynde, and other lyke,
 Ye shalbe fet at such a tryft
 That hart and hynde shall come to you fyft.
 Your defease to dryve ye fro,
 To here the bugles there yblowe.

Froissart says, among the delights of his youth, that he was happy to taste,

—Au couchier, pour mieulx dormir,
 Espees, claret, et rocelle.

Mem. Lit. x. 665. Not. 4to. Lidgate of Tideus and Polimite in the palace of Adraftus at Thebes. Stor. Theb. p. 634. ed. Chauc. 1687.

—Gan anon repaire
 To her lodging in a ful stately toure;
 Assigned to hem by the herbeieur.
 And aftir spicis plenty and the wine
 In cuppis grete wrought of gold ful fyne,
 Without tarrying to bedde straighes they
 gone, &c.

Chaucer has it again, Squ. T. v. 311. p. 62. Urr. And Mill. T. v. 270. p. 26.

He sent her *piment*, methé, and spicid ale.

Some orders of monks are enjoined to abstain from drinking *pigmentum*, or *piment*. Yet it was a common refection in the monasteries. It is a drink made of wine, honey, and spices. "Thei ne could not medell the geste of Bacchus to the clere honie; that is to say, they could not make ne *piment* ne clere." Chaucer's Boeth. p. 371. a. Urr. *Clarre* is clarified wine. In French *Clarey*. Perhaps the same as *piment*, or *hypocras*. See Mem. Lit.

viii. p. 674. 4to. Compare Chauc. Sh. T. v. 2579. Urr. Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. V. *PIGMENTUM. SPECIES*. And Suppl. Carp. And Mem. sur l'anc. Chevalier. i. p. 19. 48. I must add, that *πικμενταριος*, or *πικμενταριος*, signified an *Apothecary* among the middle and lower Greeks. See Du Cange, Gl. Gr. in Voc. i. 1167. And ii. Append. Etymolog. Vocab. Ling. Gall. p. 301. col. 1. In the register of the bishop of Nivernois, under the year 1287, it is covenanted, that whenever the bishop shall celebrate mass in S. Mary's abbey, the abbess shall present him with a peacock, and a cup of piment. Carpentier, ubi sup. vol. iii. p. 277.

^a Chaucer says of the Frankelein, Prol. p. 4. Urr. v. 345.

Withoutin *bake mete* never was his house.

And in this poem, Signat. B. iii.

With birds in *bread ybake*,
 The tele the duck and drake.

^b In a manuscript of Froissart full of paintings and illuminations, there is a representation of the grand entrance of queen Isabel of England into Paris, in the year 1324. She is attended by a greyhound who has a flag, powdered with *fleurs de lys*, bound to his neck. Montf. Monum. Fr. ii. p. 234.

Homward

Homward thus shall ye ryde,
 On haukyng by the ryvers fyde,
 With goshaue and with gentil fawcon
 With buglehorn and merlyon.
 When you come home your menie amonge,
 Ye shall have revell, daunces, and songe :
 Lytle chyldren, great and smale,
 Shall fyng as doth the nyghtyngale,
 Than shal ye go to your evenfong,
 With tenours and trebles among,
 Threscore of copes of damask bryght
 Full of perles they shalbe pyghte.—
 Your sensours shalbe of golde
 Endent with asure manie a folde :
 Your quere nor organ songe shal want
 With countre note and dyscaunt.
 The other halfe on orgayns playing,
 With yong chyldren ful fayn fyngyng.
 Than shal ye go to your suppere
 And fytt in tentis in grene arbere,
 With clothe of arras pyght to the grounde,
 With saphyres set of dyamounde.—
 A hundred knyghtes truly tolde
 Shall plaie with bowles in alayes colde.
 Your diseafe to dryve awaie,
 To se the fisshes yn poles plaie.
 To a drawe brydge then shal ye,
 Thone halfe of stone, thother of tre,
 A barge shal meet you full ryht,
 With xxiiii ores ful bryght,
 With trompettes and with claryowne,
 The freshe watir to rowe up and downe.
 Than shal you, doughter, aske the wyne
 Wyth spises that be gode and fyne :

Gentyll pottes, with genger grene,
 Wyth dates and deynties you betweene.
 Fortie torches brenynge bright
 At your brydges to bring you lyght.
 Into youre chambre they shall you brynge
 Wyth mucche myrthe and more lykyng.
 Your blankettes shal be of fustiane,
 Your shetes shal be of cloths of rayne ^c :
 Your head-shete shal be of pery pyght ^d,
 Wyth dyamondes fet and rubys bryght.
 Whan you are layd in bed so softe,
 A cage of golde shal hange aloft,
 Wythe longe peper fayre burning,
 And cloves that be swete smellyng,
 Frankinsense and olibanum,
 That whan ye slepe the taste may come
 And yf ye no rest can take
 All nyght mynstrels for you shall wake ^e.

SYR DEGORE is a romance perhaps belonging to the same period ^f. After his education under a hermit, Sir Degore's first adventure is against a dragon. This horrible monster is marked with the hand of a master ^g.

^c Cloath, or linen, of Rennes, a city in Britany. Chaucer, Dr. v. 255.

And many a pilowe, and every bere
Of clothe of raynes to slepe on softe,
 Him thare not nede to turnin ofte.

Tela de Rennes is mentioned among habits delivered to knights of the garter, 2 Rich. ii. Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. 55.

^d "Inlaid with jewels." Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 2938. p. 22. Urr.

And then with cloth of gold and with *perie*.
 And in numberless other places.

^e Sign. D. ii. seq. At the close of the romance it is said, that the king, in the midst of a great feast which lasted forty days, created the squire king in his room; in the presence of his TWELVE LORDS. See what I have observed concerning the number TWELVE, Introd. Diss. i.

^f It contains thirty-two pages in quarto. Coloph. "Thus endeth the Tretyse of "Syr Degore, imprinted by Willyam "Copland." There is another copy dated 1560. There is a manuscript of it among bishop More's at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 36. SYR DEGARE. ^g Sign. B. ii.

Degore went furth his waye,
 Through a forest half a daye :
 He herd no man, nor sawe none,
 Tyll yt past the hygh none,
 Then herde he grete strokes falle,
 That yt made grete noyse with alle,
 Full sone he thought that to fe,
 To wete what the strokes myght be :
 There was an erle, both stout and gaye,
 He was com ther that same daye,
 For to hunt for a dere or a do,
 But hys houndes were gone hym fro.
 Then was ther a dragon grete and grymme,
 Full of fyre and also venymme,
 Wyth a wyde throte and tuskys grete,
 Uppon that knyght fast gan he bete.
 And as a lyon then was hys feete,
 Hys tayle was long, and full unmeete :
 Betwene hys head and hys tayle
 Was xxii fote withouten fayle ;
 Hys body was lyke a wyne tonne,
 He shone ful bryght agaynst the sunne :
 Hys eyen were bright as any glasse,
 His scales were hard as any brasse ;
 And therto he was necked lyke a horse,
 He bare hys hed up wyth grete force :
 The breth of hys mouth that did out blow
 As yt had been a fyre on lowe.
 He was to loke on, as I you telle,
 As yt had bene a fiende of helle.
 Many a man he had shent,
 And many a horse he had rente.

As the minstrell profession became a science, and the audience grew more civilised, refinements began to be studied,

studied, and the romantic poet fought to gain new attention, and to recommend his story, by giving it the advantage of a plan. Most of the old metrical romances are, from their nature, supposed to be incoherent rhapsodies. Yet many of them have a regular integrity, in which every part contributes to produce an intended end. Through various obstacles and difficulties one point is kept in view, till the final and general catastrophe is brought about by a pleasing and unexpected surprise. As a specimen of the rest, and as it lies in a narrow compass, I will develop the plan of the fable now before us, which preserves at least a coincidence of events, and an uniformity of design.

A king's daughter of England, extremely beautiful, is solicited in marriage by numerous potentates of various kingdoms. The king her father vows, that of all these suitors, that champion alone shall win his daughter who can unhorse him at a tournament. This they all attempt, but in vain. The king every year assisted at an anniversary mass for the soul of his deceased queen, who was interred in an abbey at some distance from his castle. In the journey thither, the princess strays from her damsels in a solitary forest: she is discovered by a knight in rich armour, who by many solicitations prevails over her chastity, and, at parting, gives her a sword without a point, which he charges her to keep safe; together with a pair of gloves, which will fit no hands but her own^s. At length she finds the road to her father's castle, where, after some time, to avoid discovery, she is secretly delivered of a boy. Soon after the delivery, the princess having carefully placed the child in a cradle, with twenty pounds in gold, ten pounds in silver, the gloves given her by the strange knight, and a letter, consigns him to one

^s Gloves were antiently a costly article of dress, and richly decorated. They were sometimes adorned with precious stones. Rot. Pip. an. 53. Henr. iii. [A. D. 1267.]
 " Et de i. pectine auri cum lapidibus pre-

tiosis ponderant. xliii s. et iii d. ob. Et
 " de ii. paribus chirothecarum cum LAPIDIBUS." This golden comb, set with jewels, realises the wonders of romance.

of her maidens, who carries him by night, and leaves him in a wood, near a hermitage, which she discerned by the light of the moon. The hermit in the morning discovers the child; reads the letter, by which it appears that the gloves will fit no lady but the boy's mother, educates him till he is twenty years of age, and at parting gives him the gloves found with him in the cradle, telling him that they will fit no lady but his own mother. The youth, who is called Degore, sets forward to seek adventures, and saves an earl from a terrible dragon, which he kills. The earl invites him to his palace, dubs him a knight, gives him a horse and armour, and offers him half his territory. Sir Degore refuses to accept this offer, unless the gloves, which he had received from his foster-father the hermit, will fit any lady of his court. All the ladies of the earl's court are called before him, and among the rest the earl's daughter, but upon trial the gloves will fit none of them. He therefore takes leave of the earl, proceeds on his adventures, and meets with a large train of knights; he is informed that they were going to tourney with the king of England, who had promised his daughter to that knight who could conquer him in single combat. They tell him of the many barons and earls whom the king had foiled in several trials. Sir Degore, however, enters the lists, overthrows the king, and obtains the princess. As the knight is a perfect stranger, she submits to her father's commands with much reluctance. He marries her; but in the midst of the solemnities which preceded the consummation, recollects the gloves which the hermit had given him, and proposes to make an experiment with them on the hands of his bride. The princess, on seeing the gloves, changed colour, claimed them for her own, and drew them on with the greatest ease. She declares to Sir Degore that she was his mother, and gives him an account of his birth: she told him that the knight his father gave her a pointless sword, which was to be delivered to no person but the son
that

that should be born of their stolen embraces. Sir Degore draws the sword, and contemplates its breadth and length with wonder : is suddenly seized with a desire of finding out his father. He sets forward on this search, and on his way enters a castle, where he is entertained at supper by fifteen beautiful damsels. The lady of the castle invites him to her bed, but in vain ; and he is lulled asleep by the sound of a harp. Various artifices are used to divert him from his pursuit, and the lady even engages him to encounter a giant in her cause ^h. But Sir Degore rejects all her temptations, and pursues his journey. In a forest he meets a knight richly accoutred, who demands the reason why Sir Degore presumed to enter his forest without permission. A combat ensues. In the midst of the contest, the combatants being both unhorsed, the strange knight observing the sword of his adversary not only to be remarkably long and broad, but without a point, begs a truce for a moment. He fits the sword to a point which he had always kept, and which had formerly broken off in an encounter with a giant ; and by this circumstance discovers Sir Degore to be his son. They both return into England, and Sir Degore's father is married to the princess his mother.

The romance of KYNG ROBERT OF SICILY begins and proceeds thus ⁱ.

*Here is of kyng Robert of Cicyle,
 Hou pride dude him beguile.
 Princes proude that beth in pres,
 I wol ou tell thing not lees.*

^h All the romances have such an obstacle as this. They have all an enchantress, who detains the knight from his quest by objects of pleasure ; and who is nothing more than the Calypso of Homer, the Dido of Virgil, and the Armida of Tasso.

ⁱ MS. Vernon, ut supr. Bibl. Bodl. f. 299. It is also in Caius College Camb. MSS. Class. E. 147. 4. And Bibl. Publ. Camb. MSS. More, 690. 35. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 525. 2. f. 35. Cod. membran. Never printed.

In Cifyle was a noble kyng,
 Faire and strong and fumdele zyng ^k ;
 He hadde a broder in greete Roome,
 Pope of al cristendome ;
 Another he hadde in Alemayne,
 An emperour that Sarazins wrougte payne.
 The kyng was hete ^l kyng Robert,
 Never mon ne wuste him ferte,
 He was kyng of great honour
 Ffor that he was conquerour :
 In al the worlde nas his peer,
 Kyng ne prince, far ne neer :
 And, for he was of chivalrie flour,
 His broder was made emperour :
 His oder broder, godes vikere,
 Pope of Rome, as I feide ere ;
 The pope was hote pope Urban,
 He was goode to god and man :
 The emperour was hote Valemounde,
 A stronger warreoure nas non founde,
 After his brother of Cifyle,
 Of whom that I schal telle awhyle.
 The kyng ythoughte he hadde no peer
 In al the world, far no neer,
 And in his yougt he hadde pryde
 Ffor he was nounpere in uche fyde.
 At midsomer a feynt Jones niht,
 The king to churche com ful riht,
 Ffor to heren his even-song ;
 Him thouhte he dwelled ther ful long,
 He thouhte more in worldes honour
 Than in Crist our saveour :

^k Young.

^l Named.

In Magnificat^m he herde a vers,
 He made a clerke het him rehers,
 In language of his own tonge,
 In Latyn he nusteⁿ what heo songe;
 The vers was this I tell ye,
 "Deposuit potentes de fede
 "Et exaltavit humiles,"
 This was the vers withouten les
 The clerke seide anone righte,
 "Sire fuche is godes mihte,
 "That he make heyge lowe,
 "And lowe heyge, in luytell throwe;
 "God may do, withoute lyge^o,
 "His wil in twenkling of an eige^p,
 The kyng seide, with hert unstabl
 "All yor song is fals and fable:
 "What man hath such power
 "Me to bringe lowe in daunger?
 "I am floure of chivalrye,
 "Myn enemys I may distruye:
 "No man lyveth in no londe
 "That may me withstonde.
 "Then is this a song of noht."
 This erreur he hadde in thought,
 And in his thought a sleep him tok,
 In his pulput^r, as feith the boke.
 Whan that evenfong was al don,
 A kyng i lyk hem out gon
 And all men with hem wende,
 Kyng Roberd lefte oute of mynde^s.

^m The hymn so called.

ⁿ *He wist*. Knew not.

^o Lie. ^p Eye.

^r Stall, or seat.

^s "A king like him went out of the
 "chapel, and all the company with him;
 "while the real king Robert was forgot-
 "ten and left behind."

The newe ^t kyng was, as I yow telle,
 Godes aungell his pruide to felle.
 The aungell in hall joye made,
 And all men of hym weore glade.
 The kyng wakede that laye in churche,
 His men he thouhte wo to werche;
 Ffor he was left ther alon,
 And dark niht hym fel upon.
 He gan crie after his men,
 Ther nas non that spak agen.
 But the sextune atten ende
 Of the churche him gan wende ^u,
 And saide, "what dost thou nouth here,
 "Thou fals thef, thou losenger?
 "Thou art her with felenye
 "Holy chirche to robby, &c."
 The kyng bigon to renne out faste;
 As a mon that was wood,
 At his paleys gate he stood,
 And hail the porter gadelyng ^w,
 And bad him com in higing ^x :
 The porter seide, "Who clepeth ^y fo?"
 He answerde, "Anone tho,
 "Thou schalt witen ar I go;
 "Thi kyng I am thou schalt knowe:
 "In prifoun thou schall ligge lowe,
 "And ben an hanged and to drawe
 "As a traytour bi the lawe,
 "You schal wel witen I am kynge, &c."

When admitted, he is brought into the hall; where the angel, who had assumed his place, makes him *the fool of the ball*, and cloathes him in a fool's coat. He is then sent out

^t Supposed. ^u Went to him. ^w Renegado, traitor. ^x At the call. ^y Calls.

to lie with the dogs; in which situation he envies the condition of those dogs, which in great multitudes were permitted to remain in the royal hall. At length the emperor Vale-mounde sends letters to his brother king Robert, inviting him to visit, with himself, their brother the pope at Rome. The angel, who personates king Robert, welcomes the messengers, and cloathes them in the richest apparel, such as could not be made in the world.

The aungell welcomede the messagers,
 And gaf them clothes riche of pers ^a,
 Ffurred al with ermyne,
 In crystendone is non so fyne;
 And all was chouched midde perre ^b,
 Better was non in cristantè:
 Such clothe, and hit werre to dihte,
 Al cristendom hit make ne mihte,
 Of that wondrede al that londe,
 How that clothe was wrougt with honde,
 Where such cloth was to felle,
 He ho hit made couthe no mon telle.
 The messengers went with the kynge ^b
 To grete Rome, withoute lettynge;
 The Fool Robert also went,
 Clothed in lodly ^c garnement,
 With ffoxes tayles mony a boutte ^d,
 Men mihte him knowen in the route,
 The aungel was clothed al in whyt
 Was never seyge ^e such famyt ^f:
 And al was crouched on perles riche,
 Never mon feighe non hem liche.

^a Price.

^b Precious stones.

^c That is, the Angel.

^c Lothly, loathsome.

^d In many knots.

^e Cloth of gold.

^f Seen.

Al whit attyr was, and steede,
 The steede was fair ther he yede^z,
 So feir a steede as he on rod
 Was never mon that ever bi strod.
 The aungel cam to Roome sone
 Real^h as fel a kyng to done.
 So rech a kyng com never in Roome
 All men wondrede whether he come.
 His men weore reallicheⁱ dight
 Heore^k riches can feothe no wiht,
 Of clothis, gurdles, and other thing,
 Evriche sqyzer^l thoughte a kyng;
 And al ride of riche array,
 Bote^m kyng Robert, as i ow fay,
 Al men on him gan pyke,
 For he rod al other unlyke.
 An ape rod of his clothing
 In tokne that he was underling.
 The pope and the emperour also,
 And other lordes mony mo,
 Welcommede the aungel as for kyng
 And made joye of his comyng;
 Theose three bredrene made cumfort,
 The aungel was broder mad bi fort,
 Wel was the pope and emperour
 That hadden a broder of such honour.

Afterwards they return in the same pomp to Sicily, where the angel, after so long and ignominious a penance, restores king Robert to his royalty.

Sicily was conquered by the French in the eleventh centuryⁿ, and this tale might have been originally got or

^z Went. ^h Royal. ⁱ Royally.

^k Their. ^l Squire. ^m But.

ⁿ There is an old French Romance, Ro-

BERT LE DIABLE, often quoted by Car-
 pentier in his *Supplement to Du Cange*.
 And a French *Morality*, without date, or
 name

written during their possession of that island, which continued through many monarchies°. But Sicily, from its situation, became a familiar country to all the western continent at the time of the crusades, and consequently soon found its way into romance, as did many others of the mediterranean islands and coasts, for the same reason. Another of them, Cilicia, has accordingly given title to an antient tale called, the KING OF TARS; from which I shall give some extracts, touched with a rude but expressive pencil.

“ Her bigenneth of the KYNG OF TARS, and of the Soudan
“ of Dammias^p, how the Soudan of Dammias was cristened
“ thoru gōdis gras^q.”

Herkeneth now, bothe old and zying,
Ffor Marie love, that fwete thyng :
Howe a werre bi gan
Bi tweene a god cristene kyng,
And an hethene heih lordyng,
Of Damas the Soudan.
The kyng of Tars hadde a wyf,
The feireste that mihte bere lyf,
That eny mon telle can :
A dougter thei hadde ham bi tweene,
That heore^r rihte heire scholde ben ;
Whit so^s father of swan :

name of the author, in manuscript, *Comment il fut enjoint a ROBERT le diable, fils du duc de Normandie, pour ses mesfaites, de faire le jol jang parler, et depuis N. S. ut merci du lui.* Beauchamps, Rech. Theat. Fr. p. 109. This is probably the same Robert.

° A passage in Fauchett, speaking of rhyme, may perhaps deserve attention here.
“ Pour le regard de *Siciliens*, je me tiens
“ presque aiseure, que Guillaume Ferras
“ brach frere de Robert Guiscard et autres
“ seigneurs de Calabre et Peuille enfans de
“ Tancred François-Normand, l'ont portee

“ aux pais de leur conquête, estant une
“ costume des gens de deça chanter, avant
“ que combattre, les beaux faits de leurs
“ ancestres, composez en vers.” Rec. p.
70. Boccacio's *Tancred*, in his beautiful
Tale of *TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA*,
was one of these Franco-Norman kings of
Sicily. Compare *Nouv. Abreg. Chronol.*
Hist. Fr. pag. 102. edit. 1752.

^p Damascus.

^q MS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. f. 304. It
is also in Bibl. Adv. Edingb. W. 4. 1.
Num. iv. In five leaves and a half. Never
printed. ^r Their. ^s As.

Chaaft

Chaaft heo ^t was, and feir of chere,
 With rode ^u red so blofme on brere,
 Eigen ^w ftepe and gray,
 Lowe fchuldres, and whyt fwere ^x;
 Her to feo ^y was gret preyere
 Of princes pert in play.
 The worde ^z of hire fpronge ful wyde
 Ffeor and ner, bi vch a fyde:
 The Soudan herde fay;
 Him thoughte his herte wolde broke on five
 Bote he mihte have hire to wive,
 That was so feire a may,
 The Soudan ther he fatte in halle;
 He fent his meffagers fafte with alle,
 To hire fader the kyng.
 And feyde, hou so hit ever bi falle,
 That mayde he wolde clothe in palle
 And fpoufen hire with his ryng.
 “ And alles ^a I fwere withouten fayle
 “ I chull ^b hire winnen in pleye battayle
 “ With mony an heih lordyng, &c.”

The Soldan, on application to the king of Tarsus for his daughter, is refused; and the messengers return without success. The Soldan's anger is painted with great characteristical spirit.

The Soudan fate at his des,
 I ferved of his furste mes;
 Thei comen into the halle
 To fore the prince proud in pres,
 Heore tale thei tolde withouten les
 And on heore knees gan falle:

^t She. ^u Ruddy. ^w Eyes. ^x Neck. ^y See. ^z The report of her. ^a Also. ^b Shall.
 And

And feide, "Sire the king of Tars
 "Of wikked wordes nis not scars,
 "Hethene hounde^e he doth the^f calle;
 "And or his dogtur he give the tille^g
 Thyn herte blode he woll spille
 "And thi barrons alle."
 Whan the Soudan this i herde,
 As a wod man he ferde,
 His robe he rent adoune;
 He tar the har^h of hed and berde,
 And feide he wold her wene with fwerde,
 Beo his lord feynt Mahoune.
 The table adoune rihte he smote,
 In to the the floore foote hotⁱ,
 He lokede as a wylde lyoun;
 Alle that he hitte he smotte down riht
 Both fergeaunt and kniht,
 Erle and eke baroun.
 So he ferde forfothe a plihthe,
 Al a day, al a nihte,
 That no man mihte him chaste^k:
 A morwen when hit was day lihte,
 He sent his messagers ful rihte,
 After his barouns in haste:
 "Lordynges, he feith, what to rede^l,
 "Me is done a grete mysdede,
 "Of Taars the cristen kyng;
 "I bad him both land and lede
 "To have his doughter in worthli wede,
 "And spoufen hire with my ryng.

^e A phraze often applied to the Saracens.
 So in *Syr Beuys*, Signat. C. ii. b.

To speke with an *hethene hounde*.

^f Thee.

^g "Before his daughter is given to thee."

^h "Tore the hair."

ⁱ Struck. Stamped.

^k Check.

^l "What counsel shall we take."

"And

“ And he seide, withouten fayle
 “ First he wolde me fle in batayle,
 “ And mony a grete lordynge.
 “ At fertes ^m he schal be forswore,
 “ Or to wrothele ⁿ that he was bore,
 “ Bote he hit therto ^o bryng.
 “ Therefore lordynges, I have after ow fent
 “ Ffor to come to my parliment,
 “ To wite of zow counfayle.”

And all onswerde with gode entent
 Thei wolde be at his commaundement
 Withouten any fayle.

And when thei were alle at his heste,
 The Soudan made a well grete feste,
 For love of his battayle ;

The Soudan gedrede a hofte unryde ^p,
 With Sarazyns of muchel pryde,

The kyng of Taars to assaile.
 Whan the kyng hit herde that tyde
 He fent about on vche fyde,

All that he mihte off seende ;
 Grat werre tho bi gan to wrake
 Ffor the marriage ne most be take
 Of that fame mayden heende ^q.

Battayle thei sette uppon a day,
 With inne the thridde day of May,
 Ne longer nolde thei leende ^r.

The Soudan com with grete power,
 With helme briht, and feir banere,
 Uppon that kyng to wende.

“ “ But certainly.”

ⁿ Loss of health or safety. Malediction.
 So R. of Brunne, Chron. Apud. Hearne's
 Rob. Glouc. p. 737. 738.

Morgan did after conseile,
 And wrought him selfe to *wrotherheile*.

Again,

To zow al was a wikke conseile,
 That ze selle se full *wrotherheile*.

^o “ To that issue.”

^p Unright. Wicked.

^q Hend. Handsome.

^r Tany.

C c

The ,

The Soudan ladde an huge oft,
 And com with muche pruyde and cost,
 With the kyng of Taars to fihte.
 With him mony a Sarazyn feer[°],
 All the feolds feor and neer,
 Of helmes leomedede[†] lihte.
 The kyng of Taars com also
 The Soudan battayle for to do
 With mony a cristene knihte;
 Either oft gon othur affayle
 Ther bi gon a strong batayle
 That grislyche was of fihte.
 Threo hethene agen twey cristene men,
 And felde hem down in the fen,
 With wepnes stif and goode:
 The steorne Sarazyns in that fihte,
 Slowe vr cristen men down rihte,
 Thei fouhte as heo weore woode.
 The Souldan's ofte in that stounde
 Ffeolde the cristene to the grounde,
 Mony a freoly foode;
 The Sarazyns, with outen fayle,
 The cristens culd[°] in that battayle,
 Nas non that hem withstoode.
 Whan the king of Taars saw the fiht
 Wood he was for wrathe[°] a pliht;
 In honde he hent a spere,
 And to the Soudan he rode ful riht,
 With a dunt^{*} of much miht,
 Adoun he gon him bere:
 The Souldan neigh he hadde islawe,
 But thritti thoufant of hethen lawe
 Commen him for to were;

[°] Companion. [†] Shone. [°] Killed. [°] Wraþpe. Orig. ^{*} *Dint.* Wound, stroke.

And broukten him agen upon his stede,
 And holpe him wel in that nede,
 That no mon miht him dere ^y.
 When he was brouht uppon his stede,
 He sprong as sparkle doth of glede ^z,
 Ffor wrathe and for envye;
 All that he hotte he made them blede,
 He ferde as he wolde a wede ^a,
 Mahoun help, he gan crye.
 Mony an helm ther was unweved,
 And mony a bacinet ^b to cleved,
 And saddles mony emptye;
 Men miht se uppon the felde
 Moni a kniht ded under schelde,
 Of the cristen cumpagnie.
 Whon the kyng of Taars saug hem so ryde,
 No longer then he nold abyde,
 Bote fleih ^c to his owne citè:
 The Sarazyns, that ilke tyde,
 Sloug a doun bi vche fyde
 Vr cristene folk so fre.
 The Sarazyns that tyme, fauns fayle,
 Slowe vre cristene in battayle,
 That reuthe it was to se;
 And on the morwe for heore ^d fake
 Truwes thei gunne for to gidere take ^e,
 A moneth and dayes thre.
 As the kyng of Taars fatte in his halle,
 He made ful gret deol ^f withalle,
 Ffor the folk that he hedde ilore ^g:

^y Hurt.

^z Coal. Fire-brand.

^e " They began to make a truce toge-

^a " As if he was mad."

^b Helmet.

^c ther."

^c Flew.

^d Their.

^f Dole. Grief.

^g Lost.

His douhter com in riche palle,
 On kneos he ^h gan biforen hym falle,
 And feide with fything fore :
 “ Ffather, he feide, let me bi his wyf
 “ That ther be no more stryf, &c.”

To prevent future bloodshed, the princess voluntarily declares she is willing to be married to the Soldan, although a Pagan : and notwithstanding the king her father peremptorily refuses his consent, and resolves to continue the war, with much difficulty she finds means to fly to the Soldan's court, in order to produce a speedy and lasting reconciliation by marrying him.

To the Souldan heo ⁱ is i fare ;
 He com with mony an heig lordyng,
 Ffor to welcom that swete thyng,
 Theor he com in hire chare ^k :
 He cust ^l hire with mony a sithe
 His joye couthe no man hithe ^m,
 A wei was al hire care.
 Into chambre heo was led,
 With riche clothes heo was cled,
 Hethene as thaug heo were ⁿ.
 The Souldan ther he fatte in halle,
 He commaunded his knihtes alle
 That mayden ffor to fette,
 On cloth of riche purpil palle,
 And on here hed a comli calle,
 Bi the Souldan she was fette.
 Unsemli was hit ffor to se
 Heo that was so bright of ble
 To habbe ^o so foule a mette ^p, &c.

^h She. ⁱ She. ^k Chariot. ^l Kist.

^m Know.

ⁿ “ As if she had been a heathen. One
 “ of that country.” ^p Have. ^o Mate.

They are then married, and the wedding is solemnised with a grand tournament, which they both view from a high tower. She is afterwards delivered of a son, which is so deformed as to be almost a monster. But at length she persuades the Soldan to turn christian; and the young prince is baptised, after which ceremony he suddenly becomes a child of most extraordinary beauty. The Soldan next proceeds to destroy his Saracen idols.

He hente a stof with herte grete,
 And al his goddis he gan to bete,
 And drough hem al adoun;
 And leyde on til that he con fwete,
 With sterne strokes and with grete,
 On Jovyn and Plotoun,
 On Astrot and fire Jovyn
 On Termagaunt and Apollin,
 He brak them scul and croun;
 On Termagaunt, that was heore brother,
 He left no lym hol witte other,
 Ne on his lorde feynt Mahoun, &c.

The Soldan then releases thirty thousand christians, whom he had long detained prisoners. As an apostate from the pagan religion, he is powerfully attacked by several neighbouring Saracen nations: but he solicits the assistance of his father in law the king of Tars; and they both joining their armies, in a pitched battle, defeat five Saracen kings, Kenedoch, Lefyas king of Taborie, Merkel, Cleomadas, and Membrok. There is a warmth of description in some passages of this poem, not unlike the manner of Chaucer. The reader must have already observed, that the stanza resembles that of Chaucer's RIME OF SIR TOPAS ⁹.

⁹ The romance of SIR LIBEAUX or LYBIUS DISCONIUS, quoted by Chaucer, is in this stanza. MSS. Cott. CAL. A. 2. f. 40.

IPOMEDON is mentioned among the romances in the Prologue of RICHARD CUER DE LYON; which, in an antient copy of the British museum, is called SYR IPOMYDON: a name borrowed from the Theban war, and transferred here to a tale of the feudal times^r. This piece is evidently derived from a French original. Our hero Ippomedon is son of Ermones king of Apulia, and his mistress is the fair heiress of Calabria. About the year 1230, William Ferrabras^s, and his brethren, sons of Tancred the Norman, and well known in the romantic history of the Paladins, acquired the signories of Apulia and Calabria. But our English romance seems to be immediately translated from the French; for Ermones is called king of *Poyle*, or Apulia, which in French is *Pouille*. I have transcribed some of the most interesting passages^t.

Ippomedon, although the son of a king, is introduced waiting in his father's hall, at a grand festival. This servitude was so far from being dishonourable, that it was always required as a preparatory step to knighthood^u.

Everie yere the kyng weld
 At Whytsuntyde a fest held
 Of dukis, erlis, and barouns,
 Mani ther com frome diverse tounes,
 Ladyes, maydens, gentill and fre,
 Come thedyr frome ferre countrè:
 And grette lordis of ferre lond,
 Thedyr were prayd by fore the hond^w.
 Whan all were com to gidyr than
 Ther was joy of mani a man;

^r MSS. Harl. 2252. 44. f. 54. And in the library of Lincoln cathedral, (K k. 3. 10.) is an ancient imperfect printed copy, wanting the first sheet.

^s *Bras de fer*. Iron arms.

^t MSS. f. 55.

^u See p. *supr*.

^w Before-hand.

Ffull ryche I wene were there pryse,
 Ffor better might no man devyse.
 Ippomedon that day feryde in halle,
 All spake of hym both grete and smalle,
 Ladyes and mayden by helde hym on,
 So goodly a youth they had sene non :
 Hys feyre chere in halle theym smerte
 That mony a lady son smote throw the herte.
 And in theyr hartys they made mone
 That there lordis ne were siche one.
 After mete they went to pley,
 All the peple, as I you fay ;
 Some to chambre, and some to boure,
 And some to the hye toure* ;
 And some on the halle stode
 And spake what hem thoht gode :
 Men that were of that cite^y
 Enquired of men of other cuntrè, &c.

Here a conversation commences concerning the heiress of Calabria: and the young prince Ippomedon immediately forms a resolution to visit and to win her. He sets out in disguise.

Now they furth go on their way,
 Ippomedon to hys men gan fay,
 That thei be none of them alle,
 So hardi by his name hym calle,
 Whenso thei wend farre or neare,
 Or over the straunge ryvere ;

* In the feudal castles, where many persons of both sexes were assembled, and who did not know how to spend the time, it is natural to suppose that different parties

were formed, and different schemes of amusement invented. One of these, was to mount to the top of one of the highest towers in the castle. ^y The Apulians.

Ne no man telle what I am
 Where I schall go, ne where I came.
 All they graunted his commaundement,
 And furthe thei went with one consent.
 Ippomedon and Thelomew
 Robys had on and mantills newe,
 Of the richest that might be,
 Ther nas ne fuche in that cuntrèe:
 Ffor many was the riche stone
 That the mantills were uppon.
 So long there waie they have nome ^z
 That to Calabre they are come:
 Thei come to the castell yate
 The porter was redy there at,
 The porter to them thei gan calle
 And prayd him go into the halle
 And say thy lady ^a gent and fre,
 That commen are men of farre contrèe,
 And yf yt please hir we will her pray,
 That we might ete with hyr to day.
 The porter seyde full cortessly
 "Your errand to do I am redy."
 The ladie to her mete was fette,
 The porter cam and fayr her grette,
 "Madame, he seyde, god yow save,
 "At your gate gestis you have,
 "Straunge men us for to fe
 "Thei aske mete for charytè."
 The ladie commaundeth fone anone
 That the gates wer undone,

^z Took.

^a She was lady, by inheritance, of the signory. The female feudataries exercised all the duties and honours of their feudal jurisdiction in person. In Spenfer, where we read of the *Lady of the Castle*, we are

to understand such a character. See a story of a *Comtesse*, who entertains a knight in her castle with much gallantry. Mem. fur l'anc. Chev. ii. 69. It is well known that anciently in England ladies were sheriffs of counties.

" And

" And brynge them alle bfore me
 " Ffor welle at ese shall thei be."
 Thei took heyr pagis hors and alle,
 These two men went into the halle,
 Ippomedon on knees hym fette,
 And the ladye feyre he grette:
 " I am a man of straunge countrè
 " And pryde yow of your will to be
 " That I myght dwelle with you to gere
 " Of your nourture for to lere^b,
 " I am com from farre lond;
 " Ffor speche I here bi fore the hand
 " That your nourture and your servyse,
 " Ys holden of so grete empyse,
 " I pray you that I may dwell here
 " Some of your servyse to bere."
 The ladye by held Ippomedon,
 He femed wel a gentilmon,
 She knew non fuche in her lande,
 So goodli a man and wel farrand^c;
 She sawe also bi his norture
 He was a man of grete valure:
 She cast ful sone in hire thoght
 That for no servyse cum he noght;
 But hit was worship her untoo
 In feir servyse hym to do.
 She sayd, " Syr, welcome ye be,
 " And al that comyn be with the;
 " Sithe ye have had so grete travayle,
 " Of a servyse ye shall not fayle:
 " In this cuntre ye may dwell here
 " And al your will for to here,

^b Learn.

^c Handsome.

" Of the cuppe ye shall serve me
 " And all your men with you shal be,
 " Ye may dwell here at your wille,
 " Bote^d your beryng be full ylle."
 " Madame, he said, grantmercy,"
 He thanked the ladye corteyfly.
 She commandith him to the mete,
 But or he sette in ony fete,
 He saluted theym greete and smalle,
 As a gentillmon shuld in halle;
 All thei said sone anon,
 Thei saw nevyr so godli a mon,
 Ne so light, ne so glad,
 Ne non that so ryche atire had :
 There was none that fat nor yede^e,
 But thei had merveille of his dede^f,
 And seyde, he was no lytell fyre
 That myht shewe soche atyre.
 Whan thei had ete, and grace sayd,
 And the tabyll awaye was layd;
 Upp then aroos Ippomedon,
 Ant to the bottery he went anon,
 Ant hys mantyl hym a boutte;
 On hym lokyd all the route,
 Ant everie mon seyde to other there,
 " Will ye se the proude squeeer
 " Shall serve^g my ladye of the wyne,
 " In hys mantyll that is so fyne?"
 That they hym scornyd wist he noght
 On othyr thyng he had his thoght.
 He toke the cuppe of the botelere,
 And drewe a lace of fylke ful clere,

^d Unless.^e Walked.^f Behaviour.^g " Who is to serve."

Adowne than felle hys mantyll by,
 He preyed hym for hys curtesy,
 That lytell gyfte ^b that he wold nome
 Tell afte sum better come.
 Up it toke the bottelere,
 By fore the lady he gan it bere
 Ant preyd the ladye hartely
 To thanke hym of his curteffie,
 Al that was tho in the halle
 Grete honoure they spake hym alle.
 And sayde he was no lytyll man
 That fuch gyftis giffie kan.
 There he dwelled moni a day,
 And feryd the ladye wel to pay,
 He bare hym on fo fayre manere
 To knightis, ladyes, and squyere,
 All loved hym that com hym by,
 Ffor he bare hym so cortessly.
 The ladye had a cosyn that hight Jafon,
 Full well he loved Ippomedon;
 When that he yed in or oute,
 Jafon went with hym aboute.
 The lady lay, but she flept noght,
 For of the squyerre she had grete thoght;
 How he was feyre and shapè wele,
 Body and armes, and everie dele:
 Ther was non in al hir londe
 So wel he femyd dougti of honde.
 But she howde wele for no case,
 Whence he came nor what he was,
 Ne of no man could enquere
 Other than of that squyere.

^b i. e. His mantle.

She hire bi thought of a quayntyse,
 If she miht know in any wise,
 To wete whereof he were come;
 This was hyr thoght al their some
 She thoght to wode hyr men to tameⁱ
 That she myght knowe hym by his game.
 On the morow whan yt was day
 To her men she gan to say,
 " To morrowe whan it is day light,
 " Lok ye be al redy dight,
 " With your houndis more and lesse,
 " In fforrest to take my greffe,
 " And thare I will myself be
 " Your game to by holde and fe."
 Ippomedon had houndis three
 That he broght from his cuntree;
 Whan thei were to the wode gone,
 This ladye and her men ichone,
 And with hem her houndis ladde,
 All that any houndis hadde.
 Syr Tholomew for gate he noght,
 Hys maistres houndes thedyr he broght,
 That many a day he had ronne ere,
 Fful wel he thoght to note hem there.
 When thei came to the launde on hight,
 The quenes pavylyon thar was pight,
 That she might see al the best,
 All the game of the forrest,
 And to the lady broght mani a best^k,
 Herte and hynd, buck and doo,
 And othir bestis many mo.
 The houndis that wer of gret prise,
 Plucked down dere all atryse,

ⁱ f. Tempt.^k Beast.

Ippomedon he with his hounds throo
 Drew down both buck and doo,
 More he took with houndes thre
 Than al that othir cumpagnie,
 Thare squyres undyd hyr dere
 Eche man after his manere :
 Ippomedon a dere gede unto,
 That ful konningly gon he hit undo,
 So feyre that venyson he gan to dight,
 That both hym by held squyere and knight :
 The ladye looked oute of her pavylyon,
 And sawe hym dight the venyson.
 There she had grete dainte
 And so had all that dyd hym fee :
 She sawe all that he down droughe
 Of huntynge she wist he coude ynoghe
 And thought in her hert then
 That he was com of gentillmen :
 She bade Jafon hire men to calle
 Home then passyd grete and smalle :
 Home thei com son anon,
 This ladye to hir met gan gon,
 And of venery ¹ had her fille
 Ffor they had take game at wille.

He is afterwards knighted with great solemnity.

The heraudes gaff the childe ^m the gee,
 And ^m ponde he had to fee,
 Mynstrelles had giftes of gold
 And fourty dayes thys fest was holdeⁿ.

The metrical romance entitled, *LA MORT ARTHURE*, preserved in the same repository, is supposed by the learned and

¹ Venison. ^m Ippomedon. ⁿ MS. f. 61. b.

accurate Wanley, to be a translation from the French: who adds, that it is not perhaps older than the times of Henry the seventh^o. But as it abounds with many Saxon words, and seems to be quoted in *SYR BEVYS*, I have given it a place here^p. Notwithstanding the title, and the exordium which promises the history of Arthur and the Sangreal, the exploits of Sir Lancelot du Lake king of Benwike, his intrigues with Arthur's queen Geneura, and his refusal of the beautiful daughter of the earl of Ascalot, form the greatest part of the poem. At the close, the repentance of Lancelot and Geneura, who both assume the habit of religion, is introduced. The writer mentions the Tower of London. The following is a description of a tournament performed by some of the knights of the Round Table^q.

Tho to the castelle gon they fare,
 To the ladye fayre and bryhte ;
 Blithe was the ladye thare,
 That thei wold dwell with her that nyght.
 Hastely was there soper yare^r
 Of mete and drinke richely dight ;
 On the morowe gan thei dine and fare
 Both Lancelot and that othir knight.
 Whan they come in to the felde
 Myche ther was of game and play,
 Awhile they lovid^s and bi held
 How Arthur's knightis rode that day,
 Galehodis party bigun to^t held
 On fote his knightis ar led away.
 Launcellott stiffe was undyr schelde,
 Thenkis to help yf that he may.

^p MSS. Harl. 2252. 49. f. 86. Pr.

" Lordinges that are leffe and deare."

Never printed.

^q Signat. K. ii. b.

^r MS. f. 89. b.

^s Ready. See GLOSSARY to the Oxford edition of Shakespeare, 1771. In *Voe*.

^t Hovered. ^u Sir Galaad's.

^u Perhaps *yeld*, i. e. yield.

Befyde him come than fyr Gawayne,
 Breme ^w as eny wilde bore;
 Lancelot springis hem agayne ^x,
 In rede armys that he bore:
 A dynte he gaff with mekill mayne,
 Syr Ewayne was unhorfid thare,
 That al men went ^y he had ben flayne.
 So was he woundyd wondyr fare ^z.
 Syr Beorte thoughte no thinge good,
 When Syr Ewayne unhorfyd was;
 Fforth he springis, as he were wode,
 To Launcelott withouten lese:
 Launcelott hitt hym on the hode,
 The next way to grounde he chese:
 Was non so stiffe agayne hym stode
 Fful thin he made the thikkeft prees ^a.
 Syr Lyonell be gonne to tene ^b,
 And hastely he made hym bowne ^c,
 To Launcelott, with herte kene,
 He rode with helme and sword browne;
 Launcelott hytt hym as I wene,
 Through the helme in to the crowne:
 That eny aftir it was sene
 Bothe horse and man ther yod adoune.
 The knightis gadrede to gedre than
 And gan with crafte, &c.

I could give many more ample specimens of the romantic poems of these nameless minstrells, who probably flourished before or about the reign of Edward the second^d. But it

^w Fierce. ^x Against ^y Weened.

^z Sore. ^a Crowd. ^b Be Troubled.

^c Ready.

^d *Osavian* is one of the romances mentioned in the Prologue to *Cure de Lyon*, above cited. See also p. 119. In the Cotton manuscripts there is the metrical romance of

Osavian *imperator*, but it has nothing of the history of the Roman emperors. Pr. "Jhesu þat was with spere ystonge." *Calig.* A. 12. f. 20. It is a very singular stanza. In Bishop More's manuscripts at Cambridge, there is a poem with the same title, but a very different beginning, viz.
 "Lytyll

is neither my inclination nor intention to write a catalogue, or compile a miscellany. It is not to be expected that this work should be a general repository of our antient poetry. I cannot however help observing, that English literature and

“Lytyll and mykyll olde and younge.”
Bibl. Publ. 690. 30. The emperor *Ostaven*, perhaps the same, is mentioned in Chaucer’s *Dreme*, v. 368. Among Hatton’s manuscripts in Bibl. Bodl. we have a French poem, *Romaunce de Otheniem Empereur de Rome*. Hyper. Bodl. 4046. 21.

In the same line of the aforesaid Prologue, we have the romance of *Urry*. This is probably the father of the celebrated Sir Ewaine or Yvain, mentioned in the *Court Mantell*. Mem. Anc. Cheval. ii. p. 62.

Li rois pris par la destre main
L’ amiz monseignor Yvain
Qui au ROI URIEN fu filz,
Et bons chevaliers et hardiz,
Qui tant ama chiens et oisiaux.

Specimens of the English *Syr Beuys* may be seen in Percy’s Ball. iii. 216, 217, 297. edit. 1767. And *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, §. ii. p. 50. It is extant in the black letter. It is in manuscript at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 30. And Coll. Cant. A. 9. 5. And MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edingb. W. 4. 1. Num. xxii.

Sidracke was translated into English verse by one Hugh Campden; and printed, probably not long after it was translated, at London, by Thomas Godfrey, at the cost of Dan Robert Saltwood, monk of saint Austin’s in Canterbury, 1510. This piece therefore belongs to a lower period. I have seen only one manuscript copy of it. Laud. G. 57. fol. membran.

Chaucer mentions, in *Sir Topaz*, among others, the romantic poems of *Sir Blandamour*, *Sir Libeaux*, and *Sir Ippotis*. Of the former I find nothing more than the name occurring in *Sir Libeaux*. To avoid prolix repetitions from other works in the hands of all, I refer the reader to Percy’s *Essay on antient metrical Romances*, who has analysed the plan of *Sir Libeaux*, or *Sir Libaus Dysconus*, at large, p. 17. See also p. 24. *ibid*.

As to *Sir Ippotis*, an antient poem with that title occurs in manuscript, MSS. Cotton, Calig. A. 2. f. 77. and MS. Vernon, f. 296. But as Chaucer is speaking of romances of chivalry, which he means to ridicule; and this is a religious legend, it may be doubted whether this is the piece alluded to by Chaucer. However I will here exhibit a specimen of it from the exordium. MS. Vernon, f. 296.

Her li ginnith a tretys
That men clepeth YPOTIS.

Alle that wollet of wisdom lere,
Lufteneth now, and ze may here;
Of a tale of holi writ
Seynt John the evangelist witnessefeth it.
How hit bifelle in grete Rome,
The cheef citee of cristendome,
A childe was sent of mihtes most,
Thorow vertue of the holi gof:
The emperour of Rome than
His name was hoten sire Adrian;
And when the child of grete honour
Was come bifore the emperour,
Upon his knees he him sette
The emperour full faire he grette:
The emperour with milde chere
Askede him whethence he come were, &c.

We shall have occasion, in the progress of our poetry, to bring other specimens of these compositions. See Obs. on Spenser’s *Fairy Queen*, ii. 42, 43.

I must not forget here, that *Sir Gawaine*, one of Arthur’s champions, is celebrated in a separate romance. Among Tanner’s manuscripts, we have the *Weddyng of Sir Gawain*, Numb. 455. Bibl. Bodl. It begins, “Be ye blythe and listeneth to the lyf of a lorde riche.” Dr. Percy has printed the *Marriage of Sir Gaswayne*, which he believes to have furnished Chaucer with his *Wife of Bath*. Ball. i. 11. It begins, “King Arthur lives in merry Carlisle.” I think I have somewhere seen a romance in verse entitled, *The Turke and Gaswayne*.

English

English poetry suffer, while so many pieces of this kind still remain concealed and forgotten in our manuscript libraries. They contain in common with the prose-romances, to most of which indeed they gave rise, amusing images of ancient customs and institutions, not elsewhere to be found, or at least not otherwise so strikingly delineated : and they preserve pure and unmixed, those fables of chivalry which formed the taste and awakened the imagination of our elder English classics. The antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected these valuable remains, which they despised as false and frivolous ; and employed their industry in reviving obscure fragments of uninstruative morality or uninteresting history. But in the present age we are beginning to make ample amends : in which the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society.

As a further illustration of the general subject, and many particulars, of this section and the three last, I will add a new proof of the reverence in which such stories were held, and of the familiarity with which they must have been known, by our ancestors. These fables were not only perpetually repeated at their festivals, but were the constant objects of their eyes. The very walls of their apartments were clothed with romantic history. Tapestry was antiently the fashionable furniture of our houses, and it was chiefly filled with lively representations of this sort. The stories of the tapestry in the royal palaces of Henry the eighth are still preserved^c ; which I will here give without reserve, including other subjects as they happen to occur, equally descriptive of the times. In the tapestry of the tower of London, the original

^c “ The seconde part of the Inventorye of our late sovereigne lord kyng Henry the eighth, conteynynge his guardrobes, hous-

hold-stuff, &c. &c.” MSS. Harl. 1410. fol. The original. Compare p. 114. *supr.* and Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 10.

and most antient feat of our monarchs, there are recited Godfrey of Bulloign, the three kings of Cologn, the emperor Constantine, saint George, king Erkenwald^f, the history of Hercules, Fame and Honour, the Triumph of Divinity, Esther and Ahafuerus, Jupiter and Juno, saint George, the eight Kings, the ten Kings of France, the Birth of our Lord, Duke Joshua, the riche history of king David, the seven Deadly Sins, the riche history of the Passion, the Stem of Jesse^g, our Lady and Son, king Solomon, the Woman of Canony, Meleager, and the dance of Maccabre^h. At Durham-place we find the Citie of Ladiesⁱ, the tapestrie of Thebes and of Troy, the City of Peace, the Prodigal Son^k, Esther, and other pieces of scripture. At Windfor castle the siege of Jerusalem, Ahafuerus, Charlemagne, the siege of Troy, and

^f So in the record. But he was the third bishop of St. Paul's, London, son of king Offa, and a great benefactor to St. Paul's church, in which he had a most superb shrine. He was canonised. Dugdale, among many other curious particulars relating to his shrine, says, that in the year 1339 it was decorated anew, when three goldsmiths, two at the wages of five shillings by the week, and one at eight, worked upon it for a whole year. Hist. St. Paul's, p. 21. See also p. 233.

^g This was a favourite subject for a large gothic window. This subject also composed a branch of candlesticks thence called a JESSE, not unusual in the antient churches. In the year 1097, Hugo de Flori, abbot of S. Aust. Canterb. bought for the choir of his church a great branch-candlestick. "Candelabrum magnum in choro aeneum quod Jesse vocatur in partibus emit transmarinis." Thorn, Dec. Script. col. 1796. About the year 1330, Adam de Sodbury, abbot of Glastonbury, gave to his convent "Unum dorsale lancum le Jesse." Hearn. Joan. Glaston. p. 265. That is, a piece of tapestry embroidered with the stem of Jesse, to be hung round the choir, or other parts of the church, on high festivals. He also gave a tapestry of this subject for the ab-

bot's hall. Ibid. And I cannot help adding, what indeed is not immediately connected with the subject of this note, that he gave his monastery, among other costly presents, a great clock, processionibus et spectaculis insignitum, an organ of prodigious size, and eleven bells, six for the tower of the church, and five for the clock tower. He also new vaulted the nave of the church, and adorned the new roof with beautiful paintings. Ibid.

^h f. 6. In many churches of France there was an antient shew or mimicry, in which all ranks of life were personated by the ecclesiastics, who all danced together, and disappeared one after another. It was called DANCE MACCABRE, and seems to have been often performed in St. Innocent's at Paris, where was a famous painting on this subject, which gave rise to Lydgate's poem under the same title. See Carpenter. Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gl. ii. p. 1103. More will be said of it when we come to Lydgate.

ⁱ A famous French allegorical romance.

^k A picture on this favourite subject is mentioned in Shakespeare. And in Randolph's *Mules Looking-glass*. "In painted cloth the story of the PRODIGAL." *Dorset. Old Pl.* vi. 260.

hawking and hunting ¹. At Nottingham castle Amys and Amelion ^m. At Woodstock manor, the tapestrie of Charlemagne ⁿ. At the More, a palace in Hertfordshire, king Arthur, Hercules, Aftyages and Cyrus. At Richmond, the arras of Sir Bevis, and Virtue and Vice fighting ^o. Many of these subjects are repeated at Westminster, Greenwich, Oatlands, Bedington in Surry, and other royal seats, some of which are now unknown as such ^p. Among the rest we have also Hannibal, Holofernes, Romulus and Remus, Æneas, and Sufannah ^q. I have mentioned romances written on many of these subjects, and shall mention others. In the romance of SYR GUY, that hero's combat with the dragon in Northumberland is said to be represented in tapestry in Warwick castle.

In Warwike the truth shall ye see
In arras wrought ful craftely ^r.

This piece of tapestry appears to have been in Warwick castle before the year 1398. It was then so distinguished and valued a piece of furniture, that a special grant was made of it by king Richard the second in that year, conveying "that suit of arras hangings in Warwick castle, which contained the story of the famous Guy earl of Warwick,"

¹ f. 298. ^m f. 364.

ⁿ f. 318. ^o f. 346.

^p Some of the tapestry at Hampton-court, described in this inventory, is to be seen still in a fine old room, now remaining in its original state, called the Exchequer.

^q Montfaucon, among the tapestry of Charles the Fifth, king of France, in the year 1370, mentions, *Le tapis de la vie du saint Theseus*. Here the officer who made the entry calls Theseus a saint. *The seven Deadly Sins, Le saint Graul, Le graunt tapis de Neuf Preux, Reyne d'Ireland, and Godfrey of Bulloign*. Monum. Fr. iii. 64. The *neuf preux* are the Nine Worthies. Among the stores of Henry the eighth,

taken as above, we have, "two old stayned clothes of the ix worthies for the greater chamber," at Newhall in Essex, f. 362. These were pictures. Again, at the palace of Westminster in *the little study called the Newe Librarye*, which I believe was in Holbein's elegant Gothic gatehouse lately demolished, there is, "Item, xii pictures of men on horsebacke of enamelled stuffe of the Nyne Worthies, and others upon square tables." f. 188. MSS. Harl. 1419. ut sup.

^r Signat. Ca. 1. Some perhaps may think this circumstance an innovation or addition of later minstrells. A practice not uncommon.

together with the castle of Warwick, and other possessions, to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent *. And in the restoration of forfeited property to this lord after his imprisonment, these hangings are particularly specified in the patent of king Henry the fourth, dated 1399. When Margaret, daughter of king Henry the seventh, was married to James king of Scotland, in the year 1503, Holyrood House at Edinburgh was splendidly decorated on that occasion; and we are told in an antient record, that the "hanginge of the "queenes grett chammer represented the ystory of Troye "tunc." Again, "the king's grett chammer had one table, "wer was fatt, hys chammerlayn, the grett sqyer, and "many others, well served; the which chammer was "haunged about with the story of Hercules, together with "other ystorys ". And at the same solemnity, "in the hall "wher the qwene's company wer fatt in lyke as in the other, "an wiche was haunged of the history of Hercules, &c. " A stately chamber in the castle of Hesdin in Artois, was furnished by a duke of Burgundy with the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece, about the year 1468 ". The affecting story of Coucy's Heart, which gave rise to an old metrical English romance entitled, the KNIGHT OF COURTESY, and the LADY OF FAGUEL, was woven in tapestry in Coucy castle in France *. I have seen an antient suite of arras, containing Ariosto's Orlando and Angelica, where, at every groupe, the story was all along illustrated with short rhymes in romance or old French. Spenser sometimes dresses the superb bowers of his fairy castles with this sort of historical drapery.

* Dugd. Bar. i. p. 237.

† Leland. Coll. vol. iii. p. 295, 296. Ouseul. edit. 1770.

‡ Ibid. v. See Obs. Fair. Qu. i. p. 177.

* Howel's Letters, xx, § vi. B. i. This is a true story, about the year 1180. Fauchett relates it at large from an old authentic French chronicle; and then adds, "Ansi

"finerint les amours du Chastelain du "Couci et de la dame de Faiel." Our Castellain, whose name is Regnard de Couci, was famous for his *chansons* and chivalry, but more so for his unfortunate love, which became proverbial in the old French romances. See Fauch. Rec. p. 124. 128.

In Hawes's Poem called the PASTIME OF PLEASURE, written in the reign of Henry the seventh, of which due notice will be taken in its proper place, the hero of the piece sees all his future adventures displayed at large in the sumptuous tapestry of the hall of a castle. I have before mentioned the most valuable and perhaps most antient work of this sort now existing, the entire series of duke William's descent on England, preserved in the church of Bayeux in Normandy, and intended as an ornament of the choir on high festivals. Bartholinus relates, that it was an art much cultivated among the antient Islanders, to weave the histories of their giants and champions in tapestry^y. The same thing is recorded of the old Persians; and this furniture is still in high request among many oriental nations, particularly in Japan and China^z. It is well known, that to frame pictures of heroic adventures in needle-work, was a favourite practice of classical antiquity.

^y Antiquit. Dan. Lib. i. 9. p. 51.

^z In the royal palace of Jeddo, which overflows with a profusion of the most exquisite and superb eastern embellishments, the tapestry of the emperor's audience-hall

is of the finest silk, wrought by the most skilful artificers of that country, and adorned with pearls, gold, and silver. Mod. Univ. Hist. B. xiii. c. ii. vol. ix. p. 83. (Not. G.) edit. 1759.

S E C T. VI.

ALTHOUGH much poetry began to be written about the reign of Edward the second, yet I have found only one English poet of that reign whose name has descended to posterity^a. This is Adam Davy or Davie. He may be placed about the year 1312. I can collect no circumstances of his life, but that he was marshall of Stratford-le-bow near London^b. He has left several poems never printed, which are almost as forgotten as his name. Only one manuscript of these pieces now remains, which seems to be coeval with it's author^c. They are VISIONS, THE BATTELL OF JERUSALEM, THE LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS, SCRIPTURE HISTORIES, OF FIFTEEN TOKNES BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT, LAMENTATIONS OF SOULS, and THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER^d.

In the VISIONS, which are of the religious kind, Adam Davie draws this picture of Edward the second standing before the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbey at his coronation. The lines have a strength arising from simplicity.

To our Lorde Jeshu Crist in heven
Iche to day shawe myne sweven^e,

^a Robert de Brunne, above mentioned, lived, and perhaps wrote some of his pieces, in this reign; but he more properly belongs to the last.

^b This will appear from citations which follow.

MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud I. 74. fol. membran. It has been much damaged, and on that account is often illegible.

^d In the manuscript there is also a piece in prose, intitled, *The Pilgrimages of the holy land*. f. 65.—66. It begins. "Qwerr
" soever a cros standyth ther is a forgivenes
" of payne." I think it is a description of the holy places, and it appears at least to be of the hand-writing of the rest.

^e Dream.

That

That iche motte ^f in one nyght,
 Of a knyght of mychel mycht :
 His name is ^g yhote fyr Edward the kyng,
 Prince of Wales Engelonde the fair thyng;
 Me mott that he was armid wele,
 Bothe with yrne and with stele,
 And on his helme that was of stel,
 A coroune of gold bicom him wel.
 Bifore the shryne of Seint Edward he stood,
 Myd glad chere and myld of mood ^h.

Most of these Visions are compliments to the king. Our poet then proceeds thus :

Another suevene me mette on a twefnit ⁱ
 Bifore the fest of Alhalewen of that ilke knigt,
 His name is nempned ^k hure bifore,
 Bliffed be the time that he was bore, &c.
 Of Syr Edward oure derworth ^l kyng
 Iche mette of him anothere faire metyng, &c.
 Me thought he wod upon an affe,
 And that ich take God to witnesse;
 A wondur he was in a mantell gray,
 Toward Rome he nom ^m his way,
 Upon his hevede fate a gray hure,
 It semed him wel a mesure ;
 He wood withouten hofe and sho, .
 His wonen was not so to do ;
 His shankes semeden al bloodrede,
 Myne herte wop ⁿ for grete drede ;
 As a pylgrym he rood to Rome,
 And thider he com wel fwithe sone.

^f Thought, dreamed. In the first sense, we have *me mette* in Chaucer, Non. Pr. T. v. 1013. Urr. And below.

^g Named. ^h fol. 27. ⁱ Twelfth-night.

^k Named. ^l Dear-worthy.

^m Took. ⁿ Wept.

The thrid suevene me mette a nigt
 Rigth of that derworth knight :
 On wednyfday a nigt it was
 Next the dai of feint Lucie bifore Chriftenmaffe, &c.
 Me thought that ich was at Rome,
 And thider iche come fwithe fone,
 The pope and fyr Edward our kyng
 Bothe ° hy hadde a new dublyng, &c.
 Thus Crist ful of grace
 Graunte our kyng in every place
 Maiftrie of his witherwines
 And of al wicked Sarafynes.
 Me met a suevene one worthig^p a nigh
 Of that ilche derworthi knigh,
 God iche it shewe and to witneffe take
 And fo fhilde me fro, &c.
 Into a chapel I cum of vre lefdy^q,
 Jhe Crist her leve^r fon ftod by,
 On rod^s he was an loveliche mon,
 Al thilke that on rode was don
 He unneled^t his honden two, &c.
Adam the marchal of Stratford atte Bowe
 Wel fwithe wide his name is iknowe
 He himfelf mette this metyng,
 To witneffe he taketh Jhu hevene kynge,
 On wedenyfday^w in clene leinte^u
 A voyce me bede I fchulde nought feinte,
 Of the fuevenes that her ben write
 I fhulde fwithe don^x my lord kyng to wite.
 The thurfsday next the beryng^y of our lefdy
 Me thought an aungel com fyr Edward by, &c.

° They. ^p Worþig. Orig.
^q Lady. ^r Dear.
^s Crofs. ^t Unnailed.
^u Lent.

^w Wodenis day. Woden's day. *Wed-*
nesday.
^x Make hafte.
^y Chriftmas-day.

Iche tell you forsoth withoutten les ^z,
 Als God of hevene maide Marie to moder ches ^z,
 The aungell com to me *Adam Davie* and seide
 Bot thou *Adam* shewe this thee worthe wel yvel mede, &c.
 Whofo wil speke myd me *Adam* the *marchal*
 In Stretforde bowe he is yknown and over al,
 Iche ne schewe nought this for to have mede
 Bot for God almighties drede.

There is a very old prose romance, both in French and Italian, on the subject of the *Destruction of Jerusalem*^b. It is translated from a Latin work, in five books, very popular in the middle ages, entitled, *HEGESIPPI de Bello Judaico et Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanæ Libri quinque*. This is a licentious paraphrase of a part of Josephus's Jewish history, made about the fourth century: and the name Hegesippus is most probably corrupted from Josephus, perhaps also called Josippus. The paraphrast is supposed to be Ambrose of Milan, who flourished in the reign of Theodosius^c. On the subject of Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem, as related in this book, our poet Adam Davie has left a poem entitled the *BATTELL OF JERUSALEM*^d. It begin thus.

^z Lies.

^a "As sure as God chose the Virgin Mary to be Christ's Mother."

^b In an antient inventory of books, all French romances, made in England in the reign of Edward the third, I find the romance of *TITUS* and *VESPASIAN*. Madox, *Formul. Anglican.* p. 12. See also Scipio Maffei's *Traduttori Italiani*, p. 48. Crescimbeni (*Volg. Poes.* vol. i. l. 5. p. 317.) does not seem to have known of this romance in Italian. Du Cange mentions *Le Roman de la Prise de Jerusalem par Titus*, in verse. *Gloss. Lat. i. IND. AUCT.* p. exciv. A metrical romance on this subject is in the royal manuscripts. 16 E viii. z. *Brit. Mus.* There is an old French play on this subject, acted in 1437. It was printed

in 1491. fol. M. Beauchamps, *Rech. Fr. Theat.* p. 134.

^c He mentions Constantinople and New Rome: and the provinces of Scotia and Saxonia. From this work the Maccabees seem to have got into romance. It was first printed at Paris. fol. 1511. Among the Bodleian manuscripts there is a most beautiful copy of this book, believed to be written in the Saxon times.

^d The latter part of this poem appears detached, in a former part of our manuscript, with the title *THE VENGEANCE OF GODDES DEATH*, viz. f. 22. b. This latter part begins with these lines.

And at the fourty dayes ende,
 Whider I wolde he bade me weade,
 Upon the mount of olyvete, &c.

Lifteneth all that beth alyve,
 Both cristen men and wyve :
 I wol you telle of a wondur cas,
 How Jhesu Crist bihated was,
 Of the Jewes felle and kene,
 That was on him fithe yfene,
 Gospelles I drawe to witnesse
 Of this matter more or lesse, ° &c.

In the course of the story, Pilate challenges our Lord to single combat. This subject will occur again.

DAVIE'S *LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS THE CONFESSOR, SON OF EUPHEMIUS*, is translated from Latin, and begins thus :

All that willen here in ryme,
 Howe gode men in olde tyme,
 Loveden God almighth;
 That weren riche, of grete valoure,
 Kynges fones and emperoure
 Of bodies strong and lighth;
 Zee habbeth yherde ofte in geste,
 Of holi men maken feste
 Both day and nighth,
 For to have the joye in hevene
 (With aungells song, and merry stevene,
 The which is brode and brighth :
 To you all heige and lowe
 The righth sothe to biknowe
 Zour soules for to save, &c¹.

Our author's *SCRIPTURE HISTORIES* want the beginning. Here they begin with Joseph, and end with Daniel.

^c MS. ut supr. f. 72. b.

¹ MS. ut supr. f. 22.—72. b.

Ffor thritti pens ^g thei sold that childe
 The seller high Judas,
^h Itho Ruben com him and myssed him
 Ffor ynow he was ⁱ.

HIS FIFTEEN TOKNES ^k BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGMENT,
 are taken from the prophet Jeremiah.

The first signe thar ageins, as our lord hymselfe fede,
 Hungere schal on erthe be, trecherie, and falskede,
 Batteles, and littell love, sekeneffe and haterede,
 And the erthe schal quaken that vche man schal ydrede:
 The mone schal turne to blood, the sunne to derkhede^l, &c.

Another of Davie's poems may be called the LAMENTA-
 TION OF SOULS. But the subject is properly a congratulation
 of Christ's advent, and the lamentation, of the souls of the
 fathers remaining in limbo, for his delay.

Off joye and blisse is my song care to bileve ^m,
 And to here hym among that altour foroug shal reve,
 Ycome he is that swete dewe, that swete hony drope,
 The kyng of alle kynges to whom is our hope:
 Becom he is our brother, whar was he so long?
 He it is and no other, that boughth us so strong:
 Our brother we mowe ⁿ hym clepe wel^o, so feith hymself
 ilome ^p.

My readers will be perhaps surprised to find our language
 improve so slowly, and will probably think, that Adam Davie
 writes in a less intelligible phrase than many more antient
 bards already cited. His obscurity however arises in great

^g Thirty pence. ^h Ipo. Orig.

ⁱ MS. ut supr. f. 66.—72. b.

^k Tokens. ^l MS. ut supr. f. 71. b.

^m Leave.

ⁿ May.

^o Sometimes.

^p MS. ut supr. f. 72.

measure from obsolete spelling, a mark of antiquity which I have here observed in exact conformity to a manuscript of the age of Edward the second; and which in the poetry of his predecessors, especially the minstrell-pieces, has been often effaced by multiplication of copies, and other causes. In the mean time it should be remarked, that the capricious peculiarities and even ignorance of transcribers, often occasion an obscurity, which is not to be imputed either to the author or his age ¹.

But Davie's capital poem is the *LIFE OF ALEXANDER*, which deserves to be published entire on many accounts. It seems to be founded chiefly on Simeon Seth's romance above-mentioned; but many passages are also copied from the French *ROMAN D' ALEXANDRE*, a poem in our author's age perhaps equally popular both in England and France. It is a work of considerable length'. I will first give some extracts from the Prologue.

Divers in this myddel erde
 To lewed men and ¹ lered, &c.
 Natheles wel fele and fulle
 Bethe ifound in hart and skulle,
 That hadden lever a rybaudye,
 Then here of god either feint Marye;
 Either to drynke a copful ale,
 Than to heren any gode tale:
 Swiche ich wolde weren out bishet
 For certeynlich it were nett
 For hy ne habbeth wilbe ich woot wel
 Bot in the got and the barrel, &c. ²

¹ Chaucer in *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* mentions "the grete diversite in English, "and in *writing of our tongue*." He therefore prays God, that no person would *mistrise*, or *miste-metre* his poem. lib. ult. v. 1792. seq.

² MS. ut sup. f. 28.—65.

³ *Leg. lerd.* Learned.

⁴ The work begins thus. f. 28.

Whilom clarkes wel ylerede
 On thre digten this myddel erde,
 And cleped him in her maistrise,
 Europe, Affryk, and Asie:

Adam Davie thus describes a splendid procession made by Olympias.

In thei tyme faire and jalyf ^a.
 Olympias that fayre wyfe,
 Wolden make a riche fest
 Of knightes and lefdyes ^w honest,
 Of burges and of jugelors
 And of men of vch mesters ^x,
 For mon seth by north and south ^y
 Wymen
 Mychal ^z she desireth to shewe hire body,
 Her fayre hare, her face rody ^a,
 To have lees ^b and al praising,
 And al is folye by heven king.
 She has marshales and knyttes
 to ride and ryttes,
 And levadyes and demofile
 Which ham thousands fele,
 In fayre attyre in dyvers . . . ^c.
 Many thar rood ^d in rich wise.
 So dude the dame Olympias
 Forto shawe hire gentyll face.
 A mule also, whyte so ^e mylke,
 With sadel of gold, sambuc of fylke,
 Was ybrought to the quene
 And mony bell of fylver shene,
 Yfastened on orfreys ^f of mounde
 That hangen nere downe to grounde :

At Asie also mychel ys
 As Ethiope, and Affryke, I wis, &c.
 And ends with this distich. f. 65.
 Thus ended Alifander the kyng :
 God graunte us his bliffyng. Amen.
^a Jolly. ^w Ladies.

^x Of each, or every, profession, trade, fort.
^y " All mankind are agreed."
^z Much. ^a Ruddy. ^b Praise.
^c F. Guise. ^d Rode. ^e As.
^f Embroidered work, cloth of gold. *Aurifrigium*, Lat.

Fourth she ferd ^a myd her route,
 A thousand lefydes of rych soute ^b.
 A sperwek ⁱ that was honest ^k
 So sat on the lefdye's fyft :
 Ffoure trompes toforne ^l hire blewe;
 Many men that day hire knewe.
 A hundred thousand, and eke moo,
 Alle alonton ^m hire untoo.
 All the towne bihonged ⁿ was
 Agens ^o the lefdy Olympias ^p;
 Orgues, chymbes, vche maner glee ^q,
 Was drynan ayen that levady fre,
 Wythoutin the tounis murey ^r
 Was mered vche maner pley ^s;
 Thar was knyttes tornaying,
 Thar was maydens karoling,
 Thar was champions skirmynge ^t,
 also wrestlynge.
 Of lyons chace, and bare bayting,
 A bay of bore ^u, of bole flaying ^v.
 Al the city was byhonge
 With ryche famytes ^x and pelles ^y longe.
 Dame Olympias, myd this prees ^z,
 Sangle rood ^a al mantellefs.—

^a Fared. Went. ^b Sort.

ⁱ Sparrow-hawk. A hawk.

^k Well-bred. ^l Before.

^m Went. *Aller*, Fr.

ⁿ "Hung with tapestry." We find this ceremony practised at the entrance of lady Elisabeth, queen of Henry the seventh, into the city of London.—"Al the fyres
 "ther whiche she shulde passe by wer clen-
 "ly dressed and besene with cloth, of
 "tappetrye and arras, and some streetes
 "as Chepe, hanged with riche clothes of
 "golde, velvettes and filkes." This was
 in the year 1481. Leland. Coll. iv. Opus-
 cul. p. 220. edit. 1770.

^o "Against her coming."

^p See the description of the tournament in Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, where the city is hanged with cloth of gold. v. 2570. Urr.

^q "Organs, chimes, all manner of music."

^r The town-wall. ^s "All sorts of sports."

^t Skirmishing.

^u "Baying, or bayting of the boar."

^v *Slaying bulls*, bull-feasts. Chaucer says that the chamber of Venus was painted with "white *bolis grete*." Compl. of Mars and Ven. v. 86.

^x Sattin. ^y Skins.

^z Croud. Company.

^a Rode single.

Hire yalewe har ^b was fayre attired
Mid riche strengē of golde wyred,
It helyd ^c hire abouten al
To hire gentil myddle smal.
Bryght and shine was hir face ^d
Everie fairehede ^e in hir was ^f.

Much in the same strain the marriage of Cleopatras is described.

There was many a blithe grome :
Of olive and of ruge ^g floures
Weren ystrewed halle and boures :
Wyth famytes and baudekyns
Weren curtayned the gardyns.
All the innes of the ton
Hadden litel foyson ^h,
That day that comin Cleopatras,
So michel people with hir was.
She rode on a mule white so mylke,
Her harneys were gold-beaten fylke :

^b Yellow hair.

^c "Covered her all over."

^d fol. 55. a. Beauty.

^f John Gower, who lived an hundred years after our author, has described the same procession. *Confess. Amant.* lib. vi. fol. 137. a. b. edit. Berthel. 1554.

But in that citee then was
The quene, whiche Olimpias
Was hote, and with solempnitee
The feste of hir nativite,
As it befell, was than hold :
And for hir lust to be behold,
And prised of the people about,
She shop hir for to ridenout,
Al astir meet al opynly.
Anon al men were redie;
And that was in the month of Maie :
This lusty quene in gode araie
Was sette upon a mule white
To fene it was a grete delite

The joye that the citee made.

With fresh thinges and with glade
The noble towne was al behonged;
And everie wight was son alonged
To see this lustie ladie ryde.
There was great mirth on al fyde,
When as she passed by the streete
There was ful many a tymbre beate,
And many a maide carolende.
And thus throughout the town plaiende
This quene unto the plaiene rode
Whar that she loved and abode
To se divers games plaie,
The lustie folke just and tornaye.
And so cooth every other man
Which play with, his play began,
To please with this noble quene.

Gower continues this story, from a romance mentioned above, to fol. 140.

^g Red.

^h Provision.

The

The prince hir lad of Sandas,
 And of Sydoynes Sir Jonachas.
 Ten thousand barons hir come myde,
 And to chirche with hir ryde.
 Yspoused she is and sett on deys :
 Nowe gynneþ gestes of grete nobleys :
 At the fest was harpyng
 And pipyng and tabouryng ¹.

We have frequent opportunities of observing, how the poets of these times engraft the manners of chivalry on ancient classical history. In the following lines Alexander's education is like that of Sir Tristram. He is taught tilting, hunting, and hawking.

Now can Alexander of skirmyng,
 And of stedes derayning,
 Upon stedes of justyng,
 And witte swordes turneyng,
 Of assayling and defendyng :
 In green wood and of huntynge :
 And of ryver of haukyng ^k :
 Of bataille and of alle thyng.

In another place Alexander is mounted on a steed of Narbone; and amid the solemnities of a great feast, rides through the hall to the high table. This was no uncommon practice in the ages of chivalry ¹.

¹ fol. 63. a.

^k Chaucer, R. of Sir Thop. v. 3245.
 Urry's edit. p. 145.

He couth hunt al the wild dere,
 And ride an *hawkyng by the ryver*.

And in the *Squyr of low degree*, *supr. citat.*
 p. 179.

——— Shall ye *ryde*

On hawkyng by the river syde.
 Chaucer, *Frankleins Tale*, v. 1752. p. 111.
 Urr. edit.

These fauconers upon a faire ryver
 That with the hawkis han the *beven* slaine.

¹ See *Observations on the Fairy Queen*,
 i. §. v. p. 146.

On a stede of Narabone,
He dasfheth forth upon thi londe,
The ryche coroune on hys honde,
Of Nicholas that he wan :
Beside hym rydeth mony a gentil man,
To the paleys he comethe ryde,
And fyndeth this feste and all this pryde ;
Fforth good Alifaundre fauns stable
Righth unto the hith table ^m.

His horse Bucephalus, who even in classical fiction is a horse of romance, is thus described.

An horne in the forehead armyd ward
That wolde perce a shelde hard.

To which these lines may be added.

Alifaunder arisen is,
And in his deys fitteth ywys :
His dukes and barons fauns doute
Stondeth and fitteth him aboute, &c ⁿ.

The two following extracts are in a softer strain, and not inelegant for the rude simplicity of the times.

Mery is the blast of the stynoure ^o,
Mery is the touchyng of the harpoure ^p :

^m fol. 64.

ⁿ MS. ut supr. f. 46. b.

^o I cannot explain this word. It is a wind-instrument.

^p This poem has likewise, in the same vein, the following well-known old rhyme, which paints the manners, and is perhaps the true reading. fol. 64.

Merry swithe it is in halle
When the *herdes waweth alle*.

And in another place we have,
Merry it is in halle to here the harpe ;
The minstrelles synge, the jogelours carpe.
fol. *sine num.* ad fin.

Here, by the way, it appears, that the minstrels and juglers were distinct characters. So Robert de Brunne, in describing the coronation of king Arthur, apud Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. p. 304.

Jogeleurs wer ther inouh
That wer queitise for the drouh,
Mynstrels many with dyvers glew, &c.

And Chaucer mentions "*minstrels* and *eke* "*joglours*." Rom. R. v. 764. But they are often confounded or made the same.

Sweete is the smellynge of the flower,
 Sweete it is in maydens bower :
 Appel sweete beneth faire coloure ¹.

Again,

In tyme of May the nightingale
 In wood maketh mery gale,
 So don the foules grete and smale,
 Sum in hylles and sum in dale ².

Much the same vernal delights, cloathed in a similar style, with the addition of knights turneying and maidens dancing, invite king Philip on a progress; who is entertained on the road with hearing tales of antient heroes.

Mery tyme yt is in May
 The foules syngeth her lay,
 The knightes loveth to tournay;
 Maydens do dauncen and they play,
 The kyng ferth rydeth his journey,
 Now hereth gests of grete noblay ³.

Our author thus describes a battle ⁴.

Alifaundre tofore is ryde,
 And many gentill a knighth hym myde;
 As for to gader his meigne free,
 He abideth under a tree:
 Ffourty thousande of chyvalerie
 He taketh in his compaignye,
 He daseth hym than fast forthward,
 And the other cometh afterward.
 He seeth his knightes in meschief,
 He taketh it gretlich a greif,

¹ fol. 40.

² Ibid.

³ fol. *in num.*

⁴ MS. ut supr. f. 45. b.

He

He takes Bultyphal ^u by thi fide,
 So as a fwalewe he gynneth forth glide,
 A duke of Perce sone he mett
 And with his launce he hym grett.
 He perceth his breny, cleveth his sheldè,
 The herte tokeneth the yrnè;
 The duke fel downe to the grounde,
 And starf quickly in that stounde:
 Alifaunder aloud than feide,
 Other tol never ich ne paiede,
 Zut zee schullen of myne paie,
 Or ich gon mor affaie.
 Another launce in honde he hent
 Again the prince of Tyre he went
 He hym thorow the brest and thare ^w
 And out of fadel and crouthe hym bare,
 And I figge for foothe thyng
 He braak his neck in the fallyng.
 with mychell wonder,
 Antiochus hadde hym under,
 And with fwerd wolde his heved
 From his body habbe yreved:
 He seig Alifaundre the gode gome,
 Towardes hym fwithe come,
 He lete his pray, and flew on hors,
 Ffor to save his owen cors:
 Antiochus on stede lep,
 Of none woundes ne tok he kep,
 And eke he had foure forde
 All ymade with speres ord ^x.
 Tholomeus and alle his felawen ^y
 Of this focour so weren welfawen,

^u Bucephalus.^w Sic.^x Point.^y Fellows.

Alysaunder made a cry hardy
 "Ore toft aby aby."
 Then the knighttes of Achaye
 Justed with them of Arabye,
 Thoo^z of Rome with hem of Mede
 Many londe
 Egipste justed with hem of Tyre,
 Simple knightts with riche fyre:
 Ther nas foregift ne forberying
 Bitwene vavafoure^a ne kyng;
 To fore men migtten and by hynde
 Cuntecke feke and cuntecke^b fynde.
 With Perciens fougten the Gregeys,
 Ther wos cry and gret honteys^d.
 They kidden^e that they weren mice . . .
 They broken speres alto flice.
 Ther mighth knighth fynde his pere,
 Ther les^f many his destrere^g:
 Ther was quyk in litell thrawe^h,
 Many gentill knighth yflawe:
 Many arme, many hevedⁱ
 Some from the body reved:
 Many gentill lavedy^k
 Ther les quyk her amy^l.
 Ther was many maym yled^m,
 Many fair pensel bibledⁿ:
 Ther was fwerdes liklakyng^o,
 There was speres bathing^p
 Both kynges ther faunz doute
 Beeth in dasht with al her route.

^z They.^a Servant. Subject.^b Strife.^c Greeks.^d Shame.^e Thought.^f Lost.^g Horse. Lat. *Dextrarius*.^h Short time.ⁱ Head.^k Lady.^l Paramour.^m "Led along, maimed, wounded."ⁿ "Many a rich banner, or flag, sprinkled
"with blood."^o Clashing.
^p MS. baping. I do not understand the
word.

. speke
 The other his harmes for to wreke.
 Many londes neir and ferre
 Lefen her lord in that werre.
 quaked of her rydyng,
 The wedar^a thicked of her cryeyng :
 The blode of hem that weren yflawe
 Ran by floods to the lowe, &c.

I have already mentioned Alexander's miraculous horn.

He blewe in horne quyk fans doute,
 His folk hym fwith^e aboute :
 And hem he said with voice clere
 Iche bidde frendes that ge ine here
 Alifaunder is comen in this londe
 With strong knittes with migty honde, &c.

Alexander's adventures in the deserts among the Gymnophists, and in Inde, are not omitted. The authors whom he quotes for his vouchers, shew the reading and ideas of the times^b.

Tho Alifaunder went thoroug desert,
 Many wonders he feig apert^c,
 Whiche he dude wel descryve,
 By gode clerkes in her lyve;
 By Aristotle his maistr that was,
 Beeter clerk fithen non nas;
 He was with him, and few and wroot,
 All thise wondre god it woot :
 Salomon that al the world thoroug yede
 In foothe witnesse held hym myde.

^a Weather. Sky.

^c Came, followed.

^s MS. ut supr. f. 50.

^t Saw openly.

Yfidre

Yfidre ^u also that was so wys
 In his boke telleth this :
 Maister Eustroge bereth hym witnesse,
 Of the wondres more and lesse.
 Seynt Jerome gu schullen ywyte
 Them hath also in book ywryte :
 And Magestene, the gode clerk,
 Hath made therof mychel werk,
 . . . that was of gode memorie
 It sheweth al in his boke of storie :
 And also Pompie ^w, of Rome lorde,
 written everie worde.
 Bie heldeth me thareof no fynder ^x
 Her bokes ben my shewer :
 And the Lyf of Alysaunder
 Of whom fleig so riche sklaunder.
 Gif gee willeth give listnyng,
 Nowe gee shullen here gode thyng.
 In somers tyde the daye is long,
 Foules syngeth and maketh song :
 Kyng Alysaunder ywent is,
 With dukes, erles, and folk of pris,
 With many knyghts, and douty men,
 Toward the city of Fa aen ;
 After kyng Porus, that flowen ^y was
 Into the citee of Bandas,
 He woulde wende thorough desert
 This wonders to sene apert,
 Gromyes he nome ^z of the londe,
 Ffyve thousand, I understonde,

^u *Isidore*. He means, I suppose, *Isidorus Hispalensis*, a Latin writer of the seventh century.

^w He means Justin's Trogus Pompeius

the historian, whom he confounds with Pompey the Great.

^x "Don't look on me as the inventor."

^y Fled.

^z Took.

That

That hem shulden lede ryth ^a
 Thoroug deferts, by day and nyth.
 The Sy . . res loveden the kyng nough,
 And wolden have him bicaugth.
 Thii ledden hym therefore, als I fynde,
 In the straungest peril of Ynde:
 As so iche fynd in thi book
 Thii weren asfhreynt in her crook.
 Now rideth Alysaunder with his oost,
 With mychel pryde and mychel boost;
 As ar hii comen to a castel . . ton.
 I schullen speken another lesson.
 Lordynges, also I fynde
 At Mede so bigynneth Ynde,
 Fforsothe ich woot it stretcheth ferrest
 Of all the londes in the Est
 And oth the ^b southhalf fikerlyk
 To the see of Affryk,
 And the north half to a mountayne
 That is ycleped Caucasyne ^c :
 Fforsothe zee shullen undirstonde,
 Twyes is somer in that londe,
 And nevermore wynter, ne chele ^d,
 That lond is ful of all wele.
 Twyes hii gaderen fruyt there
 And wyne and corne in one yere.
 In the londe also I fynd of Ynde
 Bene cites fyve-thousynd,
 Withouten ydles, and castelis,
 And borugh tounnes swithe feles ^e.
 In the londe of Ynde thou migh lere
 Vyve thousand folk of felcouth ^f manere

^a Strait. ^b MS. oppe. ^c Caucasus. ^d Chill. Cold. ^e Very many. ^f Uncommon.

That

That ther non is other ylyche
 Bie holde thou it nough ferlyche,
 And bi that thou underfande the geftes,
 Both of men and of beftes, &c.

Edward the fecond is faid to have carried with him to the fiege of Stirling caſtle, in Scotland, a poet named Robert Baſton. He was a Carmelite friar of Scarborough; and the king intended that Baſton, being an eye-witneſs of the expedition, ſhould celebrate his conqueſt of Scotland in verſe. Hollinghead, an hiſtorian not often remarkable for penetration, mentions this circumſtance as a ſingular proof of Edward's preſumption and confidence in his undertaking againſt Scotland: but a poet ſeems to have been a ſtated officer in the royal retinue when the king went to war^g. Baſton, however, appears to have been chiefly a Latin poet, and therefore does not properly fall into our ſeries. At leaſt his poem on the ſiege of Striveling caſtle is written in monkish Latin hexameters^h: and our royal bard being taken priſoner in the expedition, was compelled by the Scotch to write a panegyric, for his ranſom, on Robert Brus, which is compoſed in the ſame ſtyle and languageⁱ. Bale mentions his *Poemata, et Rhythmi, Tragædiæ et Comædiæ vulgares*^k. Some of theſe indeed appear to have been written in Engliſh: but no Engliſh pieces of this author now remain. In the mean time, the bare exiſtence of dramatic compositions in England at this period, even if written in

^g Leland. Script. Brit. p. 338. Hollingh. Hiſt. ii. p. 217. 220. Tanner mentions, as a poet of England, one Gulielmus Peregrinus, who accompanied Richard the firſt into the holy land, and ſung his achievements there in a Latin poem, entitled *ODOEPORICON RICARDI REGIS*, lib. i. It is dedicated to Herbert archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Stephen Turnham, a captain in the expedition. He flouriſhed about

A. D. 1200. Tann. Bibl. p. 591. See Voſſ. Hiſt. Lat. p. 441. He is called "poeta per canatatem excellens." See Bal. iii. 45. Pittf. 266.

^h It is extant in Fordun's Scoti-chron. c. xxiii. l. 12.

ⁱ Leland. ut ſupr. And MSS. Harl. 1819. Brit. Muſ. See alſo Wood, Hiſt. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 101.

^k Apud Tanner, p. 79.

the Latin tongue, deserve notice in investigating the progress of our poetry. For the same reason I must not pass over a Latin piece, called a comedy, written in this reign, perhaps by Peter Babyon; who by Bale is styled an admirable rhetorician and poet, and flourished about the year 1317. This comedy is thus entitled in the Bodleian manuscript, *De Babione et Croceo domino Babionis et Viola filiasira Babionis quam Croceus duxit invito Babione, et Pecula uxore Babionis et Fodio suo, &c*¹. It is written in long and short Latin verses, without any appearance of dialogue. In what manner, if ever, this piece was represented theatrically, cannot easily be discovered or ascertained. Unless we suppose it to have been recited by one or more of the characters concerned; at some public entertainment. The story is in Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS. Whether Gower had it from this performance I will not enquire. It appears at least that he took it from some previous book.

I find writte of Babio,
Which had a love at his menage,
Ther was no fairer of hir age,
And hight Viola by name, &c.
And had affaited to his hande
His servant, the which Spodius
Was hote, &c.
A fresh a-free and friendly man, &c.
Which Croceus by name hight, &c^m.

In the mean time it seems most probable, that this piece has been attributed to Peter Babyon, on account of the likeness of the name BABIO, especially as he is a ridiculous character. On the whole, there is nothing dramatic in the structure of this nominal comedy; and it has certainly no claim to that title, only as it contains a familiar and comic story car-

¹ Arch. B. 52.

^m Lib. v. f. 109. b. Edit. Berth. 1554.

ried on with much scurrilous satire intended to raise mirth. But it was not uncommon to call any short poem, not serious or tragic, a comedy. In the Bodleian manuscript, which comprehends Babyon's poem just mentioned, there follows *COMEDIA DE GETA*: this is in Latin long and short verses ⁿ, and has no marks of dialogue ^o. In the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge, is a piece entitled, *COMEDIA ad monasterium de Hulme ordinis S. Benedicti Diocesis Norwic. directa ad Reformationem sequentem, cujus data est primo die Septembris sub anno Christi 1477, et a morte Joannis Fastolfe militis eorum benefactoris* ^p *precipui* 17, *in cujus monasterii ecclesia humatur* ^q. This is nothing more than a satyrical ballad in Latin; yet some allegorical personages are introduced, which however are in no respect accommodated to scenical representation. About the reign of Edward the fourth, one Edward Watson, a scholar in grammar at Oxford, is permitted to proceed to a degree in that faculty, on condition that within two years he would write one hundred verses in praise of the university, and also compose a *COMEDY* ^r. The nature and subject of Dante's *COMEDIES*, as they are styled, is well known. The comedies ascribed to Chaucer are probably his Canterbury tales. We learn from Chaucer's own words, that tragic tales were called *TRAGEDIES*. In the Prologue to the *MONKES TALE*.

**TRAGEDY is to tell a certaine story,
As old bokis makin ofte memory,**

ⁿ *Carmina composuit, voluitque placere poeta.*

^o f. 121.

^p In the episcopal palace at Norwich is a curious piece of old wainscot brought from the monastery of Hulme at the time of its dissolution. Among other antique ornaments are the arms of Sir John Falstaff, their principal benefactor. This magnificent knight was also a benefactor to Mag-

dalene College in Oxford. He bequeathed estates to that society, part of which were appropriated to buy liveries for some of the senior scholars. But this benefaction, in time, yielding no more than a penny a week to the scholars who received the liveries, they were called, by way of contempt, *Falstaff's buckram-men*.

^q *Miscell. M. p. 274.*

^r *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. 4. col. 2.*

Of hem that stode in grete prosperite,
And be fallen out of her high degree, &c¹.

Some of these, the Monke adds, were written in prose, others in metre. Afterwards follow many tragical narratives: of which he says,

TRAGIDIES first wol I tell
Of which I have an *hundred* in my cell.

Lidgate further confirms what is here said with regard to comedy as well as tragedy.

My maister Chaucer with fresh COMEDIES,
Is dead, alas! chief poet of Britaine:
That whilom made ful piteous TRAGEDIES².

The stories in the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES are called TRAGEDIES, so late as the sixteenth century³. Bale calls his play, or MYSTERY, of GOD'S PROMISES, a TRAGEDY, which appeared about the year 1538.

I must however observe here, that dramatic entertainments, representing the lives of saints and the most eminent scriptural stories, were known in England for more than two centuries before the reign of Edward the second. These spectacles they commonly styled MIRACLES. I have

¹ v. 85. See also, *ibid.* v. 103. 786. 875.

² Prol. F. Pr. v. i. See also Chaucer's Troil. and Cr. v. 1785. 1787.

³ The elegant Fontenelle mentions one Parafols a Limosin, who wrote *Cinque belles TRAGEDIES des gestes de Jeanne reine de Naples*, about the year 1383. Here he thinks he has discovered, so early as the fourteenth century, "une Poete tragique." I have never seen these five Tragedies, nor perhaps had Fontenelle. But I will venture to pronounce, that they are nothing more than five tragical narra-

tives: Queen Jane murdered her four husbands, and was afterwards put herself to death. See Fontenelle's *Hist. de Theatr. Fr. Oeuv. tom. troif. p. 20.* edit. Paris, 1742. 12^{mo}. Nor can I believe that the *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, as they are called, of Anselm Fayditt, and other early troubadours, had any thing dramatic. It is worthy of notice, that pope Clement the seventh rewarded Parafols for his five *tragedies* with two canonries. Compare *Recherches sur les Theatr. de France*, par M. de Beauchamps, Paris, 1735. 4^{to}. p. 65.

already mentioned the play of faint Catharine, acted at Dunstable about the year 1110^x. William Fitz-Stephen, a writer of the twelfth century, in his DESCRIPTION OF LONDON, relates that, "London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has "holy plays, or the representation of miracles wrought by "confessors, and of the sufferings of martyrs^y." These pieces must have been in high vogue at our present period; for Matthew Paris, who wrote about the year 1240, says that they were such as "MIRACULA VULGARITER APPELLAMUS^z." And we learn from Chaucer, that in his time PLAYS OF MIRACLES were the common resort of idle gossips in Lent.

Therefore made I my visitations,
To prechings eke and to pilgrimags,
To PLAYS of MIRACLES, and mariagis, &c^a.

This is the genial WIFE OF BATH, who amuses herself with these fashionable diversions, while her husband is absent in London, during the holy season of Lent. And in PIERCE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, a piece perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions these MIRACLES as not less frequented than markets or taverns.

We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten,
Att markets and MIRACLES we medeley us never^b.

Among the plays usually represented by the guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, on that festival, LUDUS FILIORUM

^x DISSERTATION II.

^y "Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum que sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum." Ad calc. STOW'S SURVEY OF LONDON, p. 480. edit. 1599. The reader will observe, that I have construed *sanctiores* in a positive sense.

Fitz-Stephen mentions at the end of his tract, "Imperatricem Matildem, Henricum regem tertium, et beatum Thomam. &c." p. 483. Henry the third did not accede till the year 1216. Perhaps he implied *futurum regem tertium*.

^z Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639.

^a Prol. Wif. B. v. 555. p. 80. Urr.

^b Signat. A. iii. b. edit. 1561.

ISRAELIS was acted in the year 1355^c. Our drama seems hitherto to have been almost entirely confined to religious subjects, and these plays were nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the times. I do not find expressly, that any play on a profane subject, either tragic or comic, had as yet been exhibited in England. Our very early ancestors scarce knew any other history than that of their religion. Even on such an occasion as the triumphant entry of a king or queen into the city of London, or other places, the pageants were almost entirely scriptural^d. Yet I must observe, that an article in one of the pipe-rolls, perhaps of the reign of king John, and consequently about the year 1200, seems to place the rudiments of histrionic exhibition, I mean of general subjects, at a much higher period among us than is commonly imagined. It is in these words. “ Nicola uxor Gerardi de Canvill, reddit
“ computum de centum marcis pro maritanda Matildi filia
“ sua cuicunque voluerit, exceptis MIMICIS regis.”---“ Ni-
“ cola, wife of Gerard of Canville, accounts to the king for
“ one hundred marks for the privilege of marrying his

^c Masters’s Hist. C. C. C. C. p. 5. vol. 3. What was the antiquity of the *Guany-Miracle*, or *Miracle-Play* in Cornwall, has not been determined. In the Bodleian library are three Cornish interludes, written on parchment. B. 40. Art. In the same library there is also another, written on paper in the year 1611. Arch. B. 31. Of this last there is a translation in the British Museum. MSS. Harl. 1867. 2. It is entitled the CREATION OF THE WORLD. It is called a Cornish play or opera, and said to be written by Mr. William Jordan. The translation into English was made by John Keigwin of Moushole in Cornwall, at the request of Trelawney, bishop of Exeter, 1691. Of this William Jordan I can give no account. In the British Museum there is an antient Cornish poem on the death and resurrection of Christ. It is on vellum,

and has some rude pictures. The beginning and end are lost. The writing is supposed to be of the fifteenth century. MSS. Harl. 1782. 4^{to}. See the learned Lwhyd’s *Archæol. Brit.* p. 265. And Borlase’s *Cornwall, Nat. Hist.* p. 295. edit. 1758.

^d When our Henry the sixth entered Paris in 1431, in the quality of king of France, he was met at the gate of Saint Denis by a Dumb Shew, representing the birth of the Virgin Mary and her marriage, the adoration of the three kings, and the parable of the sower. This pageant indeed was given by the French: but the readers of Hollingshead will recollect many instances immediately to our purpose. See *Monstrelet. apud Fonten. Hist. Theatr. ut supr.* p. 37.

^e Rot. incert. ut videtur Reg. Johann. Apud. MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vii. p. 104.

“ daughter

“ daughter Maud to whatever person she pleases, the king’s “ MIMICS excepted.” Whether or no MIMICI REGIS are here a sort of players kept in the king’s household for diverting the court at stated seasons, at least with performances of mimicry and masquerade, or whether they may not strictly imply MINSTRELLS, I cannot indeed determine. Yet we may remark, that MIMICUS is never used for MIMUS, that certain theatrical entertainments called mascarades, as we shall see below, were very antient among the French, and that these MIMICI appear, by the context of this article, to have been persons of no very respectable character^f. I likewise find in the wardrobe-rolls of Edward the third, in the year 1348, an account of the dresses, *ad faciendum Ludos domini regis ad festum Natalis domini celebratos apud Guldeford*, for furnishing the plays or sports of the king, held in the castle of Guildford at the feast of Christmas^g. In these LUDI, says my record, were expended eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, forty-two visours of various similitudes, that is, fourteen of the faces of women, fourteen of the faces of men with beards, fourteen of heads of angels, made with silver; twenty-eight crests^h, fourteen mantles embroidered with heads of dragons: fourteen white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, fourteen heads of swans with wings, fourteen tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, fourteen tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silverⁱ. In the rolls of

^f John of Salisbury, who wrote about 1160, says, “ Histriones et mimi non possunt recipere sacram communionem.” POLICRAT. i. 8.

^g Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magnæ Garderob. ab ann. 21. Edw. i. ad ann. 23. Membr. ix.

^h I do not perfectly understand the Latin original in the place. viz. “ xiiij Cressles cum tibiis reversatis et calceatis, xiiij Cressles cum montibus et cuniculis.” Among the stuffs are “ viii pelles de Roan.”

In the same wardrobe rolls, a little above, I find this entry, which relates to the same festival. “ Et ad faciendum vi pennecellos pro tubis et clarionibus contra festum natalis domini, de syndone, vapulatos de armis regis quartellatis.” Membr. ix.

ⁱ Some perhaps may think, that these were dresses for a MASQUE at court. If so, Hollingshead is mistaken in saying, that in the year 1512, “ on the daie of Epiphanie “ at night, the king with eleven others “ were disguised after the manner of Italie called

the wardrobe of king Richard the second, in the year 1391, there is also an entry which seems to point out a sport of much the same nature. "Pro xxi coifs de tela linea pro hominibus de lege contrafactis pro LUDO regis tempore natalis domini anno xii^k." That is, "for twenty-one linen coifs for counterfeiting men of the law in the king's play at Christmas". It will be sufficient to add here on the last record, that the serjeants at law at their creation, antiently wore a cap of linen, lawn, or silk, tied under the chin: this was to distinguish them from the clergy who had the tonsure. Whether in both these instances we are to understand a dumb shew, or a dramatic interlude with speeches, I leave to the examination of those who are professedly making enquiries into the history of our stage from its rudest origin. But that plays on general subjects were no uncommon mode of entertainment in the royal palaces of England, at least at the commencement of the fifteenth century, may be collected from an old memoir of shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas, in the reign of Henry the seventh, in the palace of Westminster. It is in the year 1489. "This cristmas I saw no disguysings, and but *right few* PLAYS. But ther was an abbot of Mistrule, that made much sport, and did right well his office." And again, "At nyght the kynge, the qweene, and my ladye the kynges moder, cam into the Whitehall, and ther hard a PLAY^l."

"called a maske, a thing not seen before in England. They were apparelled in garments long and broad wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold, &c." Hist. vol. iii. p. 812. a. 40. Besides, these maskings most probably came to the English, if from Italy, through the medium of France. Hollingshead also contradicts himself: for in another place he seems to allow their existence under our Henry the fourth, A. D. 1400. "The conspirators ment upon the sudden to have to have set upon the king in the castell of Windsor, under

"colour of a maske or mummerie, &c." ibid. p. 515. b. 50. Strype says there were PAGEAUNTS exhibited in London when queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236. And for the victory over the Scots by Edward the first in 1298. Anecd. Brit. Topograph. p. 725. Lond. edit. 1768.

^k Comp. Magn. Garderob. an. 14. Ric. ii. f. 193. b.

^l Leland. Coll. iii. Append. p. 256. edit. 1770.

As to the religious dramas, it was customary to perform this species of play on holy festivals in or about the churches. In the register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal injunction is recited, against the exhibition of SPECTACULA in the cemetery of his cathedral^m. Whether or no these were dramatic SPECTACLES, I do not pretend to decide. In several of our old scriptural plays, we see some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubric in the missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. There is a curious passage in Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary written about the year 1570, much to our purpose, which I am therefore tempted to transcribeⁿ. "In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in maner of a shew, or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the hole action of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain smalle puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bare the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the found that is caused by the metynge of two styckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once sawe in Poule's church

^m Registr. lib. iii. f. 88. "Canere Cantilenas, ludibriorum *spectacula* facere, saltationes et alios ludos inhonestos frequentare, choreas, &c." So in Statut. Eccles. Nannett. A. D. 1405. No "mimi vel jocolatores, ad *monstra larvarum* in ecclesia et cemeterio," are permitted. Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. iv. p. 993. And again, "Jocolatores, histriones, saltatrices, in ecclesia, cemeterio, vel porticu.—nec aliquæ choreæ." Statut. Synod. Eccles. Leod. A. D. 1287. apud Marten. ut supr.

p. 846. Fontenelle says, that antiently among the French, comedies were acted after divine service, in the church-yard. "Au sortir du sermon ces bonnes gens alloient a la *Comedie*, c'est a dire, qu'ils changeoint de Sermon." Hist. Theatr. ut supr. p. 24. But these were scriptural comedies, and they were constantly preceded by a BENEDICTE, by way of prologue. The French stage will occur again below.

ⁿ Pag. 459. edit. 1730. 4^{to}.

“ at London, at a feast of Whitfuntyde; wheare the
 “ comynge downe of the Holy Gost was set forthe by a
 “ white pigion, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is
 “ to be sene in the mydst of the roofe of the greate ile,
 “ and by a longe censer which descendinge out of the same
 “ place almost to the verie grounde, was swunged up and
 “ downe at suche a lengthe, that it reached with thone
 “ swepe almost to the west-gate of the church, and with
 “ the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathinge out
 “ over the whole church and companie a most pleasant per-
 “ fume of such swete thinges as burned therein. With the like
 “ doome shewes also, they used everie where to furnish
 “ sondrye parts of their church service, as by their specta-
 “ cles of the nativite, passion, and ascension, &c.”

This practice of acting plays in churches, was at last grown to such an enormity, and attended with such inconvenient consequences, that in the reign of Henry the eighth, Bonner, bishop of London, issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, dated 1542, prohibiting “ all maner of
 “ common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set
 “ forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels, &c.” This fashion seems to have remained even after the Reformation, and when perhaps profane stories had taken place of religious^p. Archbishop Grindal, in the year 1563, remonstrated against the danger of interludes: complaining that players “ did especially on holy days, set up bills in-
 “ viting to their play^q.” From this ecclesiastical source of the modern drama, plays continued to be acted on sundays so late as the reign of Elizabeth, and even till that of Charles

^o Burnet, Hist. Ref. i. Coll. Rec. pag. 225.

^p From a puritanical pamphlet entitled THE THIRD BLAST OF RETRAIT FROM PLAIES, &c. 1580. 12^{mo}. p. 77. Where the author says, the players are “ permitted to publish their mamettrie in everie

“ temple of God, and that, throughout
 “ England, &c.” This abuse of acting
 plays in churches is mentioned in the canon
 of James the first, which forbids also the
 profanation of churches by court-leets, &c.
 The canons were given in the year 1603.

^q Strype's Grindall, p. 82.

the first, by the choristers or singing-boys of Saint Paul's cathedral in London, and of the royal chapel.

It is certain, that these MIRACLE-PLAYS were the first of our dramatic exhibitions. But as these pieces frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called MORALITIES. The miracle-plays, or MYSTERIES, were totally destitute of invention or plan: they tamely represented stories according to the letter of scripture, or the respective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramatic art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious. It may be also observed, that many licentious pleasantries were sometimes introduced in these religious representations. This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane, and to comedy, and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a 'Mystery of the MASSACRE OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous council of Constance, in the year 1417*, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him home to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy. It is in an enlightened age only

* MSS. Digb. 134. Bibl. Bodl.

° L'Enfant. ii. 440.

that

that subjects of scripture history would be supported with proper dignity. But then an enlightened age would not have chosen such subjects for theatrical exhibition. It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the comic and the serious part of these motley scenes; at least they were persuaded that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum, consequently but little sense of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, composed the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his mistress, and afterwards proceeded with a safe conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of *the Old and New Testament*, Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked, and conversing about

'MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. Exhibited at Chester in the year 1327, at the expence of the different trading companies of that city. *The Fall of Lucifer* by the Tanners. *The Creation* by the Drapers. *The Deluge* by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchisedech, and Lot* by the Barbers. *Moses, Balak, and Balaam* by the Cappers. *The Salutation and Nativity* by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night* by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings* by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings* by the Mercers. *The Killing of the Innocents* by the Goldsmiths. *The Purification* by the Blacksmiths. *The Temptation* by the Butchers. *The last Supper* by the Bakers. *The Blindmen and Lazarus* by the Glovers. *Jesus and the Lepers* by the Corvesarys. *Christ's Passion* by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Descent into*

Hell by the Cocks and Innkeepers. *The Resurrection* by the Skinners. *The Ascension* by the Taylors. *The election of S. Matthias, Sending of the holy ghost, &c.* by the Fishmongers. *Antechrist* by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgment* by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these COMBINATIONS. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play. God enters creating the world: he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked and *not ashamed*, and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction, to make themselves *subligacula foliis quibus tegamus Pudenda*. Cover their nakedness with leaves, and converse with God.
I i 2 God's

their nakedness : this very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure : they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity : and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain.

In the mean time, profane dramas seem to have been known in France at a much earlier period^u. Du Cange gives the following picture of the king of France dining in public, before the year 1300. During this ceremony, a sort of farces or drolls seems to have been exhibited. All the great officers of the crown and the household, says he, were present. The company was entertained with the instrumental music of the minstrells, who played on the kettle-drum, the flagellet^v, the cornet, the Latin cittern, the Bohemian flute,

God's curse. The serpent *exit* hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning. Their children Cain and Abel enter : The former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is banished, &c.

^u John of Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century, speaking of the common diversions of his time, says, "Nostra ætas prolapsa ad fabulas et quævis inania, non modo aures et cor prostituit vanitati, &c." POLICRAT. i. 8. An ingenious French writer, Monf. Duclos, thinks that PLAYS are here implied. By the word *Fabula*, says he, something more is signified than dances, gesticulation, and simple dial que. *Fabula* properly means composition, and an arrangement of things which constitute an action. Mem. Acad. Infer. xvii. p. 224. 4th. But perhaps *fabula* has too

vague and general a sense, especially in its present combination with *quævis inania*, to bear so precise and critical an interpretation. I will add, that if this reasoning be true, the words will be equally applicable to the English stage.—At Constantinople it seems that the stage flourished much under Justinian and Theodora, about the year 540. For in the Basilical codes we have the oath of an actress *μη αναχωσειν της πορνης*. Tom. vii. p. 682. edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly saint Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama : and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the gospel.

^v I believe, a sort of pipe. This is the French word, viz. Demy-canon. See Carpent. Du Cange, Gl. Lat. i. p. 760.

the

the trumpet, the Moorish cittern, and the fiddle. Besides there were “des FARCEURS, des jongleurs, et des plaifantins, “ qui divertiffoient les compagnies par leur faceties et par “ leur COMEDIES, pour l’entretien.” He adds, that many noble families in France were entirely ruined by the prodigious expences lavished on those performers *. The annals of France very early mention buffoons among the minstrells at these solemnities; and more particularly that Louis le Debonnaire, who reigned about the year 830, never laughed aloud, not even when at the most magnificent festivals, players, buffoons, minstrels, singers, and harpers, attended his table †. In some constitutions given to a cathedral church in France, in the year 1280, the following clause occurs. “Nullus SPECTACULIS aliquibus quæ aut in *Nuptiis* aut in *Scenis* exhibentur, interfuit ‡.” Where, by the way, the word *Scenis* seems to imply somewhat of a professed stage, although the establishment of the first French theatre is dated not before the year 1398. The play of ROBIN and MARIAN is said to have been performed by the school-boys of Angiers, according to annual custom, in the year 1392 §. A royal carousal given by Charles the fifth of France to the emperor Charles the fourth, in the year 1378, was closed with the theatrical representation of the *Conquest of Jerusalem* by Godfrey of Bulloign, which was

* Differtat. Joinv. p. 161.

† Ibid.

‡ Montfauc. Catal. Manuscript. p. 1158. See also Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. iv. p. 506. Statut. Synod. A. D. 1468. “*Lar- varia ad Nuptias, &c.*” Stowe, in his SURVEY OF LONDON, mentions the practice of acting plays at weddings.

§ The boys were *deguifsez*, says the old French record: and they had among them *une Fillette deſguifée*. Carpent. ubi ſupr. V. ROBINET. PENTECOSTE. Our old character of MAYD MARIAN may be hence illuſtrated. It ſeems to have been an early

fashion in France for ſchool-boys to preſent theſe ſhews or plays. In an antient manuſcript, under the year 1477, there is mentioned “*Certaine MORALITE, ou FARCE, “ que les eſcolliers de Pontoife avoit fait, “ ainſi qu’il eſt de couſtume.*” Carpent. ubi ſupr. V. MORALITAS. The MYSTERY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT is ſaid to have been repreſented in 1424, by the boys of Paris placed like ſtatues againſt a wall, without ſpeech or motion, at the entry of the duke of Bedford, regent of France. See J. de Paris, p. 101. And Sauval, Ant. de Paris. ii. 101.

exhibited

exhibited in the hall of the royal palace ^b. This indeed was a subject of a religious tendency ; but not long afterwards, in the year 1395, perhaps before, the interesting story of PATIENT GRISILDE appears to have been acted at Paris. This piece still remains, and is entitled, *Le MYSTERE de Grisildis marquise de Saluce* ^c. For all dramatic pieces were indiscriminately called MYSTERIES, whether a martyr or a heathen god, whether saint Catharine or Hercules was the subject.

In France the religious MYSTERIES, often called PITEAUX, or PITOUX, were certainly very fashionable, and of high antiquity: yet from any written evidence, I do not find them more antient than those of the English. In the year 1384, the inhabitants of the village of Aunay, on the Sunday after the feast of saint John, played the MIRACLE of Theophilus, “ou quel Jeu avoit un personnage de un qui devoit getter d’un canon ^d.” In the year 1398, some citizens of Paris met at saint Maur to play the PASSION of CHRIST. The magistrates of Paris, alarmed at this novelty, published an ordonnance, prohibiting them to represent, “aucuns jeux de personages soit de vie de saints ou autrement,” without the royal licence, which was soon afterwards obtained ^e. In the year 1486, at Anjou, ten pounds were paid towards supporting the charges of acting the PASSION of CHRIST, which was represented by masks, and, as I suppose, by persons hired for the purpose ^f. The chaplains of Abbeville, in the year 1455, gave four pounds and

^b Felib. tom. ii. p. 681.

^c It has been printed, more than once, in the black letter. Beauchamps, p. 110.

^d Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange Lat. Gl. V. LUDUS.

^e Beauchamps, ut sup. p. 90. This was the first theatre of the French: the actors were incorporated by the king, under the title of the *Fraternity of the passion of our Saviour*. Beauch. ibid. See above, Sect. ii. p. 91. n. The *Jeu de personages* was a very

common play of the young boys in the larger towns, &c. Carpentier, ut sup. V. PERSONAGIUM. And LUDUS PERSONAG. At Cambray mention is made of the shew of a boy *larvatus cum maza in collo* with drums, &c. Carpent. ib. V. KALENDÆ JANUAR.

^f “Decem libr. ex parte nationis, ad onera supportanda hujus Misterii.” Carpent. ut sup. V. PERSONAGIUM.

ten shillings to the PLAYERS of the PASSION^g. But the French MYSTERIES were chiefly performed by the religious communities, and some of their FETES almost entirely consisted of a dramatic or personated shew. At the FEAST of ASSES, instituted in honour of Baalam's Ass, the clergy walked on Christmas day in procession, habited to represent the prophets and others. Moses appeared in an alb and cope, with a long beard and rod. David had a green vestment. Baalam with an immense pair of spurs, rode on a wooden ass, which inclosed a speaker. There were also six Jews and six Gentiles. Among other characters the poet Virgil was introduced as a gentile prophet and a translator of the Sibylline oracles. They thus moved in procession, chanting versicles, and conversing in character on the nativity and kingdom of Christ, through the body of the church, till they came into the choir. Virgil speaks some Latin hexameters, during the ceremony, not out of his fourth eclogue, but wretched monkish lines in rhyme. This feast was, I believe, early suppressed^h. In the year 1445, Charles the seventh of France ordered the masters in Theology at Paris to forbid the ministers of the collegiateⁱ churches to celebrate at Christmas the FEAST of FOOLS in their churches, where the clergy danced in masques and antic dresses, and exhibited *plusieurs*

^g Carpent. ut supr. V. LUDUS. Who adds, from an antient Computus, that three shillings were paid by the ministers of a church in the year 1537, for parchment, for writing LUDUS RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI.

^h See p. 210.

ⁱ Marten. Anecd. tom. i. col. 1804. See also Belet. de Divin. offic. cap. 72. And Guffanvill. post. Not. ad Petr. Blefenf. Feilbien confounds *La Fete de Fous et la Fete de Sotise*. The latter was an entertainment of dancing called *Les Saules*, and thence corrupted into *Soties* or *Sotise*. See Mem. Acad. Inscript. xvii. 225. 226. See also Probat. Hist. Antissiodor. p. 310.

Again, the *Feast of Fools* seems to be pointed at in Statut. Senonenf. A. D. 1445. Instr. tom. xii. Gall. Christian. Coll. 96.

"Tempore divini servitii larvatos et mon-
"struosos vultus deferendo, cum vestibus
"mulierum, aut lenonum, aut histrio-
"num, choreas in ecclesia et choro ejus du-
"cendo, &c." With the most immodest spectacles. The nuns of some French convents are said to have had *Ludibria* on saint Mary Magdalene's and other festivals, when they wore the habits of seculars, and danced with them. Carpent. ubi supr. V. KALENDÆ. There was the office of *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley church, prohibited 1391. Dugd. Mon. iii. Append. 7.

mockeries

mocqueries spectacles publics, de leur corps deguisements, farces, rigmeries, with various enormities shocking to decency. In France as well as England it was customary to celebrate the feast of the boy-bishop. In all the collegiate churches of both nations, about the feast of Saint Nicholas, or the Holy Innocents, one of the children of the choir completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crozier, bore the title and state of a bishop, and exacted ceremonial obedience from his fellows, who were dressed like priests. They took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices¹, the mass excepted, which might have been celebrated by the bishop and his prebendaries^k. In the statutes of the archiepiscopal cathedral of Tullies, given in the year 1497, it is said, that during the celebration of the festival of the boy-bishop, "MORALITIES were presented, and shews of MIRACLES, with farces and other sports, but compatible with decorum.---After dinner they exhibited, without their masks, but in proper dresses, such farces as they were masters of, in different parts of the city^l." It is probable that the same entertainments attended the solemnisation of this ridiculous festival in England^m: and from this supposition some critics may be in-

¹ In the statutes of Eton-college, given 1441, the EPISCOPUS PUERORUM is ordered to perform divine service on saint Nicholas's day. Rubr. xxxi. In the statutes of Winchester-college, given 1380, PUERI, that is, the boy-bishop and his fellows, are permitted on Innocent's-day to execute all the sacred offices in the chapel, according to the use of the church of Sarum. Rubr. xxix. This strange piece of religious mockery flourished greatly in Salisbury cathedral. In the old statutes of that church there is a chapter DE EPISCOPO CHORISTARUM: and their *Processionale* gives a long and minute account of the whole ceremony. edit. Rothom. 1555.

^k This ceremony was abolished by a proclamation, no later than 33 Hen. viii.

Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. Tit. B. I. f. 208. In the inventory of the treasury of York cathedral, taken in 1530, we have "Item una mitra parva cum petris pro episcopo puerorum, &c." Dugd. Monast. iii. 169. 170. See also 313. 314. 177. 279. See also Dugd. Hist. S. Paul's, p. 205. 206. Where he is called EPISCOPUS PARVULORUM. See also Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. 309. Where, instead of *Nibilenfis*, read *Nicolensis*, or NICOLATENSIS.

^l Statut. Eccles. Tullenf. apud Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. V. KALENDÆ.

^m It appears that in England, the boy-bishop with his companions went about to different parts of the town; at least visited the other religious houses. As in Rot. Comp. Coll. Winton. A. D. 1461.

" In

clined to deduce the practice of our plays being acted by the choir-boys of St. Paul's church, and the chapel royal, which continued, as I before observed, till Cromwell's usurpation. The English and French stages mutually throw light on each other's history. But perhaps it will be thought, that in some of these instances I have exemplified in nothing more than farcical and gesticulatory representations. Yet even these traces should be attended to. In the mean time we may observe upon the whole, that the modern drama had its foundation in our religion, and that it was raised and supported by the clergy. The truth is, the members of the ecclesiastical societies were almost the only persons who could read, and their numbers easily furnished performers: they abounded in leisure, and their very relaxations were religious.

I did not mean to touch upon the Italian stage. But as so able a judge as Riccoboni seems to allow, that Italy derived her theatre from those of France and England, by way of an additional illustration of the antiquity of the two last, I will here produce one or two MIRACLE-PLAYS, acted much earlier in Italy than any piece mentioned by that ingenious writer, or by Crescimbeni. In the year 1298, on
 “ the feast of Pentecost, and the two following holidays,
 “ the representation of the PLAY OF CHRIST, that is of his
 “ passion, resurrection, ascension, judgment, and the mis-
 “ sion of the holy ghost, was performed by the clergy of

“ In Dat. episcopo Nicolatenſi.” This I ſuppoſe, was one of the children of the choir of the neighbouring cathedral. In the ſtatutes of the collegiate church of S. Mary Ottery, founded by biſhop Grandiſon in 1337, there is this paſſage. “ Item
 “ ſtatuiſmus, quod nullus canonicus, vica-
 “ rius, vel ſecundarius, pueros chorifas
 “ in feſto ſanctorum Innocentium extra Pa-
 “ rochiam de Otery trahant, aut eis licen-
 “ tiam vagandi concedant,” cap. 50. MS.

Regiſtr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. quat.
 9. In the wardrobe-rolls of Edward iii. an.
 12. we have this entry, which ſhews that
 our mock-biſhop and his chapter ſometimes
 exceeded their adopted clerical commiſſion,
 and exerciſed the arts of ſecular entertain-
 ment. “ EPISCOPO PUERORUM eccleſiæ
 “ de Andeworp cantanti coram domino
 “ rege in camera ſua in feſto ſanctorum In-
 “ nocentium, de dono ipſius dom. regis.
 “ xiii s. vi d.”

K k

“ Civita

“ Civita Vecchia, in curia domini patriarchæ Austriæ civitatis
 “ *honorifice et laudabiliter* ⁿ.” And again, “ In 1304, the
 “ chapter of Civita Vecchia exhibited a Play of the creation
 “ of our first parents, the annunciation of the virgin Mary,
 “ the birth of Christ, and other passages of sacred scripture ^o.”
 In the mean time, those critics who contend for the high
 antiquity of the Italian stage, may adopt these instances as
 new proofs in defence of that hypothesis.

In this transient view of the origin and progress of our
 drama, which was incidentally suggested by the mention of
 Bafton’s supposed Comedies, I have trespassed upon future
 periods. But I have chiefly done this for the sake of con-
 nection, and to prepare the mind of the reader for other
 anecdotes of the history of our stage, which will occur in
 the course of our researches, and are reserved for their res-
 pective places. I could have enlarged what is here loosely
 thrown together, with many other remarks and illustrations:
 but I was unwilling to transcribe from the collections of
 those who have already treated this subject with great com-
 prehension and penetration, and especially from the author of
 the Supplement to the Translator’s Preface of Jarvis’s *Don*
Quixote ^p. I claim no other merit from this digression, than
 that of having collected some new anecdotes relating to the
 early state of the English and French stages, the original of
 both which is intimately connected, from books and manu-
 scripts not easily found, nor often examined. These hints
 may perhaps prove of some service to those who have leisure
 and inclination to examine the subject with more precision.

ⁿ Chron. ForoJul. in Append. ad Mo-
 num. Ecel. Aquilej. pag. 30. col. 1.

^o Ibid. pag. 30. col. 1. It is extraor-
 dinary, that the Miracle-plays, even in

the churches, should not cease in Italy till
 the year 1660.

^p See also Doctor Percy’s very ingenious
 ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ENG-
 LISH STAGE, &c.

S E C T. VII.

EDWARD the third was an illustrious example and patron of chivalry. His court was the theatre of romantic elegance. I have examined the annual rolls of his wardrobe, which record various articles of costly stuffs delivered occasionally for the celebration of his tournaments; such as standards, pennons, tunics, caparisons, with other splendid furniture of the same sort: and it appears that he commanded these solemnities to be kept, with a magnificence superior to that of former ages, at Litchfield, Bury, Guildford, Eltham, Canterbury, and twice at Windsor, in little more than the space of one year^a. At his triumphant return from Scotland, he was met by two hundred and thirty knights at Dunstable, who received their victorious monarch with a grand exhibition of these martial exercises. He established in the castle of Windsor a fraternity of twenty-four knights, for whom he erected a round table, with a round chamber still remaining, according to a similar insti-

^a Comp. J. Cooke, *Provisoris Magn. Garderob.* ab ann. 21. Edw. iii. ad ann. 23. *supr.* citat. I will give, as a specimen, this officer's account for the tournament at Canterbury. "Et ad faciendum diversos
" apparatus pro corpore regis et suorum pro
" hastiludio Cantuariensi, an. reg. xxii.
" ubi Rex dedit octo herneſia de ſyndone
" ynde facta, et vapulata de armis dom.
" Stephani de Coſyngton militis, dominis
" principibus comiti Lancastrie, comiti
" Suffolcie, Johanni de Gray, Joh. de
" Beauchamp, Roberto Maule, Joh. Chandos, et dom. Rogero de Beauchamp. Et
" ad faciendum unum harnesum de boke-
" ram albo pro rege, extencellato cum

" argento, viz. tunicam et ſcutum operata
" cum dictamine Regis,

" *Hay Hay the wythe ſwan*

" *By Godes ſoule, I am thy man.*"

" Et croparium, pectorale, teſtarium, et
" arcenarium extencellata cum argento.
" Et ad parandum i. tunicam Regis, et i.
" clocam et capuciam cum c. garteriis
" paratis cum boucles, barris, et penden-
" tibus de argento. Et ad faciendum unum
" dublettum pro Rege de tela linea habente,
" circa manicas et ſimbriam, unam bor-
" duram de panno longo viridi operatam
" cum nebulis et vineis de auro. et cum
" dictamine Regis. *It is as it is.*" Memor.
xi. [A. D. 1349.]

tution of king Arthur^b. Anstis treats the notion, that Edward in this establishment had any retrospect to king Arthur, as an idle and legendary tradition^c. But the fame of Arthur was still kept alive, and continued to be an object of veneration long afterwards: and however idle and ridiculous the fables of the round table may appear at present, they were then not only universally known, but firmly believed. Nothing could be more natural to such a romantic monarch, in such an age, than the renovation of this most antient and revered institution of chivalry. It was a prelude to the renowned order of the garter, which he soon afterwards founded at Windsor, during the ceremonies of a magnificent feast, which had been proclaimed by his heralds in Germany, France, Scotland, Burgundy, Heynault, and Brabant, and lasted fifteen days^d. We must not try the modes and notions of other ages, even if they have arrived to some degree of refinement, by those of our own. Nothing is more probable, than that this latter foundation of Edward the third, took its rise from the exploded story of the garter of the countess of Salisbury^e. Such an origin is interwoven with the manners and ideas of the times. Their attention to the fair sex entered into every thing. It is by no means unreasonable to suppose, that the fantastic collar of Esses, worn by the knights of this Order, was an allusion to her name. Froissart, an eye-witness, and well acquainted

^b Walsing. p. 117.

^c Ord. Gart. ii. 92.

^d Barnes, i. ch. 22. p. 292. Froissart, c. 100. Anstis, ut sup.

^e Ashmole proves, that the orders of the *Amancada*, and of the *Toison d'Or*, had the like origin. Ord. Gart. p. 180. 181. Even in the ensigns of the order of the Holy Ghost, founded so late as 1578, some love-mysteries and emblems were concealed under cyphers introduced into the blasonrie. See Le Labourer, Contin. des Mem. de Castelnau, p. 895. "Il y eut plus de mysteres d'amourettes que de religion, &c."

But I cannot in this place help observing, that the fantastic humour of unriddling emblematical mysteries, supposed to be concealed under all ensigns and arms, was at length carried to such an extravagance, at least in England, as to be checked by the legislature. By a statute of queen Elizabeth, a severe penalty is laid, "on all fond
" phantastical prophecies upon or by the
" occasion of any arms, fields, beastes,
" badges, or the like things accustomed
" in arms, cognisaunces, or signetts, &c." Statut. v. Eliz. ch. 15. A. D. 1564.

with

with the intrigues of the court, relates at large the king's affection for the countess; and particularly describes a grand carousal which he gave in consequence of that attachment ^f. The first festival of this order was not only adorned by the bravest champions of christendom, but by the presence of queen Philippa, Edward's consort, accompanied with three hundred ladies of noble families ^g. The tournaments of this stately reign were constantly crowded with ladies of the first distinction; who sometimes attended them on horseback, armed with daggers, and dressed in a succinct soldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpose ^h. In a tournament exhibited at London, sixty ladies on palfries appeared, each leading a knight with a gold chain. In this manner they paraded from the tower to Smithfield ⁱ. Even Philippa, a queen of singular elegance of manners ^k, partook so much of the heroic spirit which was universally diffused, that just before an engagement with the king of Scotland, she rode round the ranks of the English army encouraging the soldiers, and was with some difficulty persuaded or compelled to relinquish the field ^l. The countess of Montfort is another eminent instance of female heroism in this age. When the strong town of Hennebont, near Rennes, was besieged by the French, this redoubted

^f Ubi sup.

^g They soon afterwards regularly received robes, with the knights companions, for this ceremony, powdered with garters. Ashmol. Ord. Gart. 217. 594. And Anstis, ii. 123.

^h Knyghton, Dec. Script. p. 2597.

ⁱ Froissart apud Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 718. edit. 1616. At an earlier period, the growing gallantry of the times appears in a public instrument. It is in the reign of Edward the first. Twelve jurymen depose upon oath the state of the king's lordship at Woodstock: and among other things it is solemnly recited, that Henry the second often resided at Woodstock, "pro amore

"cujusdam mulieris nomine Rosamunda." Hearne's Avesbury, Append. p. 331.

^k And of distinguished beauty. Hearne says, that the statuarys of those days used to make queen Philippa a model for their images of the Virgin Mary. Gloss. Rob. Brun. p. 349. He adds, that the holy virgin, in a representation of her assumption was constantly figured young and beautiful; and that the artists before the Reformation generally "had the most beautiful women of the greatest quality in their view, when they made statues and figures of her." *ibid.* p. 550.

^l Froissart. i. c. 138.

amazon rode in complete armour from street to street, on a large courser, animating the garison^m. Finding from a high tower that the whole French army was engaged in the assault, she issued, thus completely accoutred, through a convenient postern at the head of three hundred chosen soldiers, and set fire to the French campⁿ. In the mean time riches and plenty, the effects of conquest, peace, and prosperity, were spread on every side; and new luxuries were imported in great abundance from the conquered countries. There were few families, even of a moderate condition, but had in their possession precious articles of dress or furniture; such as silks, fur, tapestry, embroidered beds, cups of gold, silver, porcelain, and crystal, bracelets, chains, and necklaces, brought from Caen, Calais, and other opulent foreign cities^o. The encrease of rich furniture appears in a foregoing reign. In an act of Parliament of Edward the first^p, are many regulations, directed to goldsmiths, not only in London, but in other towns, concerning the sterling allay of vessels and jewels of gold and silver, &c. And it is said, “Grafters or cutters of stones and seals shall give every one their just weight of silver and gold.” It should be

^m Froissart says, that when the English proved victorious, the countess came out of the castle, and in the street kissed Sir Walter Manny the English general, and his captains, one after another, twice or thrice, *comme noble et valliant dame*. On another like occasion, the same historian relates, that she went out to meet the officers, whom she kissed and sumptuously entertained in her castle. i. c. 86. At many magnificent tournaments in France, the ladies determined the prize. See Mem. anc. Cheval. i. p. 175. seq. p. 223. seq. An English squire, on the side of the French, captain of the castle of Beaufort, called himself *le Pourprevant d'amour*, in 1369. Froissart, l. i. c. 64. In the midst of grand engagements between the French and English armies, when perhaps the interests of both nations are vitally

concerned, Froissart gives many instances of officers entering into separate and personal combat to dispute the beauty of their respective mistresses. Hist. l. ii. ch. 33. 43. On this occasion an ingenious French writer observes, that Homer's heroes of antient Greece are just as extravagant, who in the heat of the fight, often stop on a sudden, to give an account of the genealogy of themselves or of their horses. Mem. anc. Cheval. ubi supr. Sir Walter Manny, in 1343, in attacking the castle of Guigard exclaims, “let me never be beloved of my mistress, if I refuse this attack, &c.” Froissart, l. 81.

ⁿ Froissart, i. c. 80. Du Chesne, p. 656. Mezeray, ii. 3. p. 19. seq.

^o Walling. Ypodigm. 121. Hist. 150.

^p A. D. 1300, Edw. i. an. 28. cap. xx.

remembered,

remembered, that about this period Europe had opened a new commercial intercourse with the ports of India¹. No less than eight sumptuary laws, which had the usual effect of not being observed, were enacted in one session of parliament during this reign². Amid these growing elegancies and superfluities, foreign manners, especially of the French, were perpetually encreasing; and the native simplicity of the English people was perceptibly corrupted and effaced. It is not quite uncertain that masques had their beginning in this reign³. These shews, in which the greatest personages of the court often bore a part, and which arrived at their height in the reign of Henry the eighth, encouraged the arts of address and decorum, and are symptoms of the rise of polished manners⁴.

In a reign like this, we shall not be surprised to find such a poet as Chaucer: with whom a new era in English poetry begins, and on whose account many of these circumstances are mentioned, as they serve to prepare the reader for his character, on which they throw no inconsiderable light.

But before we enter on so ample a field, it will be perhaps less embarrassing, at least more consistent with our prescribed method, if we previously display the merits of two or three poets, who appeared in the former part of the reign of Edward the third, with other incidental matters.

The first of these is Richard Hampole, an eremite of the order of saint Augustine. He was a doctor of divinity, and lived a solitary life near the nuns of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster in Yorkshire. The neighbourhood of this female society could not withdraw our recluse from his de-

¹ Anderson, Hist. Comm. i. p. 141.

² Ann. 37. Edw. iii. cap. viii. seq.

³ See *supr.* p. 338.

⁴ This spirit of splendor and gallantry was continued in the reign of his successor.

See the genius of that reign admirably characterised, and by the hand of a master, in bishop Lowth's *LIFE OF WYKEHAM*, pag. 222. See also Hollingsh. Chron. sub ann. 1399. p. 508. col. 1.

votions and his studies. He flourished in the year 1349^u. His Latin theological tracts, both in prose and verse, are numerous; in which Leland justly thinks he has displayed more erudition than eloquence. His principal pieces of English rhyme are a Paraphrase of part of the book of Job, of the lord's prayer, of the seven penitential psalms, and the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE. But our hermit's poetry, which indeed from these titles promises but little entertainment, has no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or elegance. The following verses are extracted from the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE, one of the most common manuscripts in our libraries, and I prophesy that I am its last transcriber. But I must observe first, that this piece is divided into seven parts. I. Of man's nature. II. Of the world. III. Of death. IV. Of purgatory. V. Of the day of judgment. VI. Of the torments of hell. VII. Of the joys of heaven^w.

Monkynde is to godus wille
 And alle his biddyngus to fulfille
 Ffor of al his makying more and les
 Man most principal creature es
 All that he made for man hit was done
 As ye schal here aftir lone
 God to monkynde had gret love
 When he ordeyned to monnes behove
 This world and heven hym to glade
 There in myddulerd mon last he made
 To his likenes in feire stature
 To be most worthy creature
 Beforen all creatures of kynde
 He yef hym wit skile and mynde

^u Wharton, App. ad Cave, p. 75. Sæcul. Wicklev.

^w STIMULUS CONSCIENTIÆ *thys boke ys namyd*. MS. Ashmol. fol. N. 41. There is much transposition in this copy. In MS.

Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 87. it is called THE KEY OF KNOWING. Princ.

The migt of the fader almiti
 The wisdom of the sone al witti.

Ffor

Ffor too knowe bothe good and ille
 And als he yaf him a fre wille
 Fforto chese and forto holde
 Good or yvel whedur he wolde
 And as he ordeyned mon to dwelle
 To lyve in erthe in flessch and fell
 To knowe his workus and hym worshepe
 And his comaundement to kepe
 And yif he be to god buxome
 To endeles blis aftir to come
 And yif he wrongly here wende
 To peyne of helle withouten ende
 God made to his owne likenes
 Eche mon lyving here more and les
 To whom he hath gyven wit and skil
 Ffor to knowe bothe good and il
 And wille to these as they vouchsawe
 Good or evil whether thei wole have
 He that his wille to good wole bowe
 God wole hym with gret mede allowe
 He that wukudnes wole and wo
 Gret peyne shall he have also
 That mon therfore holde is for wood
 That chesuth the evel and leveth the good
 God made mon of most dignite
 Of all creatures most fre
 And namely to his owne liknes
 As bifore tolde hit es
 And most hath gyven and yit gyveth
 Than to any creature that lyveth
 And more hath het hym yit therto
 Hevene blis yif he wel do
 And yit when he had don amys
 And hadde lost that ilke blis

God tok monkynde for his sake
 And for his love deth wolde take
 And with his blod boughte hem ayene
 To his blisse fro endeles peyne.

PRIMA PARS DE MISERIA HUMANÆ CONDITIONIS.

Thus gret love god to man kidde
 And mony goode dedus to hym didde
 Therefore eche mon lernd and lewed
 Schulde thynke on love that he hem schewed
 And these gode dedus holde in mynde
 That he thus dide to monkynde
 And love and thanke hym as he con
 And ellus he is unkynde mon
 Bot he serve hym day and nyght
 And his yiftes usen hem right
 To spende his wit in godus servyse
 Certainly ellus he is not wise
 Bot he knowe kyndely what god es
 And what mon is that is les
 Thou febul mon is foule and body
 Thou strong god is and myghty
 Thou mon greveth god that doth not welle
 What mon is worthi therefore to fele
 Thou mercyfull and gracious god is
 And thou full of alle goodnes
 Thou right wis and thou sothfaste
 What he hath done and shal atte laste
 And eche day doth to monkynde
 This schulde eche mon have in mynde
 Ffor the rihte waye to that blis
 That leduth mon thidur that is this
 The waye of mekenes principally
 To love and drede god almighty

This

This is the waye into wifdlome
 Into whuche waye non may come
 Withouten knowing of god here
 His myghtus and his workes fere
 But ar he to that knowyng wynne
 Hymself he mot knowe withynne
 Ellus knowyng may not be
 To wisdom way non entre
 Some han wit to undurstonde
 And yit thei are ful unknowonde
 And some thing hath no knowyng
 That myght them sture to good lyving
 Tho men had nede to lerne eche day
 Of men that con more then thay
 That myhte to knowynge hem lede
 In mekenes to love god and drede
 Which is waye and goode wiffyng
 That may to heven blis men brynge
 In gret pil [peril] of fowle is that mon
 That hath wit mynde and no good con
 And wole not lerne for to knawe
 The workus of god and his lawe
 He nyle do afturmeft no lef
 Bot lyveth lyke an unskilfull best
 That nouthur hath skil wit nor mynde
 That mon lyveth ayeyn his kynde
 Yit excuseth not his unknowyng
 That his wit useth not in leryng
 Namely in that him oweth to knowe
 To meke his herte and make it lowe
 The unknowyng schulde have wille
 To lerne to know good and ille
 He that ought con schulde lere more
 To knowe al that nedeful wore

For the unknowyng by lerning
 May brought be to underftondyng
 Of mony thyngus to knowe and fe
 That hath bin is and fhall be
 And fo to mekenes fture his wille
 To love and drede god and leve al ille
 Mony ben glad trifful to here
 And vanitees woll gladly lere
 Bify they bin in word and thought
 To lerne that foul helputh nought
 Bot that that nedeful were to knowe
 To here they are wondur-flowe
 Therefore con thei nothing fe
 The pereles thei fchulde drede and fle
 And what weye thei fchulde take
 And whiche weye thei fchulde forfake
 No wondur is though thei go wronge
 In derknes of unknowyng they gonge
 Without light of undurftondyng
 Of that that falluth to right knowyng
 Therefore eche criften mon and wommon
 That wit and wifdom any con
 That tou the righte weye not fen
 Nor flie the periles that wife fen
 Schulde buxom be and bify
 To heren and leren of hem namely
 That undurftonden and knowen ftill
 Wheche weye is good and wheche is il
 He that wole right weye of lyving loke
 Shall thus bigynne feith the boke
 To know firft what hymfelf is
 So may he come to mekenys
 That ground of all virtues is laft
 On whiche all virtues may be ftedefaft

He

He that knoweth well and con fe
 What he is was and ſchal be
 A wifere man may be told
 Whethur he be young or old
 Then he that con al other thing
 And of hymſelf hath no knowyng
 He may no good knowe ny fele
 Bot he furſt knowe hym ſelven wele
 Therfore a mon ſchulde furſt lere
 To knowe hymſelf propurly here
 Ffor yif he knewe hymſelf kyndely
 Then may he knowe god almighty
 And on endyng thinke ſchulde he
 And on the laſt day that ſchal be
 Knowe ſchulde he what this worlde es
 Full of pompe and lecherouſnes
 And lerne to knowe and thynke with alle
 What ſchal aftir this lyf bifalle
 Knowyng of this ſchulde hym lede
 To mete with mekenes and with drede
 So may he come to good lyvyng
 And atte laſt to good endyng
 And when he of this worlde ſchal wende
 Be brought to blis withouten ende
 The bigynnyng of this proces
 Right knowyng of a mon hymſelf hit es
 Bot ſomme mon han gret lettynge
 That thei may have no right knowynge
 Of hemſelfe that thei ſchulde firſt knawe
 That firſt to mekenes ſchulde hem draw
 Ther of ſome thyngus I fynde
 That monnes wit makuth ofte blynde
 And knowyng of hymſelf hit lettuth
 Wherefore he hymſelf foryetuth

To

To this witnes Bernard answers
And tho four are written in thes vers ^a, &c.

In the Bodleian library I find three copies of the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE very different from that which I have just cited. In these this poem is given to Robert Grossthead bishop of Lincoln, above mentioned^y. With what probability, I will not stay to enquire; but hasten to give a specimen. I will only premise, that the language and hand-writing are of considerable antiquity, and that the lines are here much longer. The poet is describing the future rewards and punishments of mankind.

The goode soule schal have in his herynge
Gret joye in hevene and grete lykyng :
Ffor hi schulleth yhere the aungeles song,
And with hem hi schulleth^z synge ever among,
With delitable voys and fwythe clere,
And also with that hi schullen have ire^a
All other maner of ech a melodye,
Off well lykyng noyse and menstralsye,
And of al maner tenes^b of musike,
The whuche to mannes beorte migte like,
Withoute eni maner of travayle,
The whuche schal never cesse ne fayle :
And so^c schil schal that noyse bi, and so fwete,
And so delitable to smale and to grete,
That al the melodye of this worlde heer
That ever was yhuryd ferre or neer
Were therto^d bote as forwe^e and care
To the blisse that is in hevene well zare^f.

^a Compare Tanner, Bibl. p. 375. col. 1. And p. 374. col. 1. Notes. And GROSSTHEAD. And MSS. Ashm. 52. pergamen. 4¹⁰.

^y Laud. K. 65. pergamen. And G. 21. And MSS. Digb. 14. Princ.

“ The migt of the fader of hevene
“ The wit of his son with his giftes sevene.”

^z Shall. ^a Ever, always. ^b Tunes.
^c Shrill. ^d But. ^e Sorrow. ^f Prepared.

Of the contrarie of that blisse.

Wel grete forwe schal the synfolke^g bytyde,
 Ffor he schullen yhere in ech a fyde^h,
 Well gret noyse that the feondesⁱ willen make,
 As thei al the worlde scholde alto schake;
 And alle the men lyvyng that migte hit yhure,
 Scholde here wit^k loofe, and no lengere alyve^l dure.
 Thanne hi^m schulleth for forwe here hondes wringe,
 And ever weilaway hi schullethe be cryinge, &c.
 The gode men schullethe have worschipes grete,
 And eche of them schal be yset in a riche sete,
 And ther as kynges be ycrownid fayre,
 And digte with riche perrieⁿ and so ysetun^o in a chayre;
 And with stonnes of vertu and precioufe of choyse,
 As David thy said to god with a mylde voyce,

Posuisti, domine, super caput eorum, &c.

“ Lorde, he seyth, on his heved thou settest wel arigt
 “ A coronne of a pretious ston richeliche ydigit.”
 And so fayre a coronne nas never non yfene,
 In this worlde on kynges hevede^p, ne on quene;
 Ffor this coronne is the coronne of blisse,
 And the ston is joye whereof hi schilleth never misse, &c.
 The synfolke schulleth, as I have afore ytold,
 Ffele outrageous hete, and afterwards to muche colde;
 Ffor nowe he schullethe freose, and now brenne^q,
 And so be ypynd that non schal other kenne^r,
 And also be ybyte with dragonnes felle and kene,
 The whuche schulleth hem destrye outrigte and clene,

^g Sinners. ^h Either side. ⁱ Devils. ^k Senses. ^l Remain. ^m They.
ⁿ Precious stones. ^o Seated. ^p Head. ^q This is the Hell of the monks, which
 Milton has adopted. ^r Know.

And

And with other vermyn and bestes felle,
The whiche beothe nougt but fendes of helle, &c.

We have then this description of the New Jerufalem.

This citie is yfet on an hei hille,
That no synful man may therto tille ^a :
The whuche ich likne to beril clene,
And so fayr berel may non be yfene.
Thulke hyl is nougt elles to underftondynge
Bote holi thugt, and defyr brennynge,
The whuche holi men hadde heer to that place,
Whiles hi hadde on eorthe here lyves fpace;
And i likne, as ymay ymagene in my thought,
The walles of hevene, to walles that were ywrougt
Of all maner precioufe ftones yfet yfere ^t,
And yfemented with gold brignt and clere;
Bot fo brignt gold, ne non fo clene,
Was in this worlde never yfene, &c.
The wardes of the cite of hevene brignt
I likne to wardes that wel were ydygt,
And clenly ywrougt and fotely enteyled,
And on filver and gold clenly avamayled ^u, &c.
The torettes ^w of hevene grete and fmale
I likne to the torrettes of clene cristale, &c.

I am not, in the mean time, quite convinced that any manuscript of the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE in English belongs to Hampole. That this piece is a translation from the Latin appears from these verses.

Therefore this boke is in Englis drawe
Of fele ^x matters that bene unknowe

^a Come. ^t Together. ^u Aumayled. ^w Turretts. ^x Many.

To lewed men that are unkonande ^y
That con no latyn undirstonde ^z.

The Latin original in prose, entitled, *STIMULUS CONSCIEN-
TIÆ* ^a, was most probably writtten by Hampole: and it is
not very likely that he should translate his own work. The
author and translator were easily confounded. As to the
copy of the English poem given to bishop Grossthead, he
could not be the translator, to say nothing more, if Hampole
wrote the Latin original. On the whole, whoever was the
author of the two translations, at least we may pronounce
with some certainty, that they belong to the reign of Ed-
ward the third.

^y Ignorant.

^z MSS. Digb. ut supr. 87. ad princip.

^a In the Cambridge manuscript of Ham-
pole's PARAPHRASE ON THE LORD'S
PRAYER, above-mentioned, containing a
prolix description of human virtues and
vices, at the end, this remark appears.
"Explicit quidam tractatus super Pater
"noſter *ſecundum* Ric. Hampole qui obiit
"A. D. mccccxxxiv." [But the true
date of his death is in another place, viz.
1348.] MSS. More, 215. Princ.

"Almighty God in trinite

"In whom is only perſonnes thre."

The PARAPHRASE ON THE BOOK OF
JOB, mentioned alſo before, ſeems to have
exiſted firſt in Latin proſe under the title of
PARVUM JOB. The Engliſh begins thus:

"Lieff lord my ſoul thou ſpare."

In Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. F. 77. 5, &c.
&c. It is a paraphraſe of ſome Excerpta
from the book of Job. THE SEVEN PENI-
TENTIAL PSALMS begin thus:

"To goddis worſchippethat dereus bough."

MSS. Bodl. Digb. 18. Hampole's EXPO-
ſITIO IN PSALTERIUM is not uncommon
in Engliſh. It has a preface in Engliſh
rhymes in ſome copies, in praiſe of the au-
thor and his work. Pr. "This bleſſyd
"boke that hire." MSS. Laud. F. 14. &c.
Hampole was a very popular writer. Moſt

of his many theological pieces ſeem to have
been tranſlated into Engliſh ſoon after they
appeared: and thoſe pieces abound among
our manuſcripts. Two of his traćts were
tranſlated by Richard Miſyn, prior of the
Carmelites at Lincoln, about the year
1435. THE INCENDIUM AMORIS, at the
requeſt of Margaret Hellingdon a recluſe.
Princ. "To the aſkyng of thi deſire."
And DE EMENDATIONE VITÆ. "Tarry
"thou not to oure." They are in the
tranſlator's own hand-writing in the library
of C. C. C. Oxon. MSS. 237. I find other
antient tranſlations of both theſe pieces.
Particularly, *The PRICKE OF LOVE after*
Richard Hampol trecting of the three degrees
of love. MSS. Bodl. Arch. B. 65. f. 109.
As a proof of the confuſions and uncertain-
ties attending the works of our author,
I muſt add, that we have a tranſlation of his
traćt DE EMENDATIONE under this title.
The form of portyt living, which holy Ri-
chard the hermit wrote to a recluſe named
Margarete. MS. Vernon. But Margarete
is evidently the recluſe, at whoſe requeſt
Richard Miſyn, many years after Ham-
pole's death, tranſlated the INCENDIUM
AMORIS. Theſe obſervations, to which
others might be added, are ſufficient to con-
firm the ſuſpicions inſinuated in the text.
Many of Hampole's Latin theological traćts
were printed very early at Paris and Co-
logne.

S E C T. VIII.

THE next poet in succession is one who deserves more attention on various accounts. This is Robert Longlande, author of the poem called the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, a secular priest, and a fellow of Oriel college, in Oxford. He flourished about the year 1350^a. This poem contains a series of distinct visions, which the author imagines himself to have seen, while he was sleeping, after a long ramble on Malverne-hills in Worcestershire. It is a satire on the vices of almost every profession: but particularly on the corruptions of the clergy, and the absurdities of superstition. These are ridiculed with much humour and spirit, couched under a strong vein of allegorical invention. But instead of availing himself of the rising and rapid improvements of the English language, Longland prefers and adopts the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets. Nor did he make these writers the models of his language only: he likewise imitates their alliterative versification, which consisted in using an aggregate of words beginning with the same letter. He has therefore rejected rhyme, in the place of which he thinks it sufficient to substitute a perpetual alliteration. But this imposed constraint of seeking identical initials, and the affectation of obsolete English, by demanding a constant and necessary departure from the natural and obvious forms of expression, while it circumscribed the powers of our author's genius, contributed also to render his

^a I have here followed a date commonly received. But it may be observed, that there is in this poem an allusion to the fall of Edward the second. The siege of Calais

is also mentioned as a recent fact; and *Bribery* accuses *Conscience* of obstructing the conquest of France. See more in Observations on the Fairy Queen, ii. §. xi. p. 281.

manner

manner extremely perplexed, and to disgust the reader with obscurities. The satire is conducted by the agency of several allegorical personages, such as Avarice, Bribery, Simony, Theology, Conscience, &c. There is much imagination in the following picture, which is intended to represent human life, and its various occupations.

Then gan I to meten a mervelouse sweven,
That I was in wildernes, I wyf never where :
As I beheld into theaft, on highe to the funne
I saw a tower on a loft, rychlych ymaked,
A depe dale beneth, a dungeon therein,
With depe diches and darcke, and dreadfull of fyght :
A fayre felde ful of folke found I ther betwene,
Of all maner men, the meane and the riche,
Working and wandring, as the world asketh ;
Some put hem to the ploughe, pleiden full felde,
In setting and sowing swonken full harde :
And some put hem to pryd ^b, &c.

The following extracts are not only striking specimens of our author's allegorical satire, but contain much sense and observation of life, with some strokes of poetry ^c.

Thus robed in russet, I romed aboute
All a somer season, for to seke ^d DOWEL
And freyned ^e full oft, of folke that I mette
If any wight wist, wher DOWEL ^f was at inne,
And what man he might be, of many man I asked,
Was never wight as I went, that me wysh ^g could

^b Fol. i. a. edit. 1550. By Roberte Crowley. 4^{to}. He printed three editions in this one year. Another was printed [with Pierce Plowman's CREDE annexed] by Owen Rogers, 1561. 4^{to}. See Strype, Ann. Re-

format. i. 135. And Ames, Hist. Print. p. 270.

^c F. 39. seq. Pass. viii. seq. edit. 1550.

^d Do-well.

^e Enquired.

^f Lived.

^g Inform me.

Where this ladde lenged ^h, lesse or more,
 Tyll it befell on a Fryday, two fryers I mette
 Maisters of the minours ⁱ, men of greate wytte
 I halfed hem hendelye ^k, as I had learned
 And prayed hem for charitie, or they passed furthur
 If they knewe any courte or countrie as they went
 Where that DOWELL dwelleth, do me to wytte ⁱ
 For they be men on this mould, that most wide walke
 And knowe contries and courts, and many kinnes ^m places
 Both princes palaces, and pore menes cotes
 And DOWEL and DOEVIL, where they dwell both,
 Amongest us quoth the minours, that man is dwellinge
 And ever hath as I hope, and ever shall hereafter,
 Contra quod I, as a clarke, and cumfled to disputen
 And sayde hym sothelye, Septies in die cadit iustus,
 Seven ⁿ fythes sayeth the boke, fynneth the rightfull,
 And who so fynneth I say, doth evel as me thinketh,
 And DOWEL and DOEVYL may not dwel toghether,
 Ergo he is not alway among you fryers
 He is other whyle els where, to wysen the people.
 I shal say the my sonne, sayde the frier than
 Howe seven fithes the sadde ^o man on a day fynneth,
 By a forvisne ^p quod the fryer, I shal the faire shewe
 Let bryng a man in a bote, amyd the brode water
 The winde and the water, and the bote waggyng
 Make a man many time, to fall and to stande
 For stand he never so stiffe, he stumpleth if he move
 And yet is he safe and sounde, and so hym behoveth,
 For if he ne arise the rather, and raght to the stere,
 The wind would with the water the boote overthrow.
 And than were his life lost through latches ^q of himself.
 And thus it falleth quod the frier, bi folk here on erth

^h Lived.ⁱ The friers minors.^k Saluted them civilly.^l Know.^m Sorts of.ⁿ Times.^o Sober. Good.^p Similitude.^q Laziness.

The water is likned to the world, that waneth and wexeth
 The goods of this world ar likened to the gret waves
 That as winds and wethers, walken a bout.
 The boote is likende to our body, that brytil is of kynd
 That through the fleshe, and the frayle worlde
 Synneth the sadde man, a day seven tymes
 And deadly synne doeth he not, for DOWEL him kepeth
 And that is CHARITIE the chapion, chiefe helpe agayne sinne,
 For he strengtheth man to stand, and stirreth mans soule
 And thoughe thy bodi bowe, as bote doth in water,
 Aye is thy soule safe, but if thou wylt thy self
 Do a deadlye sinne, and drenche so thy soule
 God wyll suffer wel thy slouth, if thy selfe lyketh
 For he gaf the two yeresgifts, to teme wel thy selfe
 And that is witte and frewil, to every wight a portion
 To flyinge fowles; to fishes, and to beastes
 And man hath moste therof, and most is to blame
 But if he worch wel therwith, as DOWEL hym teacheth.
 I have no kind knowyng quoth I, to coceive all your wordes
 And if I may live and loke, I shal go learne better
 I bikenne the Christ, that on the crosse dyed
 And I said the same, save you from mischaunce
 And give you grace on this ground good me to worth.
 And thus I went wide wher, walking mine one
 By a wyde weldernes, and by a woddes syde,
 Blisse of the birdes, brought me on slepe,
 And under a lynde^r on a land, lened I a stounde^s
 To lyth the layes^t, tho lovely fowles made,
 Myrthe of her mouthes made me there to slepe
 The marveloufeste metelles, mette^u me than
 That ever dremed wyght, in world as I wente.
 A much man as me thought, and like to my selfe,
 Came and called me, by my kinde^v name

^r Lime tree.

^s A while.

^t Listen.

^u Dreamed.

^v Own.

What

What art thou quod I tho, thou that my name knoweste
 That thou wottest wel quod he, and no wight better
 Wot I what thou art? THOUGHT sayd he than,
 I have sued * the this seven yeres, se ye me no rather?
 Art thou THOUGHT quoth I tho, thou couldest me wyshe
 Wher that DOWEL dwelleth, and do me that to knowe
 DOWEL and DOBETTER, and DOBEST the thirde quod he
 Are thre fayre vertues, and be not farre to finde,
 Who so is true of hys tonge, and of hys two handes
 And through his labor or his lod, his livedod wineth^r
 And is trusty of hys taylyng^z, taketh but his owne
 And is no drunklewe^a ne dedigious, DOWEL him followeth
 DOBET doth ryght thus, and he doth much more
 He is as lowe as a lamb, and lovely of speache
 And helpeth al men, after that hem nedeth
 The bagges and the bigirdles, he hath to brok^b hem al,
 That the erle avarous helde and hys heyres
 And thus to mamons mony he hath made him frendes
 And is runne to religion, and hath rendred^c the bible
 And preached to the people, saynte Paules werdes.
 Libenter suffertis insipientes cum fitis ipsi sapientes.
 And suffereth the unwyse, wyth you for to lyve
 And with glad wil doth he good, for so god you hoteth
 DOBEST is above boeth, and beareth a bishops crosse
 Is hoked on that one ende to halye^d men from hell
 A pyke is on the potent^e to pull downe the wyked
 That wayten anye wykednes, DOWELL to tene
 And DOWELL and DOBET, amongest hem have ordeyned
 To crowne one to be kynge, to rule hem boeth
 That if DOWELL and DOBET, arne^f agaynste DOBESTE
 Then shall the kynge com, and cast hem in yrons
 And but if DOBEST byd for hem, they be there for ever

* Sought. y Getts. z Dealing. Reckoning. a Drunkard. b Broke to pieces.
 c Translated. d Draw. e Staff. f Are.

Thus

Thus DOWELL and DOBET, and DOBESTE the thyrd
Crouned one to be king, to kepen hem al
And to rule the realme, by her ^s thre wyttes
And none other wise, but as they thre assentyd.
I thanked THOUGHT tho, that he me thus taught
And yet favoereth me not thy fugging, I covet to lerne,
How DOWEL DOBEST, and DOBETTER, done among the
people

But WYT can wish the ^h quoth THOUGHT, wer tho ⁱ iii dwell
Els wot I none that can tell, that nowe is alyve.
THOUGHT and I thus, thre dayes we yeden ^k
Disputynge upon DOWELL, daye after other.
And ere we were ware, with WYT gan we mete
He was longe and leane, lyke to none other
Was no pryde on hys apparell, nor poverty nether
Sadde of hys femblaunce, and of soft chere
I durste not move no matter, to make hym to laughe,
But as I bade THOUGHT tho be meane betwene
And put forth some purpose, to prevent his wyts
What was DOWELL fro DOBET, and DOBEST fro hem both.
Than THOUGHT in that tyme, sayd these wordes
Whether DOWELL DOBET, and DOBEST ben in land
Here is wyl wold wyt, if WIT could teach him
And whether he be man or woman, this man fain wold espy
And worch as they thre wold, this is his enten,
Here DOWELL dwelleth quod WIT, not a day hence
In a castel that kind ⁱ made, of four kins things
Of earth and ayre is it made, mingled togethers
With wind and with water, witterly ^m enjoyned
KYNDE hath closed therin, craftely withall
A Lemman ⁿ that he loveth, like to him selfe
ANIMA she hyght, and Envye her hateth

^s Their.

^m Cunningly.

^h Thee.

ⁿ Paramour.

ⁱ They.

^k Went.

ⁱ Nature

A proude pricker of Fraunce, princeps hujus mundi
 And woulde wynnè her away with wiles and he myghte
 And KIND knoweth thys well, and kepeth her the better.
 And dothe her with fir DOWELL is duke of thys marches
 DOBET is her damosell, fir DOWEL's daughter
 To serue this lady lelly^o, both late and rathe^p.
 DOBEST is above both a byshops pere,
 That he byd moote be doo^a he ruleth them all
 ANIMA that lady, is led by his lerning,
 And the constable of the castell, that kepeth al the watche,
 Is a wyse knight withall, fir Inwit he hight
 And hath fyve fayre sonnes by his fyrst wyfe
 Syr Seewel and Saywel, and Hearwell the end
 Syr Worchwel with thy hand, a wight man of strength
 And Syr Godfray Gowel, great lordes forsoth
 These fyve bene set, to save this lady Anima
 Tyl KIND com or send, to save her for ever
 What kins thing is KIND quod I, canst thou me telle
 Kynd quod Witte is a creator, of al kinnis thinges
 Father and former of all, that ever was makyd
 And that is the great god that ginning had never
 Lord of lyfe and of light, of blys and of payne
 Angels and al thing arne at his wyl,
 And man is him most like, of marke^r and of shape,
 For through the word that he spake, wexen forth bestes
 And made Adam, likest to him selfe one
 And Eve of his ribbe bone, without any meane
 For he was singuler him selfe, and sayde faciamus
 As who say more must hereto, then my worde one
 My might must helpe now with my speche,
 Even as a lord shuld make leters, and he lacked parchment
 Though he could write never so wel, if he had no pen
 The letters for al his lordship, I leve wer never imaked

^o Fair lady.^p Early.^a Must be done.^r Fashion. Similitude.

And

And so it semeth by him, as the bible telleth,
 There he sayde, *Dixit et facta sunt*.
 He must worch with hys word, and his wit shewe
 And in this maner was man made, by might of God al-
 mighty
 With his word and his workmanship, and with life to last
 And thus God gave him a goste^s, of the godhed of heven
 And of his great grace, graunted him blyffe
 And that is life that aye shal last, to al our linage after
 And that is the castel that KINDE made, Caro it hight
 And is as much to meane, as man with a soule
 And that he wrought with work, and with word both
 Through might of the majesty, man was imaked
 Inwyt and Alwyts, closed bene therin
 For love of the ladie Anima, that life is nempned^t
 Over al in mans body, she walketh and wandreth
 And in the herte is hir home, and hir most^u rest
 And Inwit is in the head, and to the herte loketh
 What Anima is leef or loth^w, he leadith hyr at his wil.—
 Than had WIT a wife, was hote dame STUDY,
 That leve was of lere, and of liche boeth.
 She was wonderli wrought, Wit me so teched
 And al staryng dame Study, sternely sayde.
 Wel art you wise quoth she to Wyt, any wyfdomes to tell
 To flatterers or to foles, that frentyke be of wyttes
 And blamed him and banned^x him, and bade him be styl
 Wyth such wyse wordes, to wysh any fottes
 And sayde, *Noli mittere man*, Margarite Pearles
 Amonge hogges, that have hawes at wyll.
 They do but drivel theron, ^y drafe were hem lever^z,
 Than al precious pearles that in paradise waxeth^a.
 I say it by such, quod she, that shew it by her works,

^s Spirit. ^t Named. ^u Greatest. ^w Willing. ^x Curfed. ^y See Draff-
 sack. Chauc. Urr. p. 33. v. 1098. ^z Rather. ^a Grow.

That hem were lever land ^b, and lordshyp on earth,
 Or ryches or rentes, and rest at her wyll,
 Than al the soth sawes, that Salomon sayde ever.
 Wysedome and wytte, nowe is not worth a kerse ^c
 But if it be carded with covetis ^d, as clothers kemb her
 woule

Whoso can contrive deceites, and conspyre wrongs
 And lead forth a love daye ^e, to let wyth truth
 He that such craftes can, is oft cleped to counsell,
 They lead lords with leasinges, and belieth truth
 Job the gentel in his gestes, greatly wytnesseth
 That wicked men welden the wealth of this world
 The psalter sayeth the same, by such as done evyl
 Ecce ipsi peccatores habundantes in seculo obtinuerunt divitias.
 Lo sayth holy lecture, which lords be these shrewes?
 Thilke that god geveth most, lest good they dealeth
 And most unkind be to that comen, that most catel weldeth ^f.
 Que perfecisti destruxerunt, justus autem &c.
 Harlots for her harlotrye, maye have of her goodes
 And japers and judgelers ^g, and jangelers of jestes
 And he that hath holy wryte, aye in his mouth
 And can tell of Tobie, and of the twelve apostles
 Or preache of the penaunce, that Pilate falsely wrought
 To Jesu the gentle, that Jewes to drawe:
 Lyttle is he loved, that suche a lesson sheweth
 Or daunten or drawe forth, I do it on god him selfe
 But tho ^h that faine hem soles, and with fayting ⁱ liveth
 Againe the lawe of our lorde, and lien on hem selfe
 Spitten and spuen, and speake foule wordes
 Drynken and drivelen, and do men for to gape
 Lyken men, and lye on hem, and leneth hem no giftes
 They can ^k no more minstrelly ne musyke men to glad

^b They had rather.^c Not worth a straw.^d Covetousness.^e Lady.^f Commands.^g Jugglers.^h They.ⁱ Deceiving.^k Know.

Than

Than Mundie the milner, of multa fecit deus.
 Ne were hir vyle harlotry, have god my trouth
 Shoulde never kynge ne knyght, ne canon of Poules
 Gyve hem to her yeres gyfte, ne gyft of a grote,
 And myrth and minstrelsy amongest men is nought
 Lechery, losenchery ^l, and losels tales,
 Glotony and greate othes, this mirthe they loveth,
 And if thei carpen ^m of Christ, these clerkes and these lewed.
 And they meet in her mirth, whan mynstrels ben styll
 Whan telleth they of the trinitie, a tale or twaine
 And bringeth forth a blade reason, and take Bernard ⁿ to
 witnes

And put forth a presumption to preve the soth
 Thus they dreveil at her dayse ^o the deitie to scorn
 And gnawen God to hyr gorge ^p whan hyr guts fallen
 And the carfull ^q may crye, and carpen at the gate
 Both a fyngerd and a furste, and for chel ^r quake
 Is none to nymen hem nere, his noye ^s to amend
 But hunten hym as a hounde, and hoten hym go hence,
 Litle loveth he that lorde that lent hym all that blisse,
 That thus parteth withe pore, a percel whan him nedeth
 Ne were mercy in mean men, more than in rich
 Mendynautes meatles ^t, myght go to bedde.
 God is much in the gorge of these greate maisters,
 And amonges meane men, his mercy and hys worckes
 And so sayeth the psalter, I have sene it oft.
 Clarkes and other kinnes men, carpen of god fast
 And have him much in the mouth, and meane men in hert
 Friers and fayters, have founden such questions
 To plesse wyth the proud men, sith the pestilence time
 And preachen at S. Paules, for pure envi of clarks
 That folke is not firmed in the faythe, ne fre of her goodes

^l Lying. ^m Speak. ⁿ S. Bernard. ^o Their table. ^p Throat. ^q Poor.
^r Cold. ^s Trouble. ^t Beggars supperles.

Ne fory for her fynnes, fo is pryde waxen,
 In religion, and in al the realme, amongest rich and pore
 That prayers have no pore, the pestilence to lette
 And yet the wretches of this worlde, are none ware by other
 Ne for dreade of the death, withdraw not her prid
 Ne ben plentuous to the pore, as pure charitie wold
 But in gaines and in glotony, forglote goods hem selfe
 And brcketh not to the begger, as the boke teacheth.
 And the more he wynneth, and wexeth welthy in riches
 And lordeth in landes, the lesse good he dealeth
 Tobie telleth ye not so, takehede ye ryche
 Howe the byble boke of hym beareth wytnes,
 Who so hath much spend manly, so meaneth Tobit
 And who so lytle weldeth, rule hym thereafter,
 For we have no letter of our life, how long it shal endure.
 Suche lessens lordes, shoulde love to heare
 And how he myght most meyny, manlych fynde
 Not to fare as a fideler, or a frier to seke feastes,
 Homely at other mens houses, and haten her owne.
 Elenge ^uis the hal every day in the weke
 There the lorde ne the lady lyketh not to fyte
 Nowe hath eche ryche a rule ^w, to eaten by hem selfe
 In a privie parler, for poore mens sake
 Or in chambre wyth a chymney, and leave the chiefe hal
 That was made for meales, men to eate in.—
 And whan that Wytte was ware, what dame Studie told
 He became so confuse he cunneth not loke
 And as dombe as death, and drew him arere ^x
 And for no carping I cold after, ne kneling to therth
 I myght get no grayne, of his grete wyttis
 But al laughynge he louted, and loked upon Study
 In sygne that I shulde, besechen hyr of grace

^u Strange, deserted. Henry the eighth in a letter to Anne Bullen, speaks of his
Ellengyn's since her departure. Hearne's *Avesb.* p. 260. ^w Custom. ^x Back.

And when I was war of his wil, to his wife I loutid
 And sayde mercie madame, your man shal I worth
 As longe as I live both late and earlie
 For to worchen your wil, the whyle mi life endureth
 With this that ye ken me kindlye, to know to what is DOWEL
 For thi mekenes man quod she, and for thi milde spech
 I shal ken the to my cosen, that Clergye is hoten ^y
 He hath weddyd a wyfe, within these fyx moneths
 Is fyb ^z to the seven artes, Scripture is hyr name
 They two as I hope, after my teachinge
 Shal wishen the Dowel, I dare under take.
 Than was I as fayne ^a, as foule ^b of fayr morow
 And glader then the gleman ^c that golde hath to gyfte
 And asked hir the high way where that Clergie ^d dwelt
 And tellme some token quod I, for tyme is that I wend
 Aske the hygh waye quod she, hence to suffer
 Both wel and woo, if that thou wylt learne
 And ryde forthe by riches, and rest thou not therin,
 For if thou couplest ye therwith to clergie comest thou never,
 And also the licores lande that lechery hight
 Leave it on thy left half, a large mile and more,
 Tyll thou come to a courte, kepe well thy tonge
 Fro leasinges and lyther speach ^e, and licorous drinckes
 Than shalt thou se Sobrietie, and Simplicitie of speche
 That ech might be in his wyll, hys wytte to shewe
 And thus shalt ye come to Cleargye that can mani thinges
 Saye hym thys signe, I sette him to schole
 And that I grete wel his wife, for I wrot her many bokes
 And fet hir to Sapience, and to the psalter glose
 Logike I learned her, and manye other lawes,
 And all the unisons to musike, I made hir to know,
 Plato the poete, I put hem firste to boke,

^y Named.
^e Wanton.

^z Mother.

^a Cheerful.

^b Bird.

^c Harper.

^d Learning.

Aristotle and other moe, to argue I taught
 Grammer for gyrles, I garde firste to wryte
 And beat hem with a bales, but if they would learne
 Of all kinnes craftes, I contrived tooles
 Of carpentre of carvers, and compassed mafons
 And learned hem level and line, though I loke dimme
 And Theologie hath tened me, seven score times,
 The more I muse therin, the mistier it semeth
 And the deper I devine, the darker me it thynketh.

The artifices and persuations of the monks to procure donations to their convents, are thus humorously ridiculed, in a strain which seems to have given rise to Chaucer's *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*.

Than he affoyled her sone, and fithen he fayde :
 We have a windowe in working, wil set us ful high,
 Woudst thou glase the gable, and grave therin thy name,
 Scher shoulde thy soule be heven to have ^f, &c.

COVETISE or Covetousness, is thus drawn in the true colours of satirical painting.

^f fol. xii. a. b. These, and the following lines, are plainly copied by Chaucer, viz.

And I shall cover your kyrke, and your cloisture do maken.

Chaucer, *Sompn. T.* p. 93. v. 835. edit. Urr. But with new strokes of humour.

Yeve me then of thy golde to make our cloyster,

Quod he, for many a muscle and many an oyster,

Whan othir men have been full well at ease,
 Have ben our fode our cloyster for to reyse.
 And yet, god wote, unnethe the fundament
 Parfourmid is, ne of our pavement
 Thar is not yet a tile within our wones,
 For god, we owe fourtic pound for stones.

So also in the *PLOUGHMAN'S CREDE*, hereafter mentioned. Sign. B. iii. A friar says,

So that thou mow amende our houe with
 money other els
 With som catal, other corn or cuppes of
 sylvere.

And again, Sign. A. iii. *ibid.*

And mightest on amenden as with money
 of thine own,
 Thou sholdest knely bifore Christ in compas of gold,
 In the wide wyndowe westward, wel nigh
 in the midel.

That is, " your figure shall be painted in
 " glafs, in the middle of the west window,
 " &c." But of this passage hereafter.

And

And then came COVETIS, can I him no discrive,
 So hungerly and hollowe, so sternely he loked,
 He was bittle-browed and baberlypped also ;
 Wyth two blered eyen as a blinde hagge,
 And as a lethren purse lolled his chekes,
 Well syder than his chyn they shevered for colde :
 And as a bound man of his bacon his berd was bidrauled,
 With a hode on his heade, and a lousy hatte above.
 And in a tawny taberde ^z, of twelve winter age,
 Alle torne and baudye, and full of lyce creepinge ;
 But that yf a louse could have lepen the better,
 She had not walked on the welte, so was it thredbare.
 I have been Covetise, quoth this catife,
 For sometime I servid Symme at style,
 And was hys prentice plight, his profyt to wate.
 Fyrst I lernid to lye, a leef other twayne
 Wychedly to way, was my first lesson :
 To Wy and to Winchester ^h I went to the fayre

^z Tabard. A coat.

^h Antiently, before many flourishing towns were established, and the necessities or ornaments of life, from the convenience of communication and the encrease of provincial civility, could be procured in various places, goods and commodities of every kind, were chiefly sold at fairs ; to which, as to one universal mart, the people resorted periodically, and supplied most of their wants for the ensuing year. The display of merchandise, and the conflux of customers, at these principal and almost only emporia of domestic commerce, was prodigious : and they were therefore often held on open and extensive plains. One of the chief of them seems to have been that of St. Giles's hill or down near Winchester, to which our poet here refers. It was instituted and given as a kind of revenue to the bishop of Winchester, by William the conqueror ; who by his charter permitted it to continue for three days. But in consequence of new royal grants,

Henry the third prolonged its continuance to sixteen days. Its jurisdiction extended seven miles round, and comprehended even Southampton, then a capital trading town : and all merchants who sold wares within that circuit, forfeited them to the bishop. Officers were placed at a considerable distance, at bridges and other avenues of access to the fair, to exact toll of all merchandise passing that way. In the mean time, all shops in the city of Winchester were shut. In the fair was a court called the pavilion, at which the bishop's justices and other officers assisted, with power to try causes of various sorts for seven miles round : nor among other singular claims could any lord of a manor hold a court-baron within the said circuit, without licence from the pavilion. During this time, the bishop was empowered to take toll of every load or parcel of goods passing through the gates of the city. On Saint Giles's eve, the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Winchester, delivered the keys of the
 four

With mani manner merchandise, as mi master me hight.---

four city gates to the bishop's officers; who, during the said sixteen days, appointed a mayor and bailiff of their own to govern the city, and also a coroner to act within the said city. Tenants of the bishop, who held lands by doing service at the pavilion, attended the same with horses and armour, not only to do suit at the court there, but to be ready to assist the bishop's officers in the execution of writs and other services. But I cannot here enumerate the many extraordinary privileges granted to the bishop on this occasion; all tending to obstruct trade, and to oppress the people. Numerous foreign merchants frequented this fair: and it appears, that the justiciaries of the pavilion, and the treasurer of the bishop's palace of Wolvesey, received annually for a fee, according to ancient custom, four basons and ewers, of those foreign merchants who sold brazen vessels in the fair, and were called *mercatores diaunteres*. In the fair several streets were formed, assigned to the sale of different commodities; and called the *Drapery*, the *Pottery*, the *Spicery*, &c. Many monasteries, in and about Winchester, had shops, or houses, in these streets, used only at the fair, which they held under the bishop, and often lett by lease for a term of years. One place in the fair was called *Spectaculum Sancti Sepulchri*, or the *Spicery of Saint Sepulchre's monastery*. In the revenue-rolls of the ancient bishops of Winchester, this fair makes a grand and separate article of reception, under this title. *FERIA. Computo feria sancti Sepulchri*. But in the revenue-roll of bishop Will. of Waynflete, [an. 1471.] it appears to have greatly decayed: in which, among other proofs, I find mention made of a district in the fair being unoccupied, "*Ubi homines Commone fieri solebant*." From whence it likewise appears that different counties had their different stations. The whole reception to the bishop this year from the fair, amounted only to 45 l. 18 s. 5 d. Yet this sum, small as it may seem, was worth upward of 4000 l. Edward the first sent a precept to the sheriff of Hampshire, to restore to the bishop this fair; which his exchequer Malcolm de Harlegh had seized into the

king's hands, without command of the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, in the year 1292. Registr. Joh. de Pontifraga, Episc. Wint. fol. 195. After the charter of Henry the third, many kings by charter confirmed this fair, with all its privileges, to the bishops of Winchester. The last charter was of Henry the eighth to bishop Richard Fox and his successors, in the year 1511. But it was followed by the usual confirmation-charter of Charles the second. In the year 1144, when Brian Fitz-count, lord of Wallingford in Berkshire, maintained Wallingford castle, one of the strongest garrisons belonging to Maud the empress, and consequently sent out numerous parties for contributions and provisions, Henry de Blois bishop of Winchester enjoined him not to molest any passengers that were coming to his fair at Winchester, under pain of excommunication. *Omnibus ad FERIAM MEAM venientibus*, &c. MSS. Dodsworth. vol. 89. f. 76. Bibl. Bodl. This was in king Stephen's reign. In that of Richard the first, in the year 1194, the king grants to Portsmouth a fair lasting for fifteen days, with all the privileges of Saint Giles's fair at Winchester. Anderf. Hist. Com. i. 197. In the year 1234, the eighteenth of Henry the second, the fermier of the city of Winchester paid twenty pounds to Ailward chamberlain of Winchester castle, to buy a robe at this fair for the king's son, and divers silver implements for a chapel in the castle. Madox, Exch. p. 251. It appears from a curious record now remaining, containing *The Establishment and Expenses of the household of Henry Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland*, in the year 1512, and printed by doctor Percy, that the stores of his lordship's house at Wrefille, for the whole year, were laid in from fairs. "He that standes charged "with my lordes house for the houll yeir, "if he may possible, *shal be at all FAIRES* "where the groice emptions shal be "boughte for the house for the houll yeire, "as wine, wax, beiffes, multons, whete, "and maltie." p. 407. This last quotation is a proof, that fairs still continued to be the principal marts for purchasing neces-

Than drave I me among drapers my donet ⁱ to lerne.
To drawe the lyfer along, the longer it femed
Among the rich rayes, &c ^k.

Our author, who probably could not get preferment, thus inveighs against the luxury and diversions of the prelates of his age.

faries in large quantities, which now are supplied by frequent trading towns: and the mention of *beiffes* and *multons*, which were salted oxen and sheep, shews that at so late a period they knew but little of breeding cattle. Their ignorance of so important an article of husbandry, is also an evidence, that in the reign of Henry the eighth the state of population was much lower among us than we may imagine.

In the statutes of Saint Mary Ottery's college in Devonshire, given by bishop Grandison the founder, the stewards and sacrist are ordered to purchase annually two hundred pounds of wax for the choir of the college, at this fair. "Cap. lxvii. — Pro luminaribus vero omnibus "supradictis inveniendis, etiam statuimus, "quod senescalli scaccarii per visum et auxilium sacriste, omni anno, in NUNDINIS WYNTON, vel alibi apud Torington et in partibus Barnstepol, ceram sufficientem, quam ad ducentas libras æstimamus pro uno anno ad minus, faciant provideri." These statutes were granted in the year 1338. MS. apud Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. In Archiv. Wolves. In the accounts of the Priors of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, and of Bicester in Oxfordshire, under the reign of Henry the sixth, the monks appear to have laid in yearly stores of various yet common necessities, at the fair of Sturbridge in Cambridgeshire, at least one hundred miles distant from either monastery. It may seem surprising, that their own neighbourhood, including the cities of Oxford and Coventry, could not supply them with commodities neither rare nor costly, which they thus fetched at a considerable expence of

carriage. It is a rubric in some of the monastic rules, *De Euntibus ad Nundinas*. See Dugd. Mon. Angl. ii. p. 746. It is hoped the reader will excuse this tedious note, which at least developes antient manners and customs.

ⁱ Lesson. Properly a *Grammar*, from *Ælius Donatus* the grammarian. Chaucer, Testam. L. p. 504. b. edit. Urr. "No pafes to vertues of this Margarite, but therein al my donet can I lerne." In the statutes of Winchester-college, [written about 1386,] grammar is called "Antiquus donatus," i. e. the *old donat*, or the name of a system of grammar at that time in vogue, and long before. The French have a book entitled "LE DONNET, traité de grammaire, baillé a feu roi Charles viii." Among Rawlinson's manuscripts at Oxford, I have seen *Donatus optimus noviter compilatus*, a manuscript on vellum, given to Saint Alban's, by John Stoke, abbot, in 1450. In the introduction, or *lytell Probeme*, to Dean Colet's GRAMMATICES RUDIMENTA, we find mention made of "certayne introducyons into latyn speche called *Donates*, &c." Among the books written by bishop Pecock, there is the *DONAT into christian religion*, and the *Folower to the DONAT*. Lewis's PECOCK, p. 317. I think I have before observed, that John of Basing, who flourished in the year 1240, calls his Greek Grammar DONATUS GRÆCORUM. Pegge's WESEHAM, p. 51. Wynkyn de Worde printed DONATUS ad Anglicanarum scholarum usum. Cotgrave (in V.) quotes an old French proverb, "Les diables estoient encores a leur DONAT," *The devils were but yet in their grammar.* ^k fol. xxiii. a. b.

O o

And

And now is religion a rider, a romer by the streete,
 A leader of lovedayes ^l and a loude ^m beggar,
 A pricker on a palfrey from maner to maner,
 An heape of houndes at his arse as he a lord were ⁿ.
 And yf but his knave knele, that shall hys cope bryng,
 He loured on hym, and alked who taught hym curtesye°.

There is great picturesque humour in the following lines.

HUNGER in heft tho hent wastour by the maw,
 And wrong him so by the wombe that both his eies watered:

^l Levadies. Ladies. ^m Lewd.

ⁿ Walter de Suffield, bishop of Norwich, bequeathes by will his pack of hounds to the king, in 1256. Blomefield's *Norfolk*. ii. 347. See Chaucer's *Monke*, *Prologue*. v. 165. This was a common topic of satire. It occurs again, fol. xxvii. a. See Chaucer's *TESTAMENT OF LOVE*, p. 492. col. ii. Urr. The archdeacon of Richmond, on his visitation, comes to the priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, in 1216, with ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks, *Dugd. Mon.* ii. 65.

° Fol. l. a. The following prediction, although a probable conclusion, concerning a king, who after a time would suppress the religious houses, is remarkable. I imagined it was foisted into the copies, in the reign of king Henry the eighth. But it is in manuscripts of this poem older than the year 1400. fol. l. a. b.

And **THE** SHALL COME A KING, and
 confesse your religions,

And **BETE** you as the bible telleth, for brek-
 ing of your rule :

And amende moniales, monkes and chan-
 oines.—

And then friers in her freytor shall fynd a
 key

Of Constantynes coffers, in which is the
 catal

That Gregories godchyldren had it dis-
 pended.

And than shall the abot of Abingdon, and
 all his issue for ever,
 HAVE A KNOCKE OF A KING, and IN-
 CURABLE THE WOUND.

Again, fol. lxxxv. a. Where he alludes to
 the knights-templars, lately suppressed.

——Men of holie kirke
 Shall turne as templars did, *the tyme ap-
 procbeth nere.*

This, I suppose, was a favourite doctrine
 in Wickliffe's discourses. I cannot help tak-
 ing notice of a passage in *Piers Plowman*,
 which shews how the reigning passion for
 chivalry infected the ideas and expressions
 of the writers of this period. The poet is
 describing the crucifixion, and speaking of
 the person who pierced our Saviour's side
 with a spear. This person our author calls a
knight, and says that he came forth, "*with
 his spere in hand, and juyled with Jesus.*"
 Afterwards for doing so base an act as that
 of wounding a dead body, he is pronounced
 a disgrace to *knighthood* : and our "*Cham-
 pion chevaler chryse knyght*" is ordered
 to *yield himself recreant*. fol. lxxxviii. b.
 This knight's name is Longis, and he is
 blind : but receives his sight from the blood
 which springs from our Saviour's side.
 This miracle is recorded in the *GOLDEN
 LEGEND*. He is called Longias, "A
 "blinde knight men ycallid Longias,"
 in Chaucer, *Lam. Mur. Mord.* v. 177.

He

He buffeted the breton about the chekes
That he loked lyke a lanterne al his life after ^p.

And in the following, where the Vices are represented as converted and coming to confession, among which is the figure of Envy.

Of a freres froke were the fore fleves,
And as a leke that hath lied long in the funne
So looked he with leane chekes, lowering foule ^q.

It would be tedious to transcribe other strokes of humour with which this poem abounds. Before one of the Visions the poet falls asleep while he is bidding his beads. In another he describes Antichrist, whose banner is borne by Pride, as welcomed into a monastery with ringing of bells, and a solemn congratulatory procession of all the monks marching out to meet and receive him ^r.

These images of mercy and truth are in a different strain.

Out of the west cost, a wenche as me thought,
Come walking in the way, to hevnward she loked;
Mercy hight that mayde, a meke thyng withall,
A full benigne byrde, and buxome of speech;
Hyr syster, as yt seemed, came worthily walking,
Even out of theste, and westward she loked,
A ful comely creature, Truth she hyght,
For the vertue that her folowed afered was she never.
When these maydens mette, Mercy and Truth,
Eyther asked other of this gret marvel,
Of the din and of the darknes, &c ^s.

^p fol. xxiii. b.

^q fol. xlii. a.

^r fol. cxii. a.

^s fol. lxxxviii. b.

The imagery of Nature, or KYNDE, sending forth his diseases from the planets, at the command of CONSCIENCE, and of his attendants AGE and DEATH, is conceived with sublimity.

KYNDE CONSCIENCE then heard, and came out of the planetts,
And sent forth his forriours Fevers, and Fluxes,
Coughes, and Cardiacles, Crampes, and Toth-aches,
Reumes, and Radgondes, and raynous Scalles,
Byles, and Botches, and burnynge Agues,
Freneses and foule Evill, foragers of KYNDE !

Ther was " Harowe ! and Heipe ! here cometh KYNDE !

" With Death that is dreadfull, to undo us all !"

The lord that lyveth after lust tho aloud cried.---

Age the boere, he was in the vaw-ward,

And bare the banner before Death : by ryght he it claimed.

KYNDE came after, with many kene sores,

As Pockes and Pestilences, and much people shent.

So KYNDE through corruptions, kyled full many :

DEATH came dryvyng after, and all to dust pashed

Kyngs and Kayfers, knightes and popes.

Many a lovely lady, and lemman of knightes,

Swoned and fweltd for sorowe of DEATH's dyntes.

CONSCIENCE, of his curtesye, to KYNDE he befoght

To cease and sufire, and se where they wolde

Leave Pride prively, and be perfite christen,

And KYNDE ceased tho, to see the people amende '.

These lines at least put us in mind of Milton's Lazar-house^u.

. Immediately a place

Before his eyes appeared, fad, noisome, dark :

A lazarus-house it seem'd, wherein were laid

Numbers of all diseas'd : all maladies

ⁱ fol. cxiii. a.

^u Par. L. ii. 475.

Of gasty spasm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
Intestine stone, and ulcer, cholic pangs,
Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting Pestilence :
Dropries and asthma, and joint-racking rheum.
Dire was the Tossing ! Deep the groans ! DESPAIR
Tended the sick, busy from couch to couch ;
And over them triumphant DEATH his dart
Shook, but delay'd to strike, &c.

At length FORTUNE or PRIDE sends forth a numerous army
led by LUST, to attack CONSCIENCE.

And gadered a greate hoste, all agayne CONSCIENCE :
This LECHERY led on, with a laughyng chere,
And with a privye speeche, and paynted wordes,
And armed him in idleness and in high bearyng.
He bare a bowe in his hand, and many bloudy arrowes,
Were fethered with faire behest, and many a false truth *.

Afterwards CONSCIENCE is besieged by Antichrist, and seven great giants, who are the seven capital or deadly sins: and the assault is made by SLOTH, who conducts an army of more than a thousand prelates.

It is not improbable, that Longland here had his eye on the old French ROMAN D' ANTECHRIST, a poem written by Huon de Meri, about the year 1228. The author of this piece supposes that Antichrist is on earth, that he visits every profession and order of life, and finds numerous partisans. The VICES arrange themselves under the banner of ANTECHRIST, and the VIRTUES under that of CHRIST.

* Ibid.

These two armies at length come to an engagement, and the battle ends to the honour of the Virtues, and the total defeat of the Vices. The BANNER OF ANTICHRIST has before occurred in our quotations from Longland. The title of Huon de Meri's poem deserves notice. It is *TURNOYEMENT DE L'ANTECHRIST*. These are the concluding lines.

Par son droit nom a peau cet livre
 Qui tresbien s'avorde a l'escrit
Le Tournoiement de l'Antechrist.

The author appears to have been a monk of St. Germain des Pres, near Paris. This allegory is much like that which we find in the old dramatic MORALITIES. The theology of the middle ages abounded with conjectures and controversies concerning Antichrist, who at a very early period was commonly believed to be the Roman pontiff *.

* See this topic discussed with singular penetration and perspicuity, by doctor Hurd, in *TWELVE SERMONS INTRODUCTORY TO THE STUDY OF THE PROPHECIES*. Lond. 1772. p. 206. seq.

S E C T. IX.

TO the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN has been commonly annexed a poem called PIERCE THE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, and which may properly be considered as its appendage^a. It is professedly written in imitation of our VISION, but by a different hand: The author, in the character of a plain uninformed person, pretends to be ignorant of his creed; to be instructed in the articles of which, he applies by turns to the four orders of mendicant friers. This circumstance affords an obvious occasion of exposing in lively colours the tricks of those societies. After so unexpected a disappointment, he meets one Pierce, or Peter, a plowman, who resolves his doubts, and teaches him the principles of true religion. In a copy of the CREDE lately presented to me by the bishop of Gloucester, and once belonging to Mr. Pope, the latter in his own hand has inserted the following abstract of its plan. "An ignorant plain man having learned
" his Pater-noster and Ave-mary, wants to learn his creed.
" He asks several religious men of the several orders to teach
" it him. First of a friar Minor, who bids him beware of
" the Carmelites, and assures him they can teach him no-
" thing, describing their faults, &c. But that the friars
" Minors shall save him, whether he learns his creed or not.

^a The first edition is by R. Wolfe, London, 1553. 4°. In four sheets. It was reprinted, and added to Rogers's, or the fourth edition of the *Vision*, 1561. It was evidently written after the year 1384. Wickliffe died in that year, and he is mentioned as no longer living in Signat. C. ii.

edit. 1561. Walter Britte or Brithe, a follower of Wickliffe, is also mentioned, Signat. C. iii. Britte is placed by Bale in 1390. Cent. vi. 94. See also Fuller's Worth. p. 8. *Wolfe*. The reader will pardon this small anticipation for the sake of connection.

" He

“ He goes next to the friars Preachers, whose magnificent
 “ monastery he describes: there he meets a fat friar, who
 “ declaims against the Augustines. He is shocked at his
 “ pride, and goes to the Augustines. They rail at the Mi-
 “ norites. He goes to the Carmes; they abuse the Domini-
 “ cans, but promise him salvation, without the creed, for
 “ money. He leaves them with indignation, and finds an
 “ honest poor PLOWMAN in the field, and tells him how he
 “ was disappointed by the four orders. The plowman an-
 “ swers with a long invective against them.”

The language of the CREDE is less embarrassed and obscure than that of the VISION. But before I proceed to a specimen, it may not be perhaps improper to prepare the reader, by giving an outline of the constitution and character of the four orders of mendicant friars, the object of our poet's satire: an enquiry in many respects connected with the general purport of this history, and which, in this place at least, cannot be deemed a digression, as it will illustrate the main subject, and explain many particular passages, of the PLOWMAN'S CREDE ^b.

Long before the thirteenth century, the monastic orders, as we have partly seen in the preceding poem, in consequence of their ample revenues, had degenerated from their primitive austerities, and were totally given up to luxury and indolence. Hence they became both unwilling and unable to execute the purposes of their establishment: to instruct the people, to check the growth of heresies, or to promote in any respect the true interests of the church. They forsook all their religious obligations, despised the authority of their superiors, and were abandoned without shame or remorse to every species of dissipation and licentiousness. About the beginning therefore of the thirteenth century, the condition and circumstances of the church rendered it absolutely ne-

^b And of some perhaps quoted above from the VISION.

cessary to remedy these evils, by introducing a new order of religious, who being destitute of fixed possessions, by the severity of their manners, a professed contempt of riches, and an unwearied perseverance in the duties of preaching and prayer, might restore respect to the monastic institution, and recover the honours of the church. These were the four orders of mendicant or begging friars, commonly denominated the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustines ^d.

These societies soon surpassed all the rest, not only in the purity of their lives, but in the number of their privileges, and the multitude of their members. Not to mention the success which attends all novelties, their reputation arose quickly to an amazing height. The popes, among other uncommon immunities, allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleased, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions, without reserve or restriction: and as on these occasions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conspicuous situations, they exhibited more striking marks of gravity and sanctity than were observable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monasteries, they were regarded with the highest esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe.

In the mean time they gained still greater respect, by cultivating the literature then in vogue, with the greatest assiduity and success. Gianoni says, that most of the theolo-

^d The Franciscans were often styled friars-minors, or minorites, and grey-friars: the Dominicans, friars-preachers, and sometimes black-friars: The Carmelites white-friars; and the Austins grey-friars. The first establishment of the Dominicans in England was at Oxford in

1221. Of the Franciscans at Canterbury. These two were the most eminent of the four orders. The Dominican friary at Oxford stood in an island on the south of the city, south-west of the Franciscan friary, the site of which is hereafter described.

gical professors in the university of Naples, newly founded in the year 1220, were chosen from the mendicants^c. They were the principal teachers of theology at Paris, the school where this science had received its origin^d. At Oxford and Cambridge respectively, all the four orders had flourishing monasteries. The most learned scholars in the university of Oxford, at the close of the thirteenth century, were Franciscan friars: and long after this period, the Franciscans appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that university^e. Hence it was that bishop Hugh de Balsham, founder of Peter-house at Cambridge, orders in his statutes given about the year 1280, that some of his scholars should annually repair to Oxford for improvement in the sciences^f. That is, to study under the Franciscan readers. Such was the eminence of the Franciscan friary at Oxford, that the learned bishop Grossthead, in the year 1253, bequeathed all

^c Hist. Nap. xvi. 3.

^d See Boul. Hist. Acad. Paris. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248, &c.

^e This circumstance in some degree roused the monks from their indolence, and induced the greater monasteries to procure the foundation of small colleges in the universities for the education of their novices. At Oxford the monks had also schools which bore the name of their respective orders: and there were schools in that university which were appropriated to particular monasteries. Kennet's Paroch. Ant. p. 214. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 119. Leland says, that even in his time, at Stamford, a temporary university, the names of halls inhabited by the novices of Peterborough, Sempringham, and Vauldrey abbeys, were remaining. Itin. vi. p. 21. And it appears, that the greater part of the proceeders in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, just before the reformation, were monks. But we do not find, that in consequence of all these efforts, the monks made a much greater figure in literature.

In this rivalry which subsisted between the mendicants and the monks, the latter sometimes availed themselves of their riches: and with a view to attract popularity, and to eclipse the growing lustre of the former, proceeded to their degrees in the universities with prodigious parade. In the year 1298, William de Brooke, a Benedictine of Saint Peter's abbey at Gloucester, took the degree of doctor in divinity at Oxford. He was attended on this important occasion by the abbot and whole convent of Gloucester, the abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, with one hundred noblemen and esquires, on horses richly caparisoned. These were entertained at a sumptuous feast in the refectory of Gloucester college. But it should be observed, that he was the first of the Benedictine order that attained this dignity. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 25. col. 1. See also Stevens, Mon. 1. 70.

^f "De scholaribus emittendis ad universitatem Oxonie pro doctrina." Cap. xviii.

his

his books to that celebrated seminary ⁱ. This was the house in which the renowned Roger Bacon was educated; who revived, in the midst of barbarism, and brought to a considerable degree of perfection the knowledge of mathematics in England, and greatly facilitated many modern discoveries in experimental philosophy ^k. The same fraternity is likewise said to have stored their valuable library with a multitude of Hebrew manuscripts, which they purchased of the Jews on their banishment from England ^l. Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham, author of *PHILOBIBLON*, and the founder of a library at Oxford, is prolix in his praises of the mendicants for their extraordinary diligence in collecting books ^m. Indeed it became difficult in the beginning of the fourteenth century to find any treatise in the arts, theology, or canon law, commonly exposed to sale: they were all universally bought up by the friars ⁿ. This is mentioned by Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, in his discourse before the pope at Avignon in 1357, their bitter and professed antagonist; who adds, without any intention of paying them a compliment, that all the mendicant convents were furnished with a “*grandis et nobilis libraria*.” Sir Richard Whittington built the library of the Grey Friars in London, which was one hundred and twenty-nine

ⁱ Leland. Script. Brit. p. 283. This house stood just without the city walls, near Little-gate. The garden called *Paradise* was their grove or orchard.

^k It is probable, that the treatises of many of Bacon's scholars and followers, collected by Thomas Allen in the reign of James the first, still remain among the manuscripts of Sir Kenelm Digby in the Bodleian library.

^l Wood, ubi sup. 1. 77. col. 2.

^m Philobibl. cap. v. This book was written, 1344.

ⁿ Yet I find a decree made at Oxford, where these orders of friars flourished so greatly, in the year 1373, to check the ex-

cessive multitude of persons selling books in the university without licence. Vet. Stat. Univ. Oxon. D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

^o MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *Propositio coram papa*, &c. And MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 182. *Propositio coram*, &c. See a translation of this Sermon by Trevisa, MSS. Harl. 1900. fol. Pergam. 2. See f. 11. See also Browne's append. Fascic. Rer. expetend. fugiend. ii. p. 466. I believe this discourse has been printed twice or thrice at Paris. In which, says the archbishop, there were thirty thousand scholars at Oxford in my youth, but now (1357,) scarce six thousand. At Bennet in Cambridge, there is a curious manuscript of one of Fitzrauf's Sermons, in the
P p 2 first

feet long, and twelve broad, with twenty-eight desks [¶]. About the year 1430, one hundred marks were paid for transcribing the profound Nicholas de Lyra, in two volumes, to be chained in this library [¶]. Leland relates, that John Wallden, a learned Carmelite, bequeathed to the same library as many manuscripts of approved authors, written in capital roman characters, as were then estimated at more than two thousand pieces of gold [¶]. He adds, that this library, even in his time, exceeded all others in London for multitude of books and antiquity of copies [¶]. Among many other instances which might be given of the learning of the mendicants, there is one which greatly contributed to establish their literary character. In the eleventh century, Aristotle's philosophy had been condemned in the university of Paris as heretical. About a hundred years afterwards, these prejudices began to subside; and new translations of Aristotle's writings were published in Latin by our countryman Michael Scotus, and others, with more attention to the original Greek, at least without the pompous and perplexed circumlocutions which appeared in the Arabic versions hitherto used. In the mean time the mendicant orders sprung up: who happily availing themselves of these new translations, and making them the constant subject of their scholastic lectures, were the first who revived the doctrines of this philosopher, and acquired the merit of having opened a new system of science[¶]. The Dominicans of Spain were accomplished adepts in the

first leaf of which there is a drawing of four devils, hugging four mendicant friars, one of each of the four orders, with great familiarity and affection. MSS. L. 16. This book belonged to Adam Efton, a very learned Benedictine of Norwich, and a witness against Wickliffe at Rome, where he lived the greatest part of his life, in 1370.

[¶] Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 255. edit. 1599.

[¶] Stowe, *ibid.* p. 256. Stevens, *Monast.* i. 112.

[¶] Aurei.

[¶] Script. Brit. p. 441. And *Collectan.* iii. p. 52.

[¶] See Joann. Laun. de varia Aristotel. Fortun. in Acad. Paris. p. 78. edit. Paris. 1662.

learning

learning and language of the Arabians ; and were employed by the kings of Spain in the instruction and conversion of the numerous Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions ".

The buildings of the mendicant monasteries, especially in England, were remarkably magnificent, and commonly much exceeded those of the endowed convents of the second magnitude. As these fraternities were professedly poor, and could not from their original institution receive estates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houses with stately refectories and churches: and for these and other purposes they did not want address to procure multitudes of patrons, which was facilitated by the notion of their superior sanctity. It was fashionable for persons of the highest rank to bequeath their bodies to be buried in the friary churches, which were consequently filled with sumptuous shrines and superb monuments ". In the

" R. Simon's Lett. Choif. tom. iii. p. 112. They studied the arts of popular entertainment. The mendicants, I believe, were the only religious in England who acted plays. The CREATION OF THE WORLD, annually performed by the Grey friars at Coventry, is still extant. See *supr.* p. 92. 243. And they seem to have been famous abroad for these exhibitions. Gualvanei de la Flamma, who flourished about the year 1340, has the following curious passage in his chronicle of the VICECOMITES of Milan, published by Muratori. In the year 1336, says he, on the feast of Epiphany, the first feast of the three kings was celebrated at Milan, by the convent of the friars preachers. The three kings appeared crowned on three great horses, richly habited, surrounded by pages, body-guards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of S. Lawrence, where king Herod was represented with his scribes and wife-men. The three kings ask Herod

where Christ should be born : and his wife-men having consulted their books, answer him at Bethlehem. On which, the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh, and gold, the star still going before, marched to the church of S. Eustorgius, with all their attendants ; preceded by trumpets and horns, apes, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church, on one side of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourse of the people, of knights, ladies, and ecclesiastics, was such as never before was beheld, &c. *Rer. Italic. Scriptor. tom. xii. col. 1017. D. fol. Mediolan. 1728. Compare p. 249. supr.* This feast in the ritual is called *The feast of the Star*. Joann. Episcop. Abrine. *de Offic. Eccl. p. 30.*

" Their churches were esteemed more sacred than others.

noble

noble church of the Grey friars in London, finished in the year 1325, but long since destroyed, four queens, besides upwards of six hundred persons of quality, were buried, whose beautiful tombs remained till the dissolution *. These interments imported considerable sums of money into the mendicant societies. It is probable that they derived more benefit from casual charity, than they would have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciscans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of distributing indulgences, a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty †.

On the whole, two of these mendicant institutions, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, for the space of near three centuries, appear to have governed the European church and state with an absolute and universal sway: they filled, during that period, the most eminent ecclesiastical and civil stations, taught in the universities with an authority which silenced all opposition, and maintained the disputed prerogative of the Roman pontiff against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, exactly what the Jesuits have been since. They disregarded their monastic character and profession, and were employed, not only in spiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greatest consequence; in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, and concerting alliances: they presided in cabinet councils, levied national subsidies, influenced courts, and managed the machines of every important operation and event, both in the religious and political world.

From what has been here said it is natural to suppose, that the mendicants at length became universally odious. The high esteem in which they were held, and the transcendent degree of authority which they had assumed, only served to

* Weav. Fun. Mon. p. 388.

† See Baluz. Miscellan. tom. iv. 490. vii. 392.
render

render them obnoxious to the clergy of every rank, to the monasteries of other orders, and to the universities. It was not from ignorance, but from a knowledge of mankind, that they were active in propagating superstitious notions, which they knew were calculated to captivate the multitude, and to strengthen the papal interest; yet at the same time, from the vanity of displaying an uncommon sagacity of thought, and a superior skill in theology, they affected novelties in doctrine, which introduced dangerous errors, and tended to shake the pillars of orthodoxy. Their ambition was unbounded, and their arrogance intolerable. Their encreasing numbers became, in many states, an enormous and unweildy burthen to the commonwealth. They had abused the powers and privileges which had been entrusted to them; and the common sense of mankind could not long be blinded or deluded by the palpable frauds and artifices, which these rapacious zealots so notoriously practised for enriching their convents. In England, the university of Oxford resolutely resisted the perpetual encroachments of the Dominicans^z; and many of our theologists attacked all the four orders with great vehemence and severity. Exclusive of the jealousies and animosities which naturally subsisted between four rival institutions, their visionary refinements, and love of disputation, introduced among them the most violent dissensions. The Dominicans aimed at popularity, by an obstinate denial of the immaculate conception. Their pretended sanctity became at length a term of reproach, and their learning fell into discredit. As polite letters and general knowledge encreased, their speculative and pedantic divinity gave way to a more liberal turn of thinking, and a more perspicuous mode of writing. Bale, who was himself a Carmelite friar, says, that his order, which was eminently distinguished for scholastic erudition, began to lose their estimation about the year 1460. Some of them were impru-

^z Wood, ut supr. i. 15c. 154. 196.

dent enough to engage openly in political controversy; and the Augustines destroyed all their repute and authority in England by seditious sermons, in which they laboured to supplant the progeny of Edward the fourth, and to establish the title of the usurper Richard ^a. About the year 1530, Leland visited the Franciscan friary at Oxford, big with the hopes of finding, in their celebrated library, if not many valuable books, at least those which had been bequeathed by the learned bishop Grossthead. The delays and difficulties with which he procured admittance into this venerable repository, heightened his curiosity and expectations. At length, after much ceremony, being permitted to enter, instead of an inestimable treasure, he saw little more than empty shelves covered with cobwebs and dust ^b.

After so prolix an introduction, I cannot but give a large quotation from our CREDE, the humour and tendency of which will now be easily understood: and especially as this poem is not only extremely scarce, and has almost the rarity of a manuscript, but as it is so curious and lively a picture of an order of men who once made so conspicuous a figure in the world.

For first I frayned ^c the freres, and they me full tolden,
That al the fruyt of the fayth, was in her foure orders,
And the cofres of christendom, and the keie bothen
And the lock of byleve ^d, lyeth locken in her hondes

Then wennede ^e I to wytte, and with a whight I mette
A Minoure in amorwetide, and to this man I faide,

^a Newcourt, Repert. i. 289.

^b Leland describes this adventure with some humour. "Contigit ut copiam petere rem videndi bibliothecam Franciscanorum, ad quod obstreperunt asini aliquot, rudentes nulli prorsus mortalium tam sanctos aditus et recessus adire, nisi Gardiano et sacris sui collegii baccalariis. Sed ego urgebam, et principis diplomate munitus, tantum non coegi ut sacra

"illa aperirent. Tum unus e majoribus asinis multa subrudens tandem fores aggre referavit. Summe Jupiter quid ego illic inveni? Pulverem autem inveni, telas araneorum, tineas, blattas, situm denique et squallorem. Inveni etiam et libros, sed quos tribus obolis non emerem." Script. Brit. p. 286.

^c Asked.

^d Belief.

^e Thought.

Sir for greate godes love, the graith ^f thou me tell,
Of what myddel erde man myght I best lerne
My crede, for I can it nought, my care is the more,
And therfore for Christes love, thy counseyl I preie,
A Carme ^z me hath ycovenant, ye nede me to teche.
But for thou knowest Carmes wel, thy counsaile I aske.

This Minour loked on me, and laughyng he fayde
Leve christen man, I leve ^h that thou madde.
Whough shuld thei teche the God, that con non hemselfe ?
They ben but jugulers, and japers of kynde,
Lorels and lechures, and lemans holden,
Neyther in order ne out but unneth lybbeth ^l,
And byjapeth the folk with gestes ^k of Rome.
It is but a faynt folke, yfounded up on japes,
They maketh hem Maries men ^l, and so thei men tellen.
And leieth on our lady many a long tale.
And that wicked folk wymmen betraieth,
And begileth hem of her good with glavering wordes.
And ther ^m with holden her hous in harlotes warkes.
And so save me God I hold it great synne,
To gyven hem any good, swiche glotones to fynde
To maintaine swiche maner men the michel good destruieth
Yet ⁿ seyn they in her futiltie, to sottes in townes
Thei comen out of Carmeli, Christ for to folwen.
And feyneth hem with holyneffe, the yvele hem bifemeth.
Thei lyven more in lecherie, and lieth in her tales,
Than fuen ^o any good liif, but lurken in her felles,
But wynnyn werdliche ^p good, and wasten it in synne,

^f Truth. ^z Carmelite. ^h Believe.

ⁱ Deceiveth.

^k Legends.

^l The Carmelites, sometimes called the brethren of the Blessed Virgin, were fond of boasting their familiar intercourse with the Virgin Mary. Among other things, they pretended that the Virgin assumed the Carmelite habit and profession: and that

she appeared to Simon Sturckius, general of their order, in the thirteenth century, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of those christians who died with the Carmelite scapulary upon their shoulders should infallibly escape damnation.

^m Their.

ⁿ Say.

^o Follow.

^p Wordly.

And gif ^a thei couthen ^t her crede other on Christ leveden
 Thei weren nought so hardy, swyche harlotri usen,
 Sikerli I can nought fynden who hem first founded,
 But the soles foundeden hem self freres of the pye,
 And maken hem mendyans, and marre the pule,
 But what glut of the gomes may any good kachen,
 He wil kepen it hem selfe, and cofrene it faste.
 And thoigh his felawes fayle good, for bi he mai sterve
 Her monei mai bi quest, and testament maken
 And none obedience here, but don as hym luste:
 And right as Robartes men raken aboute
 At feyres and at full ales, and fyllen the cuppe,^s
 And precheth al of pardon, to plesen the puple,
 But patience is al pased, and put out to ferme
 And pride is in her povertie, that litell is to preisen
 And at the lullyng of our lady ^t, the wymmen to lyken
 And miracles of mydwyves, and maken wymmen to wenen
 That the lace of our lady smok lighteth hem of children.
 Thei ne prechen nought of Powel ^u, ne penaunce for synne,
 But al of merci and mensk ^w, that Marie may helpen.
 With sterne staves and stronge, thei overlond straketh,
 Thider as here lemans liggeth, and lurketh in townes.
 Grey grete heded quenes, with gold by the eighen,
 And seyne that her sustern thei ben that sojurneth aboute,
 And thus abouten the gon and godes folke betrayeth,
 It is the puple that Powel preched of in his tyme.
 He seyde of swiche folke that so aboute wente

^a If.^t Knew.

^s I suppose the FRIARS ROBERTINES,
 instituted by Robert Flower, hermit of
 Knareburgh, in the reign of king John,
 a branch of the Trinitarians, who were a
 branch of the Franciscans. See Dugd.
 Mon. ii. 833. And Leland. Itin. i. 82.
 The poet cannot mean the Cistercians,

founded by Robert, abbot of Moleme in
 Burgundy.

^t The Carmelites pretended that their
 order was originally founded on Mount
 Carmel where Elias lived: and that their
 first convent was placed there, within an
 ancient church dedicated to the Virgin
 Mary, in the year 1121.

^u St. Paul.^w Mercy.

Wepying,

Wepying, I warne you of walkers aboute,
It beth enemyes of the cros that Christ upon tholede.
Swiche slomreers ^x in slepe slaughte^y is her end.
And glotonye is her god, with glopping of drink
And gladnesse in glee, and grete joye ymaked
In the shending ^z of swiche shal mychel folk lauwghe.
Therefore frend for thy feith fond to don beter,
Leve nought on tho losels, but let hem forth pafen,
For thei ben fals in her faith, and feele mo other.

Alas frere, quath I tho, my purpos is yfailed,
Now is my comfort a cast, canst ou no bote,
Wher I might meten with a man that might me wyssen
For to conne my crede, Christ for to folwen.

Certeyn felawe, quath the frere, withouten any fayle
Of al men upon mold ^a we Minorites most sheweth
The pure aposteles leif, with penance on erthe,
And suen ^b hem in sanctite, and sufferen wel harde.
We haunten not tavernes, ne hobelen ^c abouten
At marketes and miracles we medeley us never ^d.
We houlden ^e no moneye, but moneliche faren^f
And haven hunger at the mete, at ich a mel ones.
We haven forsaken the world, and in wo libbeth ^g
In penaunce and poverte, and prechethe the puple ^h.
By ensample of our liif, foules to helpen
And in poverte preien, for al oure parteneres
That gyveth us any good, God to honouren
Other bel other book, or bred to our foode,
Other catel other cloth, to coveren with oure bones ⁱ :
Money, other money worth, here mede is in hevene
For we buildeth a burugh ^k, a brod and a large,

^x Slumberers. ^y Sloth. ^z Destroying. ^a Earth. ^b Follow. ^c Skip.
Run. ^d See supr. p. 236. ^e Collect. Hide. Possess. Hoard. ^f Live like monks,
like men dedicated to religion. Or rather, moneyless poor. ^g Live. ^h People.
ⁱ Either bells, or books, or bread, or cattel, &c. ^k A house.

A chirch and a chapitle¹, with chaumbers a lofte.
 With wide wyndowes ywrought, and walles wel heye
 That mote ben portreid, and paint and pulched ful clene^m.
 With gay glitering glas, glowing as the funne,
 Andⁿ mightestou amenden us with money of thyne owen,
 Thou shouldest knely before Christ in compas of gold,
 In the wyde windowe westward wel neigh in the middell^o,
 And faint Franceis him self, shal folde the in his cope,
 And present the to the trinite, and praye for thy synnes,
 Thy name shal noblich be wryte and wrought for the nones
 And in remembraunce of the, praid therfor ever^p,
 And brother be thou nought aferd, bythenkin thyne hert
 Though thou cone^q nought thy crede, care thou no more
 I shal asoilen^r the fyr, and setten it on my soule.
 And thou may maken this good, thenke thou non other.

Sir (I sayde) in certaine I shal gon and asaye,
 And he set on me his hond, and asoiled me clene,
 And there I parted him fro, withouten any peyne,
 In covenant that I come agayn, Christ he me be taught.

Than saide I to myself, here semeth litel treuthe,
 First to blame his brother, and bakbyten hym foule,
 There as curteis Christ clerliche sayde:
 Whow might thou in thy brothers eighe a bare mote loke
 And in thyne owen eighe nought a beme toten,
 See first on thy self, and sithen on a nother,
 And clense clene thy sight, and kepe wel thyne eighe,
 And for another mannes eighe, ordeyne after
 And also I see coveitise, catel to fongen^s,

¹ A chapter-house. *Capitulum*. "May.
 " Might."

^m Painted and beautifully adorned.

ⁿ If you would help us with your money.

^o Your figure kneeling to Christ shall
 be painted in the great west window. This
 was the way of representing benefactors
 in painted glais. See *supr.* p. 278.

^p Your name shall be written in our ta-
 ble of benefactors for whose souls we pray.
 This was usually hung up in the church.
 Or else he means, Written in the win-
 dows, in which manner benefactors were
 frequently recorded.

^q Know.

^r Absolve.

^s Take. Receive.

That

That Christ hath clerliche forboden ^t, and clenliche destruede
And sayde to his fueres ^u, for sothe on this wyfe:
Nought thy neighbors good coveyte in no tyme.
But charite and chafite, ben chafed out clene,
But Christ seide by her fruit, men shal hem ful knowen.
Thannefaide I, certeine fyr, thou demest ful trewe.

Than thought I to frayne ^w the first of this foure ordres.
And presed to the Prechoures ^x, to proven her wille.
Ich highed ^y to her house, to herken of more,
And when I came to that court, I gaped about,
Swich a bild bold ybult upon erthe heighte,
Say I nought in certeyn fyththe a long tyme^z.
I ^a femed upon that hous, and yerne ^b theron loked,
Whow the pileres weren ypaint and pulchud ^c ful clene,
And queyntly ycorven, with curious knottes,
With wyndowes wel ywrought, wyde up alofte,
And than I entred in, and even forthe wente,
And all was walled that wone ^d, though it wiid were
With posternes in privityte to passen when hem liste.
Orcheyardes, and erberes ^e euesed well clene,
And a curious cros, craftly entayled ^f,
With tabernacles ytight to toten ^g al abouten.
The pris of a ploughlond, of penies so rounde,
To aparaile that pyler, were pure litel ^h,
Than I munte me ⁱ forth, the mynstere ^k to knowen,
And ^l awayted woon, wonderly wel ybild,
With arches on everich half, and bellyche ^m yeorven
With crochetes on corneres, with knottes of gold.
Wyde wyndowes ywrought ywriten ful thikke ⁿ

^t Forbidden.

^u Followers.

^d House Habitation.

^e Arbours.

^w To ask.

^f Carved. See Spenser, ii. 3. 27. 6. 29.

^x I hastened to the friars preachers.

^z To look.

^y I went to their monastery.

^h The price of a carucate of land would not raise such another building.

^z It is long since I have seen so fine a building.

ⁱ Went.

^k Church.

^l I saw one.

^a Gazed.

^b Earnestly.

^c Polished.

^m Beautifully.

ⁿ With texts, or names.

Shynen^o with shapen sheldes, to shewen aboute,
 With^p merkes of merchauntes, ymedeled betwene,
 Mo than twentie and two, twyfe ynoumbbred;
 Ther is non heraud that hath half swich a rolle^q
 Right as a rageman hath rekned hem newe
 Tombes upon tabernacles, tylde upon lofte^r,
 Houfed^s in hornes, harde set abouten^t
 Of armede alabaufstre, clad for the nones,
 Maad opou marbel in many manner wyfe
 Knyghtes in ther conifante^u clad for the nones
 Alle it semed seyntes, ysacred opou erthe,
 And lovely ladies ywrought, leyen by her fydes
 In many gay garnemens, that weren gold beten,
 Though the tax often yere were trewely gadered,
 Nolde it nought maken that hous, half as I trowe.
 Than cam I to that cloystre, and gaped abouten,

^o That is, coats of arms of benefactors painted in the glass. So in an antient roll in verse, exhibiting the descent of the family of the lords of Clare in Suffolk, preserved in the Austin friary at Clare, and written in the year 1356.

Dame Mault, a lady full honorable,
 Borne of the Ulsters, as sheweth ryfe
 Hir *armes of glasse* in the eastern gable.—

———— So conjoynd be
 Ulstris *armes* and Glocestris thurgh and
 thurgh,

As shewith our *Wynowes* in houses thre,
 Dortur, chapter-houfe, and fraiture, which
 she

Made out the grounde both plancher and
 wall.

Dugdale cites this roll, Mon. Angl. i. p. 535. As does Weaver, who dates it in 1460. Fun. Mon. p. 734. But I could prove this fashion to have been of much higher antiquity.

^p Imagery brought from foreign countries. *Marke* is used for image in Chaucer, Frank. T. v. 2426. Urr.

Sin mankinde is so faire parte of thy
 worke.

That thou it madist like to thine owne
merke.

And Prol. W. B. v. 696. See P. Plowm. Vis. & 42. a. edit. 1550. These were *y-medeled* between, that is, intermixed, interspersed. ^q Such a roll. ^r Set up on high.

^s Surrounded with iron rails. *Horns* seems to be *irons*.

^t Placed very close or thick about the church.

^u In their proper habiliments. In their *cognisances*, or surcoats of arms. So again, Signat. C. ii. b.

For though a man in her minstre a masse
 wolde heren,

His sight shall also byset on fondrye
 workes,

The pennons, and the poinells, and pointes
 of sheldes

Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his
 harte.

That is, the banners, atchievements, and other armorial ornaments, hanging over the tombs.

Whough

Whough it was pilered and peynt, and portreyd well clene
 Alhyled ^w with leed, lowe to the stones,
 And ypaved, with poynttyl ^x, ich point after other
 With cundites of clene tyn closed al aboute ^y,
 With lavoures of lattin ^z, loveliche ygreithed ^a.
 I trowe the gaynage of the ground, in a gret shyre
 Nold aparaile that place, oo poynt tyl other ende ^b.
 Thane was the chapitre houe wrought as a greet chirch
 Corven and covered, ant queytelyche entayled ^c.
 With femliche felure yfset on lofte ^d.
 As a parlement hous pseynted aboute ^e.

^w Covered.

^x *Point en point* is a French phrase for *in order*, exactly. This explains the latter part of the line. Or *poyntill* may mean tiles in squares or dies, in chequer-work. See Skinner in *POINT*, and Du Fresnoie in *PUNCTURA*. And then *ich POINT after other* will be *one SQUARE after another*. So late as the reign of Henry the eighth, so magnificent a structure as the refectory of Christ-church at Oxford was, at its first building, paved with green and yellow tiles. The whole number was two thousand six hundred, and each hundred cost three shillings and six-pence. MSS. Br. Twyne, Archiv. Oxon. 8 p. 352. Wolfsey's great hall at Hampton Court, evidently built in every respect on the model of this at Christ-church, was very probably paved in the same manner. See *OBSERVAT. on SPENS.* vol. ii. §. p. 232.

^y Spouts. Or channels for conveying the water into the Lavatory, which was usually placed in the cloyster.

^z Laten, a metal so called.

^a Prepared. Adorned.

^b From one end to the other.

^c The chapter-house was magnificently constructed in the style of church-architecture, finely vaulted, and richly carved.

^d A seemly cieling, or roof, very lofty.

^e That they painted the walls of rooms, before tapestry became fashionable, I have before given instances, *OBSERVAT. SPENS.* vol. ii. §. p. 232. I will here add other

proofs. In an old French romance on the *MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN*, liv. i. Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. V. LAMBROISSARE.

Lors moultiers tiennent ors et fals,

Et lor cambres, et lor grans sales,

Font lambroissier, *paindre, et pourtraire.*

Gervasius Dorobernenfis, in his account of the burning of Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1174, says, that not only the beam-work was destroyed, but the cieling underneath it, or concameration called *cælum*, being of wood beautifully painted, was also consumed. "Cælum inferius egre-
 "gie depictum, &c." p. 1289. Dec. Script. Lond. 1652. And Stubbes, *Actus Pontif. Eboracensium*, says, that archbishop Aldred, about 1060, built the whole church of York from the Presbytery to the Tower, and "superius opere pictorio quod Cælum
 "vocant auro multiformiter intermixto,
 "mirabili arte construxit." p. 1704. Dec. Script. ut supr. There are many instances in the pipe-rolls, not yet printed. The roof of the church of Cassino in Italy is ordered to be painted in 1349, like that of St. John Lateran at Rome. Hist. Cassin. tom. ii. p. 545. col. 1. Dugdale has printed an antient French record, by which it appears that there was a hall in the castle of Dover called *Arthur's hall*, and a chamber called *Geneura's chamber*. Monast. ii. 2. I suppose, because the walls of these apartments were respectively adorned with paintings of each. *Geneura* is Arthur's queen.

Thanne ferd I into fraytoure^f, and fond there a nother,
 An halle for an hygh kyng, an houshold to holden,
 With brod bordes abouten, ybenched wel clene,
 With wyndowes of glafs, wrought as a chirche^g.
 Than walkede I ferrer^h, and went al abouten
 And feighⁱ halles ful heygh, and houfes ful noble,
 Chambres with chymneys, and chapels gaye,
 And kychenes for an high kyng, in castels to holden,
 And her dortoure^k ydight, with dores ful stronge
 Fermerye and fraitur^l, with fele mo houfes^m
 And al strong ston wal sterne opon heithe
 With gaye garites, and grete, and iche hole glased.
 And other houfes ynowe, to hereberwe the queeneⁿ,
 And yet these bileres wiln beggen a bagge ful of whete
 Of a pure pore man, that may onethe paye^o
 Half his rent in a yere, and half ben byhynde.
 Than turned I apen whan I hadde al ytoted^p
 And fond in a freitoure a frere on a benche,

queen. In the pipe-rolls of Henry the third we have this notice, A. D. 1259. "Infra
 "portam castri et birbecanam, etc. ab exitu
 "CAMERÆ ROSAMUNDÆ usque capel-
 "lam sancti Thomæ in Castro Wynton."
 Rot. Pip. Henr. iii. an. 43. This I once
 supposed to be a chamber in Winchester
 castle, so called because it was painted with
 the figure or some history of fair Rosamond.
 But a ROSAMUND-CHAMBER was a com-
 mon apartment in the royal castles, per-
 haps in imitation of her BOWER at Wood-
 stock, literally nothing more than a cham-
 ber, which yet was curiously constructed
 and decorated, at least in memory of it.
 The old prose paraphrast of the Chronicle
 of Robert of Gloucester says, "BOURES
 "hadde the Rosamonde a bout in Enge-
 "londe, which this kyng [Hen. ii.] for
 "hir sake made: atte Waltham bisshope's,
 "in the castelle of Wynchester, atte park
 "of Fremantel, atte Marteleston, atte
 "Woodestoke, and other fele [many]

"places." Chron. edit. Hearne, 479.
 This passage indeed seems to imply, that
 Henry the second himself provided for his
 fair concubine a BOWER, or chamber of
 peculiar construction, not only at Wood-
 stock, but in all the royal palaces; which,
 as may be concluded from the pipe-roll just
 cited, was called by her name. Leland
 says, that in the stately castle of Pickering
 in Yorkshire, "in the first court be a four
 "Toures, of the which one is caullid Ro-
 "samundes Toure." Itin. fol. 71. Prob-
 ably because it contained one of these bow-
 ers or chambers. Or, perhaps we should
 read ROSAMUND'S BOWER. Compare
 Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. p. 10. 11.

^f Fraternity.

^g A series of stately Gothic windows.

^h Further. ⁱ Saw.

^k Dormitory. ^l Infirmary, &c.

^m Many other apartments.

ⁿ To lodge the queen.

^o Scarcely. ^p Observed.

A greet

A greet chorl and a grym, growen as a tonne,
 With a face so fat, as a ful bleddere^r,
 Blown bretful of breth, and as a bagge honged.
 On bothen his chekes, and his chyn, with a chol lollede
 So greet a gos ey, growen al of grece.
 That al wagged his fleish, as a quick mire^s,
 His cope^t that biclypped him, wel clene was it folden
 Of double worstede ydyght, doun to the hele.
 His kyrtel of clene whiit, clenlyche yfewed
 Hit was good ynow of ground, greyn for to baren.
 I haylsede that thirdman, and hendliche I sayde,
 Gode fire for godes love, canst on me graith tellen,
 To any worthely wiight, that wiffen me couthe,
 Whom I shuld conne my crede, Christ for to folwe,
 That lenede lelliche^u hym selfe, and lyved ther after,
 That feynede no falshe^vde, but fully Christ suwede,
 Forfith a certeyn man fyker wold I trosten
 That he wold tell me the trewth, and turn to none other.
 And an Austyn this ender day, egged^w me faste
 That he wold techen me wel, he plyght me his treuthe
 And seyde me certeyn, fighten Christ deyed
 Oure ordre was evels, and erst yfounded.

First felawe quath he, fy on his pylthe
 He is but abortiif, eked with cloutes.
 He holdeth his ordinaunce with hores and theves,
 And purchaseth hem privileges, with penyes so rounde.
 It is a pure pardoners craft, provè and asay
 For have they thy money, a moneth therafter
 Certes theigh thou come agen, he wil ye nought knowen.
 But felawe oure foundement was first of the other
 And we ben founded fulliche, withouten fayntise
 And we ben clerkes renowen, cunning in schole
 Proued in proceffion by proceffe of lawe.

^r Bladder.^s Quag-mire.^t Covered.^u Truly.^v Moved.

Of oure order ther beth bichopes wel manye,
 Seyntes on fundry stedes, that suffreden harde
 And we ben proved the priis of popes at Rome
 And of grettest degre, as gospelles telleth.

I must not quit our Ploughman without observing, that some other satirical pieces anterior to the Reformation, bear the adopted name of *PIERS THE PLOWMAN*. Under the character of a plowman the religious are likewise lashed, in a poem written in apparent imitation of Longland's *VISION*, and attributed to Chaucer. I mean the *PLOWMAN'S TALE* *. The measure is different, and it is in rhyme. But it has Longland's alliteration of initials: as if his example had, as it were, appropriated that mode of versification to the subject, and the supposed character which supports the satire †. All these poems were, for the most part, founded on the doctrines newly broached by Wickliffe ‡: who main-

* Perhaps falsely. Unless Chaucer wrote the *Crede*, which I cannot believe. For in Chaucer's *PLOWMAN'S TALE* this *Crede* is alluded to. v. 3005.

And of *Freres* I have before
 Told in a making of a *Crede*;
 And yet I could tell worse and more.

This passage at least brings the *PLOWMAN'S TALE* below the *CREDE* in time. But some have thought, very improbably, that this *Crede* is *Jack Upland*.

† It is extraordinary that we should find in this poem one of the absurd arguments of the puritans against ecclesiastical establishments. v. 2253. Urr. edit.

For Christ made no cathedralls,
 Ne with him was no Cardinalls.

But see what follows, concerning Wickliffe.

‡ It is remarkable, that they touch on the very topics which Wickliffe had just published in his *OBJECTIONS OF FRERES* charging them with *fifty heresies*. As in the following. "Also Freres buildin many
 " great churches, and costly walf houses

" and cloisteres, as it wern castels, and that
 " withouten nede, &c." Lewis's *WICKLIFF*, p. 22. I will here add a passage from Wickliffe's tract entitled *WHY POOR PRIESTS HAVE NO BENEFICES*. Lewis, App. Num. xix. p. 289. "And yet they
 " [lords] wolen not present a clerk able
 " of kunning of god's law, but a kitchen
 " clerk, or a penny clerk, or *wyse in barla-*
 " *ing castles*, or worldly doing, though he
 " kunne not reade well his sauter, &c." Here is a manifest piece of satire on Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, Wickliffe's cotemporary; who is supposed to have recommended himself to Edward the third by rebuilding the castle of Windsor. This was a recent and notorious instance. But in this appointment the king probably paid a compliment to that prelate's singular talents for business, his activity, circumspection, and management, rather than to any scientific and professed skill in architecture which he might have possessed. It seems to me that he was only a supervisor or comptroller on this occasion. It was common to depute churchmen to this department, from an
 idea

tained, among other things, that the clergy should not possess estates, that the ecclesiastical ceremonies obstructed true devotion, and that mendicant friars, the particular object of our *Plowman's CREDE*, were a public and insupportable grievance. But Wickliffe, whom Mr. Hume pronounces to have been an enthusiast, like many other reformers, carried his ideas of purity too far; and, as at least it appears from the two first of these opinions, under the design of destroying superstition, his undistinguishing zeal attacked even the necessary aids of religion. It was certainly a lucky circumstance, that Wickliffe quarrelled with the pope. His attacks on superstition at first probably proceeded from resentment. Wickliffe, who was professor of divinity at Oxford, finding on many occasions not only his own province invaded, but even the privileges of the university frequently violated by the pretensions of the mendicants, gratified his warmth of temper by throwing out some slight censures against all the four orders, and the popes their principal patrons and abettors. Soon afterwards he was deprived of the wardenhip of Canterbury hall, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place. Upon this he appealed to the pope, who confirmed the archiepiscopal sentence, by way of rebuke for the freedom with which he had treated the monastic profession. Wickliffe, highly exasperated at this usage, immediately gave a loose to his indignation, and without restraint or distinction attacked

idea of their superior prudence and probity. Thus John, the prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester in 1280, is commissioned by brief from the king, to supervise large repairs done by the sheriff in the castle of Winchester, and the royal manor of Wolmer. MS. Registr. Priorat. Quat. 19. fol. 3. The bishop of S. David's was master of the works at building King's College. Hearne's *Elmh.* p. 353. Alcock, bishop of Ely, was comptroller of the royal buildings under

Henry the seventh. Parker Hist. Cambr. p. 119. He, like Wykeham, was a great builder, but not therefore an architect. Richard Williams, dean of Litchfield and chaplain to Henry the eighth, bore the same office. MSS. Wood, Litchfield. D. 7. Ashmol. Nicholas Townley clerk, was master of the works at Cardinal College. MS. Twyne, g. f. 351. See also Walpole, i. *Anecd. Paint.* p. 40.

in numerous sermons and treatises, not only the scandalous enormities of the whole body of monks, but even the usurpations of the pontifical power itself, with other ecclesiastical corruptions. Having exposed these palpable abuses with a just abhorrence, he ventured still farther, and proceeded to examine and refute with great learning and penetration the absurd doctrines which prevailed in the religious system of his age: he not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but translated the bible into English for general use and popular inspection. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that these efforts enlarged the notions of mankind, and sowed those seeds of a revolution in religion, which were quickened at length and brought to maturity by a favourable coincidence of circumstances, in an age when the encreasing growth of literature and curiosity naturally led the way to innovation and improvement. But a visible diminution of the authority of the ecclesiastics, in England at least, had been long growing from other causes. The disgust which the laity had contracted from the numerous and arbitrary encroachments both of the court of Rome, and of their own clergy, had greatly weaned the kingdom from superstition; and conspicuous symptoms had appeared, on various occasions, of a general desire to shake off the intolerable bondage of papal oppression.

S E C T. X.

LONGLAND's peculiarity of style and versification, seems to have had many cotemporary imitators. One of these is a nameless author on the fashionable history of Alexander the Great: and his poem on this subject is inserted at the end of the beautiful Bodleian copy of the French ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE, before mentioned, with this reference ^a. "Here sayleth a proffesse of this romaunce of
" Alixaunder the whiche proffesse that sayleth ye schulle
" fynde at the ende of thys boke ywrete in Engeliche ryme."
It is imperfect, and begins and proceeds thus ^b.

How Alexander partyd thennys ^c.

When this weith at his wil wedinge
Hadde, fful rathe rommede he rydinge
Thedince so ondrace with his oft
Alixandre wendeth there wilde contre

^a See above, p. 240. It is in a different hand yet with Saxon characters. See ad calc. cod. f. 209. It has miniatures in water colours.

^b There is a poem in the Ashmolean museum, complete in the former part, which I believe is the same. MSS. Ashm. 44. It has twenty-seven passus, and begins thus: Whener folk fastid and fed, fayne wolde thei her
Some farand thing, &c.

^c At the end are these rubrics, with void spaces, intended to be filled.

"How Alexandre remewid to a flood that
"is called Phison."

"How king Duidimus sente lettres to king
"Alexandre."

"How Duidimus enditid to Alexaundre
"of here levyng."

"How he spareth not Alexandre to telle
"hym of hys governance."

"How he telleth Alexandre of his mau-
"metrie."

"How Alexandre sente aunswere to Dui-
"dimus by lettres."

"How Duidimus fendyd an answere to
"Alexandre by lettre."

"How Alexandre sente Duidimus another
"lettre."

"How Alexandre pight a pelyr of marbyl
"ther."

Was

Was wist and wonderfull peple
 That weren proved ful proude, and prys of hevi helde
 Of bodi went thei thare withoute any wede
 And had grave on the ground many grete cavys
 There here wonnyng was wynturus and fomerus
 No fyte nor no fur stede sothli thei ne hadde
 But holus holwe in the grounde to hide hem inne
 Now is that name to mene the nakid wife
 Wan the kiddeste of the cavus that was kinge holde
 Hurde tydinge telle and loknyng wiste
 That Alixaundre with his oft at lede thidince
 To beholden of hom hure hiezeft prynce
 Than waies of worshipec wittie and quainte
 With his lettres he let to the lud fende
 Thanne southte thei sone the foresaide prynce
 And to the schamlese schalk schewen hur lettres
 Than rathe let the . . . reden the fonde
 That newe tythinge is tolde in this wise
 The gentil 'Geneosofhistsians that gode were of witte
 To the emperour Alixandre here aunsweris wreten
 This is worschip of word worthi to have
 And in conquerer kid in contres manie
 Us is fertefyed seg as we soth heren
 That thou hast ment with the man among us ferre
 But yf thou kyng to us come with caere to figte
 Of us getist thou no good gome we the warne
 For what richesse . . . us might you us bi reve
 Whan no wordliche wele is with us founde
 We ben fengle of us filse and semen ful bare
 Nouht welde we nowe but naked we wende
 And that we happili her haven of kynde
 May no man but god make us fine
 Thei thou fonde with thi folke to fighte us alle
 We schulle us kepe on caugt our cavns withinne
 Nevere werred we with wigh upon erthe

' Gymnosofhists.

For we ben hid in oure holis or we harme laache hadde
 Thus faide sothli the loude that thi sente
 And al so cof as the king kende the sawe
 New lettres he let the bi take
 And with his sawes of soth he hem alle
 That he wolde faire with his folke in a faire wise
 To bi holden here home and non harme wurke
 So heth the king with hem sente and fithen with his peple
 cosli til hem to kenne of hure fare
 But whan thai sieu the seg with so manye ryde
 Thei war a grison of his grym and wende gref tholie
 Ffast heiede thei to holis and hidden there
 And in the cavus hem kept from the king sterne, &c.

Another piece, written in Longland's manner, is entitled, *THE WARRES OF THE JEWES*. This was a favourite subject, as I have before observed, drawn from the Latin historical romance, which passes under the name of *HEGESIPPUS DE EXCIDIO HIERUSALEM*.

In Tyberyus tyme the trewe emperour
 Syr Sesar hym sulf sayfed in Rome
 Whyle Pylot was provost under that prynce ryche
 And sewen justice also in Judeus londis
 Herodes under his empire as heritage wolde
 King of Galile was ycallid whan that Crist deyad
 They Sesar sakles wer that oft syn hatide
 Throw Pilet pynded he was and put on the rode
 A pyler pygt was don upon the playne erthe
 His body bouden therto beten with scourgis
 Whippes of quyrbole by went his white sides
 Til he al on rede blode ran as rayn on the strete
 Such stockyd hym an a stole with styf menes hondis
 Blyndfelled hym as a be and boffetis hym ragte
 Zif you be a prophete of pris prophecie they sayde

Which

Which man her aboute bolled the laste
 A thrange thorn crown was thraſte on his hed
 . . . caſten hym with a cry and on a cros ſlowen
 Ffor al the harme that he had haſted he nogt
 On hym the vyleny to venge that hys venys broſten
 Bot ay taried on the tyme gif they tone wolde
 Gaf he ſpace that him ſpiled they he ſpeede lyte
 Yf aynt was as yfynde and no fewer^d, &c.

Notwithstanding what has been ſuppoſed above, it is not quite certain, that Longland was the firſt who led the way in this ſingular ſpecies of verſification. His *VISION* was written on a popular ſubject, and is the only poem, compoſed in this capricious ſort of metre, which has been printed. It is eaſy to conceive how theſe circumſtances contributed to give him the merit of an inventor on this occaſion.

The ingenious doctor Percy has exhibited ſpecimens of two or three other poems belonging to this claſs^e. One of theſe is entitled *DEATH AND LIFE*: it conſiſts of two hundred and twenty-nine lines, and is divided into two parts or *Fitts*. It begins thus:

Chriſt chriſten king that on the cros tholed,
 Hadde paines and paſſyons to defend our ſoules;
 Give us grace on the ground the greatlye to ſerve
 For that royall red blood that rann from thy ſide.

The ſubject of this piece is a *VISION*, containing a conteſt for ſuperiority between *Our lady Dame LIFE*, and the *ugly fiend*

^d Laud. . . 22. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Ad calc. "Hic tractatur bellum Judaicum apud Jeruſalem." f. 19. b. It is alſo in Brit. Muſ. Cott. MSS. CALIG. A. 1. fol. 109. — 123. Gyrardus Cambrenſis ſays, that the Welch and Engliſh uſed all oration, "in omni fermone exquisiti." Deſcript. Cambr. cap. iii. p. 89. Oſſington alſo ſays of the Irish, "Non parva eſt apud nos in oratione

"elegantiae ſchema, quod Paromæon, i. e. *Aljante*, dicitur: quoties multæ diſtiones, ab eadem litera incipientes, ex ordine collocantur." Ogyg. part. iii. 30. p. 242. See alſo Dr. Percy's judicious Eſſay on the METRE OF PIERCE PLOWMAN'S VISIONS.

^e Eſſay on the Metr. of P. P. Viſ. p. 8. ſeq.

Dame DEATH: who with their several attributes and concomitants are personified in a beautiful vein of allegorical painting. *Dame LIFE* is thus forcibly described.

Shee was brighter of her blee than was the bright sonn:
Her rud redder than the rose that on the rise hangeth:
Meekely smiling with her mouth, and merry in her lookes;
Ever laughing for love, as shee like would:
And as she came by the bankes the boughes eche one
They lowted to that ladye and layd forth their branches;
Blossomes and burgens breathed full sweete,
Flowers flourished in the frith where she forth stepped,
And the grasse that was gray grened belive.

The figure of *DEATH* follows, which is equally bold and expressive. Another piece of this kind, also quoted by doctor Percy, is entitled *CHEVELERE ASSIGNE, or DE CIGNE*, that is the *Knight of the Swan*. This is a romance which is extant in a prose translation from the French, among Mr. Garrick's noble collection of old plays^f. We must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a French metrical romance on this subject, entitled *L'YSTOIRE DU CHEVALIER AU SIGNE*^g. Our English poem begins thus^h:

All-weldynge god; whence it is his wylle,
Wele he wereth his werke with his owene honde,
For ofte harmes were hente that help wene mygte

^f K. vol. 10. "Imprinted at London by me Wylliam Copland." There is an edition on parchment by W. de Worde, 1512. "Newly translated out of Frenshe into Englyshe at thynstigation of the puyssaunt prynce lorde Edward duke of Buckynghame." Here I understand French prose.

^g 15 E. vi. 9. fol. And in the Royal library at Paris, MS. 7192. "Le Roman du Chevalier au Cigne en vers." Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 789.

^h See MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. i. f. 109. 123.

Nere the hygnes of hem that lengeth in hevene
For this, &c.

This alliterative measure, unaccompanied with rhyme, and including many peculiar Saxon idioms appropriated to poetry, remained in use so low as the sixteenth century. In doctor Percy's *Antient Ballads*, there is one of this class called THE SCOTTISH FEILDE, containing a very circumstantial narrative of the battle of Flodden fought in the year 1513.

In some of the earliest of our specimens of old English poetry¹, we have long ago seen that alliteration was esteemed a fashionable and favourite ornament of verse. For the sake of throwing the subject into one view, and further illustrating what has been here said concerning it, I chuse to cite in this place a very antient hymn to the Virgin Mary, never printed, where this affectation professedly predominates².

I.

Hail beo yow¹ Marie, moodur and may,
Mylde, and meke, and merciablen;
Heyl folliche fruit of sothfast fay,
Agayn vche stryf studefast and stable!
Heil sothfast foul in vche a fay,
Undur the son is non so able.
Heil logge that vr lord in lay,
The formaft that never was founden in fable,
Heil trewe, trouthfull, and trefable,
Heil cheef i chosen of chastite,
Heil homely, hende, and amyable
To preye for us to thi sone so fre! AVE.

¹ See Sect. i.

² Among the Cotton manuscripts there is a Norman Saxon alliterative hymn to the Virgin Mary. NER. A. xiv. f. 240. cod. membran. 8^{vo}. "On ȝod ureifun to ure
" lefdi." That is, *A good prayer to our
lord.*

Criſter milde moder reynze Marie
Mineſ hueſ leonic, mi leoue leſbi.

¹ See some pageant-poetry, full of alliteration, written in the reign of Henry the seventh, Leland. Coll. iii. App. 180. edit. 1770.

II. Heil

II.

Heil stern, that never stinteth liht;
 Heil bush, brennyng that never was brent;
 Heil rihtful rulere of everi riht,
 Schadewe to schilde that scholde be schent.
 Heil, blessed be yowe blofme briht,
 To trouthe and trust was thine entent;
 Heil mayden and modur, most of miht,
 Of all mischeves and amendement;
 Heil spice sprong that never was spent,
 Heil trone of the trinitie;
 Heil soiene^m that god us sone to sent
Yowe preye for us thi sone fre! AVE.

III.

Heyl hertely in holinesse.
 Heyl hope of help to heighe and lowe,
 Heyl strenght and stel of stabylnesse,
 Heyl wyndowe of hevene wowe,
 Heyl reson of rihtwysnesse,
 To vche a caityf comfort to knowe,
 Heyl innocent of angernesse,
 Vr takel, vr tol, that we on trowe,
 Heyl frend to all that beoth forth flowe
 Heyl liht of love, and of bewte,
 Heyl brihter then the blod on snowe,
Now preye for us thi sone so fre! AVE.

IV.

Heyl mayden, heyl modur, heyl martir trowe,
 Heyl kyndly i knowe confessor,
 Heyl evenere of old lawe and newe,
 Heyl buildor bold of cristes bour,

^m F. Seyen. *Seyon.*

Heyl rofe higest of hyde and hewe,
 Of all ffuytes feireft flour,
 Heyl turtell trustiest and trewe,
 Of all trouthe thou art tresour,
 Heyl puyred princeffe of paramour,
 Heyl blofme of brere brihtest of ble,
 Heyl owner of eorthly honour,
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre! AVE, &c.

V.

Heyl hende, heyl holy emperesse,
 Heyle queene corteois, comely, and kynde,
 Heyl diftruyere of everi striffe,
 Heyl mender of everi monnes mynde,
 Heil bodi that we ouht to bleffe,
 So feythful frend may never mon fynde,
 Heil levere and love of largeneffe
 Swete and swetest that never may fwynde,
 Heil botenere of everie bodi blynde,
 Heil borgun brihtes of all bounte,
 Heyl trewore then the wode bynde,
Yow preye for us thi sone so fre! AVE.

VI.

Heyl modur, heyl mayden, heyl hevene quene,
 Heyl gatus of paradys,
 Heyl sterre of the fe that ever is sene,
 Heyl riche, royall, and ryhtwys,
 Heyl burde i blessed mote yowe bene,
 Heyl perle of al perey the pris,
 Heyl schadewe in vche a schour schene,
 Heyl fairer thae that flour de lys,

Heyl

Heyl cher chofen that never nas chis
 Heyl chef chamber of charite
 Heyl in wo that ever was wis
Yowe preye for us thi fone fo fre! AVE, &c. &c.^a.

These rude ftanzas remind us of the Greek hymns afcribed to Orpheus, which entirely confift of a cluster of the appellations appropriated to each divinity.

^a MS. Vernon. f. 122. In this manuscript are feveral other pieces of this fort.

S E C T. XI.

ALTHOUGH this work is professedly confined to England, yet I cannot pass over two Scotch poets of this period, who have adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to their age; and who consequently deserve to be mentioned in a general review of the progress of our national poetry. They have written two heroic poems. One of them is John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. He was educated at Oxford; and Rymer has printed an instrument for his safe passage into England, in order to prosecute his studies in that university, in the years 1357 and 1365^a. David Bruce, king of Scotland, gave him a pension for life, as a reward for his poem called the HISTORY OF ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF THE SCOTS^b. It was printed at Glasgow in the year 1671^c. A battle fought by lord Douglas is thus described.

When that thus thir two batttles were
 Assembled, as I said you air,
 The Stewart Walter that then was,
 And the good lord als of Dowglas,
 In a battle when that they saw
 The earl, foroutten dread or aw,
 Assemble with his company
 On all that folk so sturdily,
 For to help him they held their way,
 And their battle with good array,

^a Ford. vi. 31. 478.^b Tanner, Bibl. p. 73.^c 12^{mo}.

Beside the earl a little by,
 They sembled all so hardily,
 That their foes felt ther coming well;
 For with weapons stallwort of steel,
 They dang on them with all their might,
 Their foes received well, I heght,
 With fwords and spears, and als with mafs,
 The battle there so fellon was,
 And so right great spilling of blood,
 That on the erd the flouces stood.
 The Scottishmen so well them bare,
 And so great slaughter made they there,
 And fra so feil the lives they reav'd,
 That all the field was bloody leav'd.
 That time that thir three battles were
 All side by side fighting well near,
 There might men hear many a dint,
 And weapons upon arms stint,
 And might see tumble knights and steeds,
 And many rich and royal weeds
 Fouly defiled under feet.
 Some held on loft, some tint the suet.
 A long while fighting thus they were,
 That men in no wise might hear there.
 Men might hear nought but groans and dints
 That flew, as men strike fire on flints.
 They fought ilk ane so eagerly,
 That they made neither noise nor cry,
 But dang on other at their might,
 With weapons that were burnisht bright.
 The arrows also thick there flew,
 (That they well might say, that them saw)
 That they a hideous shower can ma;
 For where they fell, I underta,

They

They left after them tokening,
 That shall need, as I trow, leeching.
 The English archers shot so fast,
 That might their shot have any last,
 It had been hard to Scottishmen.
 But king Robert, that well can ken,
 That their archers were perillous,
 And their shot right hard and grievous,
 Ordain'd forouth the assembly,
 His marshal, with a great menzie,
 Five hundred armed into steel,
 That on light horse were horsed well,
 For to prick amongst the archers,
 And to assail them with their spears,
 That they no leifure have to shoot.
 This marshal that I hereof mute,
 Sir Robert of Keith he was call'd,
 And I before here have you tould.
 When that he saw the battles so
 Assemble, and together go,
 And saw the archers shoot stoutly,
 With all them of his company,
 In hy upon them can he ride,
 And overtake them at a fide,
 And rush'd among them so rudely,
 Sticking them so despiteously,
 And in lik fusion bearing down,
 And slaying them forout ranfoun,
 That they them skailed e'erilkane;
 And, fra that time forth, there was nane
 That assembled, shot for to ma.
 When Scots archers saw that they sa
 Reboted were, they wax'd hardy,
 And with their might shot eagerly

Among

Among the horfemen that there rade,
 And wounds wide to them they made,
 And flew of them a full great deal.
 They bore them hardily and well;
 For fra tbat their foes archers were
 Skailed, as I faid to you air,
 They more than they were by great thing,
 So that they dread not their shooting.
 They wax'd fo hardy, that them thought,
 They should fet all their foes at nought^d.

The following is a specimen of our author's talent at rural description. The verses are extremely soft.

This was in midft of month of May,
 When birds fing in ilka spray,
 Melland their notes with seemly foun,
 For softnefs of the sweet feafoun,
 And leaves of the branches fpreeds,
 And blooms bright befide them breeds,
 And fields ftrowed are with flowers
 Well favouring of feir colours,
 And all thing worthis, blyth and gay^e.

The other wrote a poem on the exploits of Sir William Wallace. It was firft printed in 1601. And very lately reprinted at Edinburgh in quarto, with the following title, "The acts and deeds of the moft famous and valiant champion Sir William Wallace, knight, of Ellerslie. Written by BLIND HARRY in the year 1361. Together with ARNALDI BLAIR RELATIONES. Edinburgh, 1758." No circumftances of the life of our blind bard appear in Dempfter^f. This poem, which confifts of twelve books, is tranflated from the Latin of Robert Blare, or Blair, chaplain

^d p. 262.

^e p. 326.

^f See Dempft. viii. 349. 662.

to Sir William Wallace^f. The following is a description of the morning, and of Wallace arming himself in his tent^g.

Into a vale by a small river fair,
On either side where wild deer made repair,
Set watches out that wisely could them keep,
To supper went, and timeously they sleep,
Of meat and sleep they cease with suffisaunce,
The night was mirk, overdrave the darksome chance,
The merry day sprang from the orient,
With beams bright illuminate occident,
After Titan Phebus upriseth fair,
High in the sphere, the signs he made declare.
Zephyrus then began his morning course,
The sweet vapour thus from the ground resourse;
The humble bregth down from the heaven avail
In every mead, both frith, forest and dale.
The clear rede among the rockis rang
Through grene branches where the byrds blythly sang,
With joyous voice in heavenly harmony,
When Wallace thought it was no time to ly:
He crossyd him, fyn suddenly arose,
To take the air out of his pallion goes
Maister John Blair was ready to reveles,
In goode intent syne bouned to the mafs.

^f Tit. Gesta Willelmi Wallas. See Dempst. ii. 148. He flourished in 1300. He has left another Latin poem, DE LIBERATA TYRANNIDE SCOTIA. Arnald Blair, mentioned in the title page in the text, probably Robert's brother, if not the same, was also chaplain to Wallace, and monk of Dumferling about the year 1327. See ut supr. p. 1. But see p. 9, 10. In the fifth book of the Scotch poem we have this passage, p. 94. v. 535.

Maister JOHN BLAIR was oft in that message,
A worthy clerk, both wise and als right sage,
Levyt he was before in PARYS town, &c.
He was the man that principell undertook,
That first compild in dyte the Latin book,
Of WALLACE life, right famous in renown,
And THOMAS GRAY parson of LIBERTOWN,
With him they were and put in story all
Oft one or both mickle of his travell, &c.
^g P. 229. B. viii. v. 65. The editor seems to have modernised the spelling.

When

When it was done, Wallace can him array,
 In his armure, which goodly was and gay ;
 His shining shoes that birnisht was ful been,
 His leg-harnes he clapped on so clean,
 Pullane grees he braced on full fast,
 A close birnie with many fiker clasp,
 Breast-plate, brafars, that worthy were in wear :
 Beside him forth Jop could his basnet bear ;
 His glittering gloves that graven on either side,
 He seemed well in battell to abide.
 His good girdle, and syne his buirly brand,
 A staffe of steel he gripped in his hand.
 The host him blest, &c.
 Adam Wallaice and Boyd forth with him yeed
 By a river, throughout a florisht mead.
 And as they walk attour the fields so green,
 Out of the south they saw when that the queen
 Toward the host came riding soberly,
 And fifty ladies in her company, &c.

The four following lines on the spring are uncommonly terse and elegant.

Gentle Jupiter, with his mild ordinance,
 Both herb and tree reverts into pleasance ;
 And fresh Flora her flowery mantle spread,
 In every dale both hop, hight, hill, and mead ^h.

A different season of the year is here strongly painted.

The dark region appearing wonder fast,
 In November when October was past,
 The day failed through right course worthit short,
 To banisht man that is no great comfort :

^h Lib. ix. v. 22. ch. i. p. 250.

With their power in paths worthis gang,
 Heavy they think when that the night is lang.
 Thus good Wallace saw the night's messenger;
 Phebus had lost his fiery beams so clear:
 Out of the wood thei durst not turn that side
 For adversours that in their way would hide¹.

The battle of Black-Ernside shews our author a master in another style of painting.

Kerlie beheld unto the bold heroun,
 Upon Fawdoun as he was looking down,
 A subtil stroke upward him took that tide
 Under the cheeks the grounden sword gart glide,
 By the mail good, both halfe and his craig-bane
 In funder strake; thus ended that chiftain,
 To ground he fell, feil folk about him throng,
 Treason, they cry'd, traitors are us among.
 Kerlie, with that, fled out soon at a side,
 His fellow Steven then thought no time to bide.
 The fray was great, and fast away they yeed,
 Both toward Ern; thus scaped they that dread.
 Butler for wo of weeping might not stint.
 Thus raklesly this good knight have they tint.
 They deemed all that it was Wallace men,
 Or else himself, though they could not him ken;
 He is right near, we shall him have but fail,
 This feeble wood may little him avail.
 Forty there past again to Saint Johnstoun,
 With this dead corps, to burying made it bown.
 Parted their men, fyne divers ways they rode,
 A great power at Doplin still there bode.
 To Dalwryeth the Butler past but let,
 At fundry fords the gate they unbefet,

¹ L. v. ch. 1. p. 78. v. 1.

To keep the wood while it wa, day they thought.
 As Wallace thus in the thick forest fought,
 For his two men in mind he had great pain,
 He wist not well, if they were tane or slain,
 Or scaped hail by any jeopardy.
 Thirteen were left with him, no more had he ;
 In the Gask-hall their lodging have they tane.
 Fire got they soon, but meat then had they none ;
 Two sheep they took beside them of a fold,
 Ordain'd to sup into that seemly hold :
 Graithed in haste some food for them to dight :
 So heard they blow rude horns upon hight.
 Two sent he forth to look what it might be ;
 They bode right long, and no tidings heard he,
 But bousteous noise so bryvely blowing fast ;
 So other two into the wood forth past.
 None came again, but bousteously can blow,
 Into great ire he sent them forth on raw.
 When that alone Wallace was leaved there,
 The awful blast abounded meikle mare ;
 Then trow'd he well they had his lodging seen ;
 His sword he drew of noble metal keen,
 Syne forth he went where at he heard the horn.
 Without the door Fawdoun was him beforne,
 As to his fight, his own head in his hand ;
 A cross he made when he saw him so stand.
 At Wallace in the head he fwakked there,
 And he in haste soon hint it by the hair,
 Syne out again at him he could it cast,
 Into his heart he greatly was agast.
 Right well he trow'd that was do sprit of man,
 It was some devil, that sic malice began.
 He wist no wale there longer for to bide.
 Up through the hail thus wight Wallace can glide,

To a close stair, the boards they rave in twin,
Fifteen foot large he lap out of that inn.
Up the water he suddenly could fare,
Again he blink'd what pearance he saw there,
He thought he saw Fawdoun, that ugly fire,
That hail hall he had fet into a fire ;
A great rafter he had into his hand.
Wallace as then no longer would he stand.
Of his good men full great marvel had he,
How they were tint through his feil fantasie.
Trust right well that all this was sooth indeed,
Suppose that it no point be of the creed.
Power they had with Lucifer that fell,
The time when he parted from heaven to hell.
By sik mischief if his men might be lost,
Drowned or slain among the English host ;
Or what it was in likeness of Fawdoun.
Which brought his men to sudden confusion ;
Or if the man ended in ill intent,
Some wicked sprit again for him present.
I cannot speak of sik divinity,
To clerks I will let all sic matters be :
But of Wallace, now forth I will you tell.
When he was won out of that peril fell,
Right glad was he that he had scaped sa,
But for his men great mourning can he ma.
Flait by himself to the Maker above
Why he suffer'd he should sik paining prove.
He wist not well if that it was God's will ;
Right or wrong his fortune to fulfil,
Had he pleas'd God, he trow'd it might not be
He should him thole in sik perplexitie.
But great courage in his mind ever drawe,
Of Englishmen thinking amends to have.

As

As he was thus walking by him alone
 Upon Ern side, making a piteous moan,
 Sir John Butler, to watch the fords right,
 Out from his men of Wallace had a fight;
 The mist again to the mountains was gone,
 To him he rode, where that he made his mone.
 On loud he speir'd, What art thou walks that gate?
 A true man, Sir, though my voyage be late;
 Erands I pass from Down unto my lord,
 Sir John Stewart, the right for to record,
 In Down is now, newly come from the king.
 Then Butler said, this is a felcouth thing,
 You lied all out, you have been with Wallace,
 I shall thee know, ere you come off this place,
 To him he start the courser wonder wight,
 Drew out a sword, so made him for to light.
 Above the knee good Wallace has him tane,
 Through thigh and brawn in funder strake the bane.
 Derfly to dead the knight fell on the land.
 Wallace the horse soon seized in his hand,
 An awkward stroke fyne took him in that stead,
 His craig in two; thus was the Butler dead.
 An Englishman saw their chiftain was slain,
 A spear in rest he cast with all his main,
 On Wallace drave, from the horse him to bear;
 Warily he wrought, as worthy man in wear.
 The spear he wan withouten more abode,
 On horse he lap, and through a great rout rode;
 To Dalwryeth he knew the ford full well:
 Before him came feil stuffed in fine steel.
 He strake the first, but bade, on the blasoun,
 While horse and man both fleet the water down.
 Another soon down from his horse he bare,
 Stamped to ground, and drown'd withouten mare.

The

The third he hit in his harnes of steel,
 Throughout the cost, the spear it brake some deal.
 The great power then after him can ride.
 He saw no waill there longer for to bide.
 His burnisht brand braithly in hand he bare,
 Whom he hit right they followed him na mare.
 To stuff the chafe feil freiks followed fast,
 But Wallace made the gayest ay agast.
 The muir he took, and through their power yeed,
 The horse was good, but yet he had great dread
 For failing ere he wan unto a strength,
 The chafe was great, skail'd over breadth and length,
 Through strong danger they had him ay in fight.
 At the Blackford there Wallace down can light,
 His horse stuffed, for way was deep and lang,
 A large great mile wightly on foot could gang.
 Ere he was hors'd riders about him cast,
 He saw full well long so he might not last.
 Sad men indeed upon him can renew,
 With returning that night twenty he slew,
 The fiercest ay rudely rebuted he,
 Keaped his horse, and right wisely can flee,
 While that he came the mickeft muir amang.
 His horse gave over, and would no further gang".

I will close these specimens with an instance of our author's allegorical invention.

In that slumber coming him thought he saw,
 An aged man fast toward him could draw,
 Soon by the hand he hint him hastily,
 I am, he said, in voyage charg'd with thee.
 A sword him gave of basely burnisht steel,
 Good son, he said, this wand you shall bruik well.

Of

Of topaz stone him thought the plummet was,
 Both hilt and hand all glittering like the glaſs.
 Dear ſon, he ſaid, we tarry here too long,
 Thou ſhalt go ſee where wrought is meikle wrong;
 Then he him led to a mountain on hight,
 The world him thought he might ſee at a fight.
 He left him there, ſyne ſoon from him he went,
 Thereof Wallace ſtudied in his intent,
 To ſee him more he had ſtill great deſire,
 Therewith he ſaw begin a fellow fire,
 Which braithly burnt in breadth through all the land,
 Scotland all over, from Roſs to Solway-ſand.
 Then ſoon to him there deſcended a queen,
 Illuminate, light, ſhining full bright and ſheen;
 In her preſence appeared ſo meikle light,
 That all the fire ſhe put out of his fight,
 Gave him a wand of colour red and green,
 With a ſapphire ſaved his face and eyn,
 Welcome, ſhe ſaid, I chooſe thee for my love,
 Thou art granted by the great God above,
 To help people that ſuffer meikle wrong,
 With thee as now I may not tarry long,
 Thou ſhalt return to thy own uſe again,
 Thy deareſt kin are here in meikle pain;
 This right region you muſt redeem it all,
 Thy laſt reward in earth ſhall be but ſmall;
 Let not therefore, take redreſs of this miſs,
 To thy reward thou ſhalt have laſting bliſs.
 Of her right hand ſhe beraught him a book,
 And humbly thus her leave full ſoon ſhe took,
 Unto the cloud aſcended off his fight.
 Wallace brake up the book in all his might.
 Into three parts the book well written was,
 The firſt writing was groſs letters of braſs,

The second gold, the third was silver sheen.
 Wallace marvell'd what this writing should mean;
 To read the book he busied him so fast,
 His spirit again to waking mind is past,
 And up he rose, fyne soundly forth he went.
 This clerk he found, and told him his intent
 Of his vision, as I have said before,
 Completely through, what needs any words more.
 Dear son, he said, my wit unable is
 To ranfack fik, for dread I say amifs;
 Yet I shall deem, though my cunning be small,
 God grant no charge after my words may fall.
 Saint Andrew was gave thee that sword in hand,
 Of saints he is the vower of Scotland;
 That mountain is, where he had thee on hight,
 Knowledge to have of wrong that thou must right;
 The fire shall be fell tidings, ere ye part,
 Which shall be told in many fundry airt.
 I cannot well wit what queen that should be,
 Whether Fortune, or our Lady so free,
 Likely it is, by the brightness she brought,
 Mother of him that all the world has wrought.
 The pretty wand, I trow, by mine intent,
 Assigns to you rule and cruel judgment;
 The red colour, who graithly understood,
 Betokens all to great battle and blood;
 The green, courage, that thou art now among,
 In trouble and war thou shalt continue long;
 The sapphire stone she blessed thee withal,
 Is lasting grace, will God, shall to thee fall;
 The threefold book is but this broken land,
 Thou must redeem by worthiness of hand;
 The brass letters betokens but to this,
 The great opprefs of war and meikle miss,

The

The which you shall bring to the right again,
 But you therefore must suffer meikle pain;
 The gold betokens honour and worthinefs,
 Victory in arms, that thou shalt have by grace;
 The filver shews clean life and heaven's blifs,
 To thy reward that mirth thou shalt not misf,
 Dread not therefore, be out of all despair.
 Further as now hereof I can na mare.

About the present period, historical romances of recent events seem to have commenced. Many of these appear to have been written by heralds^k. In the library of Worcester college at Oxford, there is a poem in French, reciting the achievements of Edward the Black Prince, who died in the year 1376. It is in the short verse of romance, and was written by the prince's herald, who attended close by his person in all his battles, according to the established mode of those times. This was John Chandois-herald, frequently mentioned in Froissart. In this piece, which is of considerable length, the names of the Englishmen are properly spelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph^l, forming a sort of peroration to the narrative, the same as was ordered by the prince in his will^m. This poem, indeed, may seem to claim no place here, because it happens to be written in the French language: yet, exclusive of its subject, a circumstance I have mentioned, that it was composed by a herald, deserves particular attention, and throws no small illustration on the poetry of this era. There are several proofs which indicate that many romances of the fourteenth century, if not in verse, at least those written

^k See Le Pere Menestrier, Cheval. Ancien. c. v. p. 225. Par. 12^{mo}.

^l It is a fair and beautiful manuscript on vellum. It is an oblong octavo, and formerly belonged to Sir William Le Neve Clarencieux herald.

^m The hero's epitaph is frequent in romances. In the French romance of SAINTRE, written about this time, his epitaph is introduced.

ⁿ p. 150.

in prose, were the work of heralds. As it was their duty to attend their masters in battle, they were enabled to record the most important transactions of the field with fidelity. It was customary to appoint none to this office but persons of discernment, address, experience, and some degree of educationⁿ. At solemn tournaments they made an essential part of the ceremony. Here they had an opportunity of observing acoutrements, armorial distinctions, the number and appearance of the spectators, together with the various events of the turney, to the best advantage: and they were afterwards obliged to compile an ample register of this strange mixture of foppery and ferocity^o. They were necessarily connected with the minstrells at public festivals, and thence acquired a facility of reciting adventures. A learned French antiquary is of opinion, that antiently the French heralds, called *Hiraux*, were the same as the minstrells, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals^p. They frequently received fees or largesse in common with the minstrells^q. They travelled into different countries, and saw the fashions of foreign courts, and foreign tournaments. They not only committed to writing the process of the lists, but it was also their

ⁿ Le Pere Menestrier Cheval. Ancien. *ut* *supr.* p. 225. ch. v. "Que l'on croyoit avoir l'*E/sprit*, &c." Feron says, that they gave this attendance in order to make a true report. *L'Instit. des Roys et Herauds*, p. 44. a. See also Favin. p. 57. See a curious description in Froissart, of an interview between the Chandois herald, mentioned above, and a marshal of France, where they enter into a warm and very serious dispute concerning the *devices d'amour* borne by each army. *Liv. i. ch. 161.*

^o "L'un des principaux fonctions des Herautes d'armes estoit se trouver au jousts, &c. ou ils gardoient les ecus pendans, recevoient les noms et les blasons des chevaliers, en tenoient REGISTRE, et en composoient recueils, &c." Menestrier. *Orig. des Armoir.* p. 180. See also

p. 119. These registers are mentioned in *Perceforest*, xi. 68. 77.

^p Carpentier, *Suppl. Du-Cang. Gloss.* Lat. p. 750. tom. ii.

^q Thus at St. George's feast at Windsor we have, "Diversis heraldis et ministrallis, &c." Ann. 21. Ric. ii. 9 Hen. vi. Apud Anstis, *Ord. Gart.* i. 56. 108. And again, *Exit. Pell. M. ann. 22. Edw. iii.* "Magistro Andreæ Roy Norreys, [a herald,] Lybekin le Piper, et Hanakino filio suo, et sex aliis *menestrallis regis* in denariis eis liberatis de dono regis, in subsidium expensarum suarum, *lv. s. iv. d.*"—*Exit. Pell. P. ann. 33. Edw. ii.* "Willielmo Volant regi *heraldorum et ministrallis* existentibus apud Smithfield in ultimo hastiludio de dono regis, *x l.*" I could give many other proofs.

business,

business, at magnificent feasts, to describe the number and parade of the dishes, the quality of the guests, the brilliant dresses of the ladies, the courtesy of the knights, the revels, disguisings, banquets, and every other occurrence most observable in the course of the solemnity. Spenser alludes expressly to these heraldic details, where he mentions the splendor of Florimel's wedding.

To tell the glory of the feast that day,
The goodly servyse, the devisfull fights,
The bridegrome's state, the bride's most rich array,
The pride of ladies, and the worth of knights,
The royall banquettes, and the rare delights,
Were work fit for an HERALD, not for me ¹.

I suspect that Chaucer, not perhaps without ridicule, glances at some of these descriptions, with which his age abounded; and which he probably regarded with less reverence, and read with less edification, than did the generality of his cotemporary readers.

Why shulde I tellen of the rialte
Of that wedding? or which course goth befor? ²
Who blowith in a trumpe, or in a horn ³?

Again, in describing Cambuscan's feast.

Of which shall I tell all the array,
Then would it occupie a fommer's day:
And eke it nedeth not to devise,
At everie course the order of servise:
I will not tellen as now of her strange fewes,
Ne of her swans, ne of her heronfewes ⁴.

¹ F. Q. v. iii. 3.

² Man of Lawe's T. v. 704.

³ Squires T. v. 83.

And at the feast of Theseus, in the KNIGHT'S TALE *.

The minstrelcie, the service at the feste,
 The grete gestes also to the most and leste,
 The riche array of Theseus palleis,
 Ne who sat first or last upon the deis,
 What ladies feyrif ben, or best daunfing,
 Or which of them can best dauncin or sing,
 Ne who most felingly spekith of love,
 Ne what haukes fittin on perchis above,
 Ne what houndes liggen on the floure adoun,
 Of all this now I make no mentioun.

In the FLOURE and the LEAF, the same poet has described, in eleven long stanzas, the procession to a splendid tournament, with all the prolixity and exactness of a herald *. The same affectation, derived from the same sources, occurs often in Ariosto.

It were easy to illustrate this doctrine by various examples. The famous French romance of SAINTRE was evidently the performance of a herald. John De Saintre, the knight of the piece, was a real person, and, according to Froissart, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1356 *. But the compiler confounds chronology, and ascribes to his hero many pieces of true history belonging to others. This was a common practice in these books. Some authors have supposed that this romance appeared before the year 1380 *. But there are reasons to prove, that it was written by Antony de la Sale, a Burgundian, author of a book of CEREMONIES, from his name very quaintly entitled LA SALLADE, and frequently cited by our learned antiquary Selden *. This Antony came into England to see the so-

* V. 2199. p. 17. Urr.

w From v. 204. to v. 287.

* Froissart, Hist. i. p. 178.

y Byshe, Not. in Upton. Milit. Offic. p. 56. Menestrier, Orig. Arm. p. 23.

z Tit. Hon. p. 413, &c.

lemnity of the queen's coronation in the year 1445^a. I have not seen any French romance which has preserved the practices of chivalry more copiously than this of SAINTRE. It must have been an absolute master-piece for the rules of tilting, martial customs, and public ceremonies prevailing in its author's age. In the library of the Office of Arms, there remains a very accurate description of a feast of Saint George, celebrated at Windfor in 1471^b. It appears to have been written by the herald Blue-mantle Pourfuivant. Menestrier says, that Guillaume Rucher, herald of Henault, has left a large treatise, describing the tournaments annually celebrated at Lisle in Flanders^c. In the reign of Edward the Fourth, John Smarte, a Norman, garter king at arms, described in French the tournament held at Bruges, for nine days, in honour of the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with Margaret the king's daughter^d. There is a French poem, entitled, *Les noms et les armes des seigneurs, &c. a l'assiege de Karleverch en Escoce*, 1300^e. This was undoubtedly written by a herald. The author thus describes the banner of John duke of Bretagne.

Baniere avoit cointee et paree
De or et de asur eschequeree
Au rouge ourle o jaunes lupars
Determinee estoit la quarte pars^f.

^a Anst. Ord. Gart. ii. 321.

^b MSS. Offic. Arm. M. 15. fol. 12. 13.

^c "Guillaume Rucher, héraut d'armes du titre de Heynaut, a fait un gros volume des rois de l'Epinette a Lille en Flanders; c'est une ceremonie, ou un feste, dont il a decrit les joutes, tournois, noms, armoiries, livrees, et equipages de divers seigneurs, qui se rendoient de divers endroits, avec le catalogues de rois de cette feste." Menestrier. l'Orig. des Armoir. p. 64.

^d See many other instances in MSS. Harl. 69. fol. entit. THE BOOKE OF CERTAINE

TRIUMPHES. See also APPENDIX to the new edition of Leland's COLLECTANEA.

^e MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus.

^f The bishop of Gloucester has most obligingly condescended to point out to me another source, to which many of the romances of the fourteenth century owed their existence. Montfaucon, in his MONUMENS DE LA MONARCHIE FRANÇOISE, has printed the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit au droit desir ou du Nouud etabli par Louis d'Anjou roi de Jerusalem et Sicile en 1352-3-4*. tom. ii. p. 329. This was an annual

The pompous circumstances of which these heraldic narratives consisted, and the minute prolixity with which they were displayed, seem to have infected the professed historians of this age. Of this there are various instances in Froissart, who had no other design than to compile a chronicle of real facts. I will give one example out of many. At a treaty of marriage between our Richard the second and Isabel daughter of Charles the fifth king of France, the two monarchs, attended with a noble retinue, met and formed several encampments in a spacious plain, near the castle of Guynes. Froissart expends many pages in relating at large the costly furniture of the pavilions, the riches of the side-boards, the profusion and variety of sumptuous liquors, spices, and dishes, with their order of service, the number of the attendants, with their address and exact discharge of duty in their respective offices, the presents of gold and precious stones made on both sides, and a thousand other particulars of equal importance, relating to the parade of this royal interview^g. On this account, Caxton, in his exhortation to the knights of his age, ranks Froissart's history, as a book of chivalry, with the romances of Lancelot and Percival; and recommends it to their attention, as a manual equally calculated to inculcate

annual celebration *au Chastel de l'Enf en-chanti du merveilleux peril*. The castle, as appears by the monuments which accompany these statutes, was built at the feet of the *obscure grot of the ENCHANTMENTS* of Virgil. The statutes are as extraordinary as if they had been drawn up by Don Quixote himself, or his assessors the curate and the barber. From the seventh chapter we learn, that the knights who came to this yearly festival at the *châtel de l'enf*, were obliged to deliver in writing to the clerks of the chapel of the castle their yearly adventures. Such of these histories as were thought worthy to be recorded, the

clerks are ordered to transcribe in a book, which was called *Le livre des avenements aux chevaliers*, &c. *Et demorra le dit livre toujours en la dicte chapelle*. This sacred register certainly furnished from time to time ample materials to the romance-writers. And this circumstance gives a new explanation to a reference which we so frequently find in romances: I mean, that appeal which they so constantly make to some authentic record.

^g See Froissart's *CRONYCLE*, translated by Lord Berners. Pinson, 1523. vol. ii. f. 242.

the

the knightly virtues of courage and courtesy ^h. This indeed was in an age when not only the courts of princes, but the castles of barons, vied with one another in the lustre of their shews: when tournaments, coronations, royal interviews, and solemn festivals, were the grand objects of mankind. Froissart was an eye-witness of many of the ceremonies which he describes. His passion seems to have been that of seeing magnificent spectacles, and of hearing reports concerning them ⁱ. Although a canon of two churches, he passed his life in travelling from court to court, and from castle to castle ^k. He thus, either from his own observation, or the credible informations of others, easily procured suitable materials for a history, which professed only to deal in sensible objects, and those of the most splendid and conspicuous kind. He was familiarly known to two kings of England, and one of Scotland ^l. But the court which he most admired was that of Gaston earl of Foix, at Orthez in Bearn; for, as he himself acquaints us, it was not only the most brilliant in Europe, but the grand center for tidings of martial adventures ^m. It was crowded with knights of England and Arragon. In the mean time it must not be forgot, that Froissart, who from his childhood was strongly attached to carousals, the music of minstrels, and the sports of hawking and hunting ⁿ, cultivated the poetry of the troubadours, and was a writer of romances ^o. This turn, it must

^h *Boke of the Ordre of Chevalrye or Knighthood: translated out of the Frenshe and imprinted by Wylliam Caxton.* S. D. Perhaps 1484. 4^{to}.

ⁱ His father was a painter of armories. This might give him an early turn for shews. See *M. de la Curie de S. Palaye*, *Mem. Lit.* tom. x. p. 664. edit. 4^{to}.

^k He was originally a clerk of the chamber to Philippa, queen of Edward the third. He was afterwards canon and treasurer of Chimay in Henault, and of Lisle in Flanders: and chaplain to Guy Earl of

Castellon. Labor. *Introd. a l'Hist de Charles vi.* p. 69. Compare also Froissart's *Chron.* ii. f. 29. 305. 319. And Bullart, *Academ. des Arts et des Scienc.* i. p. 125. 126.

^l *Cron.* ii. f. 158. 161.

^m *Cron.* ii. f. 30. This was in 1381.

ⁿ See *Mem. Lit.* ut *supr.* p. 665.

^o Speaking of the death of king Richard, Froissart quotes a prediction from the old French prose romance of *Brut*, which he says was fulfilled in that catastrophe. *liv. iv. c. 119.* Froissart will be mentioned again as a poet.

be confessed, might have some share in communicating that romantic cast to his history which I have mentioned. During his abode at the court of the earl of Foix, where he was entertained for twelve weeks, he presented to the earl his collection of the poems of the duke of Luxemburgh, consisting of sonnets, balades, and virelays. Among these was included a romance, composed by himself, called, MELIADER, or THE KNIGHT OF THE SUN OF GOLD. Gaston's chief amusement was to hear Froissart read this romance ^p every evening after supper ^q. At his introduction to Richard the second, he presented that brilliant monarch with a book beautifully illuminated, engrossed with his own hand, bound in crimson velvet, and embellished with silver bosses, clasps, and golden roses, comprehending all the matters of AMOURS and MORALITIES, which in the course of twenty-four years he had composed ^r. This was in the year 1396. When he left

^p I take this opportunity of remarking, that romantic tales or histories appear at a very early period to have been READ as well as SUNG at feasts. So Wace in the *Roman du Rou*, in the British Museum, above-mentioned.

Doit l'en les vers et les regestes,
Et le estoires LIRE as feilles.

^q Froissart brought with him for a present to Gaston Earl of Foix four greyhounds, which were called by the romantic names of *Ambras*, *Mezer*, *Brut*, and *Roland*. Gaston was so fond of hunting, that he kept upwards of six hundred dogs in his castle. M. de la Curne, ut supr. p. 676. 678. He wrote a treatise on hunting, printed 1520. See Verdier, Art. GASTON Comte de Foix. In illustration of the former part of this note, Crescimbeni says, "Che in molte nobilissime famiglie Italiane, ha 400 a più anni, 'passarono' i nomi de' *Lancillotti*, de' *Trifiani*, de' *Galvani*, di *Galeotti*, delle *Ipsie*, [*Ipsolde*] delle *Genevre*, e d'altri 'cavalieri, à dame in esse TAVOLA RITONDA operanti, &c.'" Ilstor. Volg. Poet. vol. i. lib. v. p. 327. Venez. 4^{to}.

^r I should think that this was his romance of MELIADER. Froissart says, that the king at receiving it, asked him what the book treated of. He answered *d'Amour*. The king, adds our historian, seemed much pleased at this; and examined the book in many places, for he was fond of reading as well as speaking French. He then ordered Richard Crendon, the chevalier in waiting, to carry it into his privy chamber, *dont il me fit bonne chere*. He gave copies of the several parts of his chronicle, as they were finished, to his different patrons. Le Laboureur says, that Froissart sent fifty-six quires of his ROMAN AU CRONIQUEs to Guillaume de Bailly an illuminator; which, when illuminated, were intended as a present to the king of England. Hist. ch. vi. En la vie de Louis duc d'Anjou. p. 67. seq. See also Cron. i. iv. c. i.—iii. 26. There are two or three fine illuminated copies of Froissart now remaining among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Among the stores of Henry the eighth at his manor of Bedington in Surry, I find the fashionable reading of the times exemplified in the following books,

England the same year¹; the king sent him a massy goblet of silver, filled with one hundred nobles².

As we are approaching to Chaucer, let us here stand still, and take a retrospect of the general manners. The tournaments and carousals of our antient princes, by forming splendid assemblies of both sexes, while they inculcated the most liberal sentiments of honour and heroism, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courtesy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners still retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the most refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbarism, which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilised as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleasures indelicate, their pomp cumbersome and unwieldy. In the mean time it may seem surprising, that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages, should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone, even if founded on truth, that will polish nations.

books, viz. "*Item*, a great book of parchment written and lymned with gold of graver's work *De Confessione Amantis*, with xviii other bookes, Le premier volume de Lancelot, FROISSART, Le grant voiage de Jerusalem, Enguerain de Monstrellot, &c." MSS. Harl. 1419. f. 382. Froissart was here properly classed.

² Froissart says, that he accompanied the king to various palaces, "A Elten, a Ledos, a Kinkestove, a Cenes, a Certesée et a Windfor." That is, Eltham, Leeds, Kingston, Chertsey, &c. Cron. liv. iv. c. 119. p. 348. The French are not

much improved at this day in spelling English places and names.

¹ Cron. f. 251. 252. 255. 319. 348. Bayle, who has an article on Froissart, had no idea of searching for anecdotes of Froissart's life in his CHRONICLE. Instead of which, he swells his notes on this article with the contradictory accounts of Moreri, Vossius, and others: whose disputes might have been all easily settled by recurring to Froissart himself, who has interspersed in his history many curious particulars relating to his own life and works.

For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not the head only that must be informed, but the heart must also be moved. Many classic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the scholars of that period wanted taste to read and admire them. The pathetic or sublime strokes of Virgil would be but little relished by theologists and metaphysicians.

S E C T. XII.

THE most illustrious ornament of the reign of Edward the third, and of his successor Richard the second, was Jeffrey Chaucer; a poet with whom the history of our poetry is by many supposed to have commenced; and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unquestionable taste and discernment, to be the first English versifier who wrote poetically^a. He was born in the year 1328, and educated at Oxford, where he made a rapid progress in the scholastic sciences as they were then taught: but the liveliness of his parts, and the native gaiety of his disposition, soon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above described. In the mean time, he added to his accomplishments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he sometimes visited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been persons of a private and circumscribed education, and the art of versifying, like every other kind of composition, had been confined to recluse scholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world: and from this circumstance we are to account, in great measure, for the many new embellishments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The descriptions of splendid processions and gallant carousals, with which his works abound, are a proof that he was conversant with the practices and diversions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the fashionable and courtly modes

^a Johnson's DICTION. Pref. p. 1.

of speech, connections with the great at home, and a personal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind and furnished him with new lights^b. In Italy he was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence: and it is not improbable that Boccacio was of the party^c. Although Chaucer had undoubtedly studied the works of these celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this fortunate interview; yet it seems likely, that these excursions gave him a new relish for their compositions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewise enabled him to cultivate the Italian and Provencial languages with the greatest success; and induced him to polish the asperity, and enrich the sterility of his native versification, with softer cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraseology. In this attempt, which was authorised by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy and Alain Chartier in France^d, he was countenanced and assisted by his friend John Gower, the early guide and encourager of his studies^e. The revival of learning in most countries appears to have first owed its rise to translation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original composition have

^b The earl of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry the fourth, could not but patronise Chaucer. I do not mean for political reasons. The earl was a writer of verses, and very fond of poetry. On this account, his acquaintance was much cultivated by the famous Christina of Pisa; whose works, both in prose and verse, compose so considerable a part of the old French literature. She used to call him, "Gracieux chevalier, aimant dictiez, et lui-meme gracieux dicteur." See M. Boivin, *Mem. Lit.* tom. ii. p. 767. seq. 4^{to}. I have seen none of this earl's *Ditties*. Otherwise he would have been here considered in form, as an English poet.

^c Froissart was also present. *VIE DE PETRARQUE*. iii. 772. Amst. 1766. 4^{to}. I believe Paulus Jovius is the first who mentions this anecdote. *Vit. Galeaf.* ii. p. 152.

^d Leland Script. Brit. 421.

^e Gower, *Confess. Amant.* l. v. fol. 190. b. Barthel. 1554.

And grete wel Chaucer, when ye mete,
As my disciple and my poete:
For in the flowers of his youth,
In sundrie wise as he well couth,
Of dities and of songes glade
The which he for my sake made, *etc.*

not

not yet been studied. The writers therefore of such periods are chiefly and very usefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themselves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature: and while they are naturalising the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by translation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the case, not only in England, but in France and Italy. In the year 1387, John Trevisa canon of Westbury in Wiltshire, and a great traveller, not only finished a translation of the Old and New Testaments, at the command of his munificent patron Thomas lord Berkley^f, but also translated Higden's POLYCHRONICON, and other Latin pieces^g. But these translations would have been alone insufficient to have produced or sustained any considerable revolution in our language: the great work was reserved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had also translated the bible^h: and in other respects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to English literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wickliffe, that his arguments might be familiarised to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compose in English his numerous theological treatises against the papal corruptions. Edward the third, while he perhaps intended only to banish a badge of conquest, greatly contributed to esta-

^f See H. Wharton, Append. Cav. p. 49.

^g Such as Bartholomew Hantwille *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, lib. xix. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1494. fol. And Vegetius *De Arte Militari*. MSS. Digb. 233. Bibl. Bodl. In the same manuscript is Ægidius Romanus *De Regimine Principum*, a translation probably by Trevisa. He also translated some pieces of Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh. See *supr.* p. 291. He wrote a tract, prefixed to his version of the POLYCHRONICON, on the utility of

translations. *De Utilitate Translationum, Dialogus inter Clericum et Patronum*. See more of his translations in MSS. Harl. 1900. I do not find his ENGLISH BIBLE in any of our libraries, nor do I believe that any copy of it now remains. Caxton mentions it in the preface to his edition of the English POLYCHRONICON.

^h It is observable, that he made his translation from the vulgate Latin version of Jerom. It was finished 1383. See MS. Cod. Bibl. Coll. Eman. Cant. 102.

blish

blish the national dialect, by abolishing the use of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before observed, and by substituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifestly first taught his countrymen to write English; and formed a style by naturalising words from the Provencial, at that time the most polished dialect of any in Europe, and the best adapted to the purposes of poetical expression.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in classical allusions: but his poetry is not formed on the antient models. He appears to have been an universal reader, and his learning is sometimes mistaken for genius: but his chief sources were the French and Italian poets. From these originals two of his capital poems, the KNIGHT'S TALEⁱ, and the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, are imitations or translations. The first of these is taken from Boccacio.

Boccacio was the disciple of Petrarch: and although principally known and deservedly celebrated as a writer or inventor of tales, he was by his cotemporaries usually placed in the third rank after Dante and Petrarch. But Boccacio having seen the Platonic sonnets of his master Petrarch, in a fit of despair committed all his poetry to the flames^k, except a single poem, of which his own good taste had long taught him to entertain a more favourable opinion. This piece, thus happily rescued from destruction, is at present so scarce and so little known, even in Italy, as to have left

ⁱ Chaucer alludes to some book from whence this tale was taken, more than once, viz. v. 1. "Whilom, as *oude stories* "tellen us." v. 1465. "As *clike bookes* to us shewe, that *all this storie telleth more* "plain." v. 2814. "Of fowles fynd I "nought in this *registre*." That is, this History, or narrative. See also v. 2297. In the *Legende of good women*, where Chaucer's works are mentioned, is this pas-

sage, which I do not well understand. v. 420.

And al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebis, *though the storie is known lye.*

^k Goujet, Bibl. Fr. Tom. vii. p. 328. But we must except, that besides the poem mentioned below, Boccacio's AMAZONIDA, E FORZE D'ERCOLE, are both now extant: and were printed at Ferrara in, or about, the year 1475. fol.

its author but a slender proportion of that eminent degree of poetical reputation, which he might have justly claimed from so extraordinary a performance. It is an heroic poem, in twelve books, entitled *LE Teseide*, and written in the octave stanza, called by the Italians *ottava rima*, which Boccaccio adopted from the old French chansons, and here first introduced among his countrymen¹. It was printed at Ferrara, but with some deviations from the original, and even misrepresentations of the story, in the year 1475^m. Afterwards, I think, in 1488. And for the third and last time at Venice, in the year 1528ⁿ. But the corruptions have been suffered to remain through every edition.

Whether Boccaccio was the inventor of the story of this poem is a curious enquiry. It is certain that Theseus was an early hero of romance^o. He was taken from that grand repository of the Grecian heroes, the History of Troy, written by Guido de Colonna^p. In the royal library at Paris, there is a manuscript entitled, *The Roman de Theseus et de Gadifer*^q. Probably this is the printed French romance, under the title, “*Histoire du Chevalier THESEUS de Coulogne, par sa proïesse empereur de Rome, et aussi de son fils Gadifer empereur du Greece, et de trois enfans du dit Gadifer, traduite de vieille rime Picarde en prose Francoise. Paris, 1534*”^r. Gadifer, with whom Theseus is joined in this antient tale, written probably by a troubadour of Picardy, is a champion in the oldest French romances^s. He is

¹ See Crescimben. *Istor. Volgar. Poef.* vol. i. l. i. p. 65. Ven. 1731. 4^o.

^m Poema della *Teseide* del Boccaccio chiosato, e dichiarato da Andrea de Bussi in Ferrara, 1475. fol.

ⁿ 4^{to}.

^o In Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, never printed, among the lovers painted on the wall is Theseus killing the Minotaur. I suppose from Ovid. Bibl. Bodl.

MSS. Fairfax, 16. Or from Chaucer, *Legende Ariadne*.

^p See p. 126. *supr.* And foregoing note.

^q MSS. Bibl. [Reg. Paris.] Tom. ii. 974. E.

^r Fol. tom. ii. Again, *ibid.* 4^{to}. Bl. Lett. See Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. p. 191.

^s The chevaliers of the courts of Charles the fifth and sixth adopted names from the old romances, such as Lancelot, Gadifer, Carados, &c. Mem. anc. Cheval. i. p. 340.

mentioned frequently in the French romance of Alexander[†]. In the romance of PERCEFORREST, he is called king of Scotland, and said to be crowned by Alexander the Great[‡]. But whether or no this prose HISTOIRE DU CHEVALIER THESEUS is the story of Theseus in question, or whether this is the same Theseus, I cannot ascertain. There is likewise in the same royal library a manuscript, called by Montfaucon, HISTORIA THESEI IN LINGUA VULGARI, in ten books[§]. The Abbe Goujet observes, that there is in some libraries of France an old French translation of Boccacio's THESEID, from which Anna de Graville formed the French poem of PALAMON and ARCITE, at the command of queen Claude, wife of Francis the first, about the year 1487[¶]. Either the translation used by Anna de Graville, or her poem, is perhaps the second of the manuscripts mentioned by Montfaucon. Boccacio's THESEID has also been translated into Italian prose, by Nicolas Granuci, and printed at Lucca in 1579[‡]. Boccacio himself mentions the story of Palamon and Arcite. This may seem to imply that the story existed before his time: unless he artfully intended to recommend his own poem on the subject by such an allusion. It is where he introduces two lovers singing a portion of this tale. "Dio-
" neo e Fiametta gran pezza canterona insieme d'ARCITE e
" di PALAMONE[¶]." By Dioneo, Boccacio represents himself; and by Fiametta, his mistress, Mary of Arragon, a natural daughter of Robert king of Naples.

[†] See p. 141. *supr.*

[‡] See *Historie du Perceforrest roy de la Gr. Bretagne, et Gadiffer roy d'Escoffe, &c.* 6 tom. Paris, 1531. fol.

[§] Bibl. MSS. ut *supr.* p. 773.

[¶] Ut *supr.* p. 329.

[¶] 4^{to}. There is a French prose translation with it. The THESEID has also been translated into French prose by D. C. C. 1597. 12^{mo}. Paris. "La THESEIDE de Jean Boccace, contenant les chastes

"amours de deux chevaliers Thebans, "Arcite et Polemon, &c." Jane de la Fontaine also translated into French verse this poem. She died 1536. Her translation was never printed. It is applauded by Joannes Secundus, Eleg. xv.

[¶] Giorn. vii. Nov. 10. pag. 348. edit. Vineg. 1548. 4^{to}. Chaucer himself alludes to this story, Bl. Kn. v. 369. Perhaps on the same principle.

I confess

I confess I am of opinion, that Boccacio's THESEID is an original composition. But there is a Greco-barbarous poem extant on this subject, which, if it could be proved to be antecedent in point of time to the Italian poem, would degrade Boccacio to a mere translator on this occasion. It is a matter that deserves to be examined at large, and to be traced with accuracy.

This Greek poem is as little known and as scarce as Boccacio's THESEID. It is entitled, *Θησεος και γαμη της Εμηνλιας*. It was printed in quarto at Venice in the year 1529. *Stampata in Vinegia per Giovanantonio et fratelli da Sabbio a requisitione de M. Damiano de Santa Maria de Spici M.D.XXIX. del Mese de Decembrio*^a. It is not mentioned by Crusius or Fabricius; but is often cited by Du Cange in his Greek glossary, under the title, DE NUPTIIS THESEI ET ÆMILIÆ. The heads of the chapters are adorned with rude wooden cuts of the story. I once suspected that Boccacio, having received this poem from some of his learned friends among the Grecian exiles, who being driven from Constantinople took refuge in Italy about the fourteenth century, translated it into Italian. Under this supposition, I was indeed surprised to find the ideas of chivalry, and the ceremonies of a tournament minutely described, in a poem which appeared to have been written at Constantinople. But this difficulty was soon removed, when I recollected that the Franks, Venetians, and Germans had been in possession of that city for more than one hundred years; and that Baldwin earl of Flanders was elected emperor of Constantinople in the year 1204, and was succeeded by four Latin or Frankish emperors, down to the year 1261^b. Add

^a A manuscript of it is in the Royal library at Paris, Cod. 2569. Du Cange, Ind. Aust. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. p. 65. col. 1.

^b About which period it is probable that the anonymous Greek poem, called the *Loves of Lybister and Rhodanna*, was written. This appears by the German name

Frederic, which often occurs in it, and is grecised, with many other German words. In a manuscript of this poem which Crusius saw, were many paintings and illuminations; where, in the representation of a battle, he observed no guns, but javelins, and bows and arrows. He adds, "et mu-
" sicæ testudines." It is written in the

to this, that the word, *τερνεμένλον*, a TOURNAMENT, occurs in the Byzantine historians^c. From the same communication likewise, I mean the Greek exiles, I fancied Boccacio might have procured the stories of several of his tales in the DECAMERON : as, for instance, that of CYMON and IPHIGENIA, where the names are entirely Grecian, and the scene laid in Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and other parts of Greece belonging

iambic measure mentioned below. It is a series of wandering adventures with little art or invention. Lybister, the son of a Latin king, and a Christian, sets forward accompanied with an hundred attendants in search of Rhodamna, whom he had lost by the stratagems of a certain old woman skilled in magic. He meets Clitophon son of a king of Armenia. They undergo various dangers in different countries. Lybister relates his dream concerning a partridge and an eagle; and how from that dream he fell in love with Rhodamna daughter of Chyfes a pagan king, and communicated his passion by sending an arrow, to which his name was affixed, into a tower, or castle, called Argyrocastre, &c. See *Crusii Turco-Græcia*, p. 974. But we find a certain species of erotic romances, some in verse and some in prose, existing in the Greek empire, the remains and the dregs of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Xenophon the Ephesian, Charito, Eustathius or Eumathius, and others, about or rather before the year 1200. Such are the *Loves of Rhodante and Dosicles* of Theodorus Prodromus, who wrote about the year 1130. This piece was imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus in the *Loves of Coaricall and Drosilla*. See Labb. Bibl. Nov. Manuscript. p. 220. Whether or no *The Loves of Callimachus and Erythraia*, *The Erotic history of Hesperia*, *The history of the Loves of Phlox and Phloxia*, with some others, all by anonymous authors, and in Greco-barbarous iambics, were written at Constantinople; or whether they were the compositions of the learned Greeks after their dispersion, of whom more will be said hereafter, I am not able to determine.

See Neffell. i. p. 342. 343. Meurf. Gloss. Gr. Barb. V. *Basil.* And Lambecc. v. p. 262. 264.

^c As also *Tipe*, *Hastiludion*. Fr. *Tournoi*. And *Tournoi*, *hastiludion contendere*. John Cantacuzenus relates, that when Anne of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus, the fourth earl of the Allobroges, was married to the emperor Andronicus, junior, the Frankish and Savoyard nobles, who accompanied the princess, held tilts and tournaments before the court at Constantinople; which, he adds, the Greeks learned of the Franks. This was in the year 1326. Hist. Byzant. l. i. cap. 42. But Nicetas says, that when the emperor Manuel made some stay at Antioch, the Greeks held a solemn tournament against the Franks. This was about the year 1160. Hist. Byzant. l. iii. cap. 3. Cinnamus observes, that the same emperor Manuel altered the shape of the shields and lances of the Greeks to those of the Franks. Hist. Byzant. lib. iii. Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote about the year 1340, affirms, that the Greeks learned this practice from the Franks. Hist. Byzant. l. x. p. 339. edit. fol. Genev. 1615. The word *Καβαλλάρων*, Knights, *Chevaliers*, occurs often in the Byzantine historians, even as early as Anna Commena, who wrote about 1140. Alexiad. lib. xiii. p. 411. And we have in J. Cantacuzenus, “*τὴν Καβαλλάρων*” “*παράγει τιμήν*,” He merited the honour of Knighthood. This indeed is said of the Franks. Hist. ut supr. l. iii. cap. 25. And in the Greek poem now under consideration one of the titles is, “*Πῶς ἐποίησαν ὁ Θεσπύς*” “*τὸς δὲ Θεσπύς, Καβαλλάρων*.” How *Thebes* dubbed the two *Theban* Knights. lib. vii. Signatur. v. η. fol. vers.

to

to the imperial territory ^d. But, to say no more of this, I have at present no sort of doubt of what I before asserted, that Boccacio is the writer and inventor of this piece. Our Greek poem is in fact a literal translation from the Italian THESEID. It consists of twelve books, and is written in Boccacio's octave stanza, the two last lines of every stanza rhyming together. The verses are of the iambic kind, and something like the VERSUS POLITICI, which were common among the Greek scholars a little before and long after Constantinople was taken by the Turks, in the year 1443. It will readily be allowed, that the circumstance of the stanzas and rhymes is very singular in a poem composed in the Greek language, and is alone sufficient to prove this piece to be a translation from Boccacio. I must not forget to observe, that the Greek is extremely barbarous, and of the lowest period of that language.

It was a common practice of the learned and indigent Greeks, who frequented Italy and the neighbouring states about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to translate the popular pieces of Italian poetry, and the romances or tales most in vogue, into these Greco-barbarous iambics ^e. PASTOR FIDO was thus translated. The romance of ALEXANDER THE GREAT was also translated in the same manner by Demetrius Zenus, who flourished in 1530, under the title of Αλεξάνδρου ὁ Μακέδων, and printed at Venice in the year 1529 ^f. In the very year, and at the same place, when and where our Greek poem on Theseus, or Palamon and Arcite, was printed. APOLLONIUS OF TYRE, another famous romance of the middle ages, was translated in the same manner, and

^d Giorn. v. Nov. 1.

^e That is *versus politici* abovementioned, a sort of loose iambic. See Langii PHILOGIA GRÆCO-BARBARA. Tzetes's

Chiliads are written in this versification. See Du Cange, Gl. Gr. ii. col. 1196.

^f Crus. ut supr. p. 373. 399. See supr. p. 129.

entitled *Διηγέσις ὡραιώτατη Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν Τυρώ^s ρημαῖδα^b*. The story of king Arthur they also reduced into the same language. The learned Martinus Crusius, who introduced the Greco-barbarous language and literature into the German universities, relates, that his friends who studied at Padua sent him in the year 1564, together with Homer's Iliad, *Διδάχαι REGIS ARTHURI, ALEXANDER* above-mentioned, and other fictitious histories or story-books of a

^s That is, Rhythmically, Poetically.
Gr. Barb.

^b Du Cange mentions, "*Μεγαλότυμα ἀπο Δαίνικης ἐς Ρωμανίαν διήγησις πολλή-παῦρος Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ Τύρῃ*." Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. p. 36. col. b. Compare Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vi. 821. I believe it was first printed at Venice, 1563. viz. "*Historia Apollonii Tyanæi, [Tyrensis]* Ven. 1563. Liber Eroticus, Gr. barb. lingua exaratus ad modum rythmorum nostrorum, rarissimus audit, &c." Vogt. Catal. libr. rarior. p. 345. edit. 1753. I think it was reprinted at Venice, 1696. apud Nicol. Glycem. 8vo. In the works of Velferus, there is *Narratio Eorum quæ Apollonio regi acciderunt*, &c. He says it was first written by some Greek author. Velferi Op. p. 697. edit. 1682. fol. The Latin is in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. 39.—Bodl. F. 7. 7. And F. 11. 45. In the preface, Velferus, who died 1614, says, that he believes the original in Greek still remains at Constantinople, in the library of Manuel Eugenicus. Montfaucon mentions a noble copy of this romance, written in the thirteenth century, in the royal library at Paris. Bibl. MSS. p. 753. Compare MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. p. 15. *Gesta Apollonii*, &c. There is a manuscript in Saxon of the romance of APOLLONIUS OF TYRE. Wanley's Catal. apud Hickes, ii. 146. See Martin. Crufii Turco-Græc. p. 209. edit. 1594. Gower recites many stories of this romance in his CONFESSIO AMANTIS. He calls Apollonius "*a yonge, a freshe, a ludic knight*." See Lib. viii. fol. 175. b.—185. a. But he refers to Godfrey of Viterbo's PANTHEON, or universal Chro-

nicle, called also *Memoria Seculorum*, partly in prose, partly verse, from the Creation of the world, to the year 1186. The author died in 1190.

—A Cronike in daies gone
The which is cleped Panteone, &c.

fol. 175. a. The play called PERICLES PRINCE OF TYRE, attributed to Shakespeare, is taken from this story of Apollonius as told by Gower, who speaks the Prologue. It existed in Latin before the year 900. See Barth. Adversar. lvi. cap. i. Chaucer calls him "*of Tyre Apolloneus*." PROL. Man. L. TALE. v. 81. p. 50. Urr. edit. And quotes from this romance,

How that the curfid king Antiochus
Brafte his daughter of hir maidinhede,
That is so horrible a tale to rede,
When he her drewe upon the pavement.

In the royal library there is "*Histoire d'Apollin roy de Thir*." Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 C. ii. 2. With regard to the French editions of this romance, the oldest I have seen is, "*Plaisante et agreable Histoire d' Apollonius prince de Thyr en Affrique et roy d' Antioch*," traduite par Gilles Corozet, Paris, 1530. "8vo." And there is an old black-letter edition, printed in quarto at Geneva, entitled, "*La Chronique d' Appollin roy de Thir*." At length the story appeared in a modern dress by M. le Brun, under the title of "*Avantures d' Apollonius de Thyr*," printed in twelves at Paris and Rotterdam, in 1710. And again at Paris the following year.

similar

similar cast ^k. The French history or romance of BERTRAND DU GUESCELIN, printed at Abbeville in 1487^l, and that of BELISAIRE, or Belisarius, they rendered in the same language and metre, with the titles Διήγησις ἐξαίρετος Βελθάνδρου τοῦ Ρωμάρχου ^m, and Ἱστορικὴ ἐξήγησις περὶ Βελλισαρίου, &cⁿ. Boccacio himself, in the DECAMERON^o, mentions the story of Troilus and Cressida in Greek verse: which I suppose had been translated by some of the fugitive Greeks with whom he was connected, from a romance on that subject; many antient copies of which now remain in the libraries of France^p. The story of FLORIUS AND PLATZFLORA, a romance which Ludovicus Vives with great gravity condemns under the name of *Florian and Blanca-Flor*, as one of the pernicious and unclassical popular histories current in

^k So I translate "alios id genus minores libellos." Crus. ibid. p. 489. Crusius was born in 1526, and died 1607.

^l At the end of Le Triumphe des NEUF PREUX, &c. fol. That is, The NINE WORTHIES.

^m See du Cange, Gl. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor. p. 36. col. b. This history contains Beltrand's, or Bertrand's amours with Χρυσαίλα, *Chrysaïsa*, the king of Antioch's daughter.

ⁿ See Lambec. Bibl. Cæsar. Lib. v. p. 264. It is remarkable, that the story of *Dædolum Belisario* is not in Procopius, but in this romance. Probably Vandyck got this story from a modernised edition of it, called *BELLISAIRE ou le Conquerant*, Paris. 1643. 8vo. Which, however, is said in the title-page to be taken from Procopius. It was written by the sieur de Grenailles.

^o They sometimes applied their Greek iambs to the works of the antient Greek poets. Demetrius Zenus, above-mentioned, translated Homer's Βατραχιομυομαχία: and Nicolaus Lucanus, the *Iliad*. The first was printed at Venice, and afterwards reprinted by Crusius, Turco-Græc. p. 373. The latter was also printed at Venice, 1526.

apud Steph. Sabium. This Demetrius Zenus is said to be the author of the Γαλιωμομαχία, or BATTLE OF THE CATS AND MICE. See Crus. ubi supr. 396. And Fabric. Bibl. Gr. i. 264. 223. On account of the Greco-barbarous books which began to grow common, chiefly in Italy, about the year 1526, Stephen a Sabio, or Sabius, above-mentioned, the printer of many of them, published a Greco-barbarous lexicon at Venice, 1527, entitled, "CORONA PRETIOSA, Εἰσαγωγὴ ἰεῶν ἐπιγεφομένη Στέφανος χρησίμος, ἦσαν Στέφανος τίμιος, ὥτε μὴτεν ἀναγνώσκων, γράφειν, νοεῖν, καὶ λαλεῖν τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν καὶ ἀττικὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν Γραικῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν γεγραμμένην καὶ τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν γλῶσσαν τῶν Λατίνων." It is a mixture of modern and antient Greek words, Latin and Italian. It was reprinted at Venice by Petrus Burana, 1546.

^p See Lenglet's Bibl. Rom. p. 253. "Le Roman de Troilus." And Montfaucon, Bibl. MSS. p. 792. 793. &c. &c. There is, "L'Amore di Troleo et Grifeida que si tratta in buone parte la Guerra di Troja, d'Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553." in octave rhyme. 8vo. More will be said of this hereafter, p. 384.

Flanders about the year 1523⁹, of which there are old editions in French, Spanish¹, and perhaps Italian, is likewise extant very early in Greek iambics, most probably as a translation into that language¹. I could give many others; but I hasten to lay before my readers some specimens both of the Italian and the Greek PALAMON AND ARCITE¹. Only premising, that both have about a thousand verses in each of the twelve books, and that the two first books are introductory: the first containing the war of Theseus with the Amazons, and the second that of Thebes, in which Palamon and Arcite are taken prisoners. Boccaccio thus describes the Temple of Mars.

N e icampi Tracii sotto icieli hyberni
 D a tempesta continua agitati
 D oue schieré di nimbi sempiterni
 D auenti or qua e or la trasmutati
 I n uarii loghi ne-iguazosi uerni
 E de aqua globi per fredo agropati
 G itati sono eneue tutta uia
 C he in giazzo amano aman fe induria

⁹ Lud. Viv. de Christiana Femina. lib. i. cap. cui tit. *Qui non legendi Scriptores*, &c. He lived at Bruges. He mentions other romances common in Flanders, LEONELA AND CANAMOR, CURIAS AND FLORELA, and PYRAMUS AND THISBE.

¹ FLORES Y BLANCAFLOR. *En Alcalá*, 1512. 4to.—Histoire Amoureuse de FLORES et de BLANCHEFLEUR, traduite de l'Espagnol par Jacques Vincent. Paris, 1554. 8vo.—FLORIMONT ET PASSEROZE, traduite de l'Espagnol en prose Françoisse, Lyon, 15... 8vo. There is a French edition at Lyons, 1571. It was perhaps originally Spanish.

² See *supr.* p. 348. In the Notes. Where,

for want of further information, I left this point doubtful.

¹ For the use of the Greek THESEID I am obliged to the politeness of Mr. Stanley, who condescends to patronise and assist the studies he so well understands. I believe there is but one more copy in England, belonging to Mr. Ramsay the painter. Yet I have been told that Dr. George, provost of King's, had a copy. The first edition of the Italian book, no less valuable a curiosity, is in the excellent library of the very learned and communicative Dr. Askew. This is the only copy in England. See BIBL. SMITH. Ad-dend. fol. xl. Venet. 1755. 4to.

E una

E una selua sterile de robusti
 Cerri doue eran folti e alti molto
 Nodosi aspri rigidi e uetusti
 Che de ombra eterna ricopreno il uolto
 Del tristo fuolo enfra li antichi fusti
 Di ben mille furor sempre rauolto
 Vi si sentia grandissimo romore
 Ne uera bestia anchora ne pastore

In questa nide la cha delo idio
 Armipotente questa edificata
 Tutta de azzajo splendido e pulio
 Dalquale era del sol riuerberata
 Lualuce che aboreua il logho rio
 Tutta differro era la stretta entrata
 E le porte eran de eterno admante
 Ferrato dogni parte tutte quante

E le le colone di ferro custei
 Vide che lo edificio sosteneano
 Li impeti de menti parue alei
 Veder che fieri dela porta ufiano
 E il ciecho pechàre e ogne omei
 Similmente quiui si uedeano
 Vidiue le ire rosse come focho
 E la paura palida in quel locho

E con gli occulti ferri itradimenti
 Vide ele infidie con uista apparenza
 Li discordia fedea esanguinenti
 Ferri auea in mano eogni differenza
 E tutti iloghi pareano strepenti
 Daspres minaze edi crudel intenza
 En mezo illocho la uertu tristissima
 Sceda di degne laude pouerissima

Videvi

V ideui ancora lo alegro furore
 E oltre acio con uolto sanguinoso
 L a morte armata uide elo stupore
 E ogni altare qui uera copioso
 D i fangue fol ne le bataglie fore
 D i corpi human cacciato eluminoso
 E ra ciaschun di focho tolto aterre
 A rse ediffate per le triste guerre

E t era il tempio tutto historiato "
 D i focil mano e disopra edintorno
 E cio che pria ui uide designato
 E ran le prede de nocte edi giorno
 T olto ale terre equalunque fforzato
 F u era qui in habito musorno
 V ideanuiissi le gente incatenate
 P orti di ferro e forteze spezate

V edeui ancor le naue bellatrici
 I n uoti carri eli uolti guastati
 E i miseri pianti & infelici
 E t ogni forza con li aspecti e lati
 O gni ferita ancor si vedea lici
 E sangue con le terre mescolati
 E ogni logo con aspecto fiero
 S i uedea Marte turbido e altiero, &c. *

* Thus, *ἱστορίαι* means paintings, properly history-paintings, and *ἱστορεῖν*, and *ἀντιστοιχεῖν*, is to paint, in barbarous Greek. There are various examples in the Byzantine writers. In middle Latinity *Historiographus* signifies literally a Painter. Perhaps our HISTORIOGRAPHER ROYAL was originally the king's *Illuminator*. *ἱστοριογράφος βασιλικός* occurs in an Inscription published by Du Cange, *Dissertat. Joinv.* xxvii. p. 319. Where *βασιλικός* implies an artist who painted in mosaic work called *μαρμαίον*, or *μαρμαίον*, *Museum*. In the Greek poem before us *ἱστορίας* is used for a Painter, lib. ii.

Ἐκ τῆν παρέσαν τῆν ζωὴν ὑλατοῦσαν ὁ ἱστορίας.

In the middle Latin writers we have *depingere HISTORIALITER*, *To paint with histories or figures*, viz. "Forinfecus dealbavit illud [delubrum,] intrinsecus autem depinxit *historialiter*." Dudo de Act. Norman. l. iii. p. 153. Dante uses the Italian word before us in the same sense. Dante, *Purgat.* Cant. x.

Quivi era HISTORIATA l'alta gloria
 Del Roman Prince. —

ἱστορία frequently occurs, simply for picture or representation in colours. Nilus Monach. lib. iv. Epist. 61. *Καὶ ἱστορίας πτηνῶν καὶ ἰσπεῶν καὶ βλασφημῶν.* "PICTURES of birds, serpents, and plants." And in a thousand other instances. * L. vii.

The Temple of Venus has these imageries.

P oi presso afe uidde passar belleza
 S enza ornamento alchun se riguardando
 E gir con lei uidde piaceuolleza
 E luna laltra fecho comendano
 P oi con lor uidde istarsi gioueneza
 D estra e adorna molto festegiando
 E daltra parte uidde el sole ardire
 L usinge e ruffiania in fieme gire

I n mezo el locho in fu alte colone
 D i rame uidde un tempio al qual dintorno
 D anzando giouenette uidde e done
 Q ual da se belle: e qual de habito adorno
 D iscinte e schalze in giube e in gone
 E in cio sol dispendeano il giorno
 P oi sopra el tempio uidde uolitare
 P affere molte e columbi rugiare

E alentrata del tempio uicina
 V idde che si sedeva piana mente
 M adona pace: e in mano una cortina
 N anzi la porta tenea lieue mente
 A presso lei in uista assai tapina
 P acientia fedea discreta mente
 P allida ne lo aspetto: e dogni parte
 E intorno alei uidde promesse e carte

P oi dentro al tempio entrata di sospiri
 V i senti un tumulto che giraua
 F ochofo tutto di caldi desiri
 Q uesto glialtri tutti aluminaua
 D i noue fiamme nate di martiri
 D i qua ciaschun di lagrime grondaua
 M offe da una dona cruda e ria
 C he uidde li chiamata gilofia, &c.

Some of these stanzas are thus expressed in the Greco-barbarous translation *.

Εἰς τῆτον εἶδε τῆ Θεοῦ, τὸν οἶκον τὸν μεγάλον,
ἀπαύματα πολλὰ σκληρὰ, κτισμένος ἦτον ὅλος.
Ο' λόλαμπρος γὰρ ἦτοναι, ἔλαμπεν ὡς τὸν ἥλιον,
ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἔκρουε, ἄσραπεν ὡς τὸν φέγγος.
Ο τόπος ὅλος ἔλαμπεν, ἐκτὴν λαμπρότητάντου,
τὸ ἔμπατου ὀλοσίδηρον, καὶ τὰ σενάματάτου.
Ἀπὸ διαμάντη πόρτεστου, ἦσαν καὶ τὰ καρφία,
σηδερομέναις δυνατὰ, ἀπάπασαν μερσία.

Κολόναις ἦσαν σιδηρῆς, πολλὰ χοντρῆς μεγάλαις,
ἀπάνωτους ἐβάσεναν, ὅλον τὸν οἶκον κεῖνον.
Ε'κεῖδε τὴν βουροκότητα, τὸν λογισμόν ἐκείνων,
ὀποκτὴν πόρταν βγένασι, ἄγροι καὶ θυμομένοι.
Καὶ τὴν τυφλὴν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ καὶ ὄχου
ἐκεῖσε ἐφαινόντησαν, ὅμοιον σὰν καὶ τ'ἄλλα.
Καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἐσκευθῆκεν, κόκιναις ὡς φωτῖα,
τὸν ρόβον εἶδε λόχλομον, ἐκεῖσε σμίαν μερσία.

Μετὰ κοιφὰ τὰ σίδερα, εἶδε δημηγερσίαις,
καὶ ταῖς φασσίαις πουγίνονται, καὶ μόιαζουν δικαιοσούνες.
Ε'κεῖτον ἀσυνηβασία, μεταῖς διαφωνίαις,
ἐξάσαις τὸ χέρητης, σίδερα ματομένα.
Ὅλος ὁ τόπος ἔδειχνε, ἄγριος καὶ χολιασμένος,
ἀγρίους γὰρ φοβερισμοὺς, κιαμότατην μαλέαν.
Μέσα σὸν τόπον τούτονε, ἡ χάρηα τυχεμένη,
ἐκάθετον ὁ πόπρεπε, νὰ ἔναι παινεμένη *.

* From which it was thought proper to give on larger specimen, as the language

is intelligible only to a very few curious scholars.

* L. vii. Sign. μ g.

In passing through Chaucer's hands, this poem has received many new beauties. Not only those capital fictions and descriptions, the temples of Mars, Venus, and Diana, with their allegorical paintings, and the figures of Lycurgus and Emetrius with their retinue, are so much heightened by the bold and spirited manner of the British bard, as to strike us with an air of originality. In the mean time it is to be remarked, that as Chaucer in some places has thrown in strokes of his own, so in others he has contracted the uninteresting and tedious prolixity of narrative, which he found in the Italian poet. And that he might avoid a servile imitation, and indulge himself as he pleased in an arbitrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarrassment of Boccaccio's stanza, and preferred the English heroic couplet, of which this poem affords the first conspicuous example extant in our language.

The situation and structure of the temple of Mars are thus described.

———A forrest

In which there wonneth nether man ne best :
 With knotty knarry barrein treys old,
 Of stubbys shape, and hideous to behold,
 In which ther was a rombyll and a swough ^a
 As though a storm shulde burstein every bough,
 And downward from a hill, under a bent ^b,
 There stode the temple' of Mars armipotent,
 Wrought all of burnyd ^c stele: of which th' entré
 Was long, and streight, and gastly for to se:
 And therout came such a rage and avyse ^d.
 That it made al the gatys for to ryse ^e.

^a Sound. ^b Precipice. ^c Burnished. ^d Noise. ^e "It strained
 the doors: Almost forced them from their hinges."

The northern light in at the doris shone,
 For window on the wall ne was ther none,
 Throgh which men mightin any light diffirn.
 The dore was al of adamant eterne,
 Yclenchid overthwart and endelong,
 With iron tough, for to makin it strong.
 Every pillar the tempyl to sustene
 Was tonnè grete ^f of yren bright and shene.

The gloomy sanctuary of this tremendous fane, was adorned with these characteristical imageries.

There saw I first the dark Ymaging
 Of Felony, and all the compassing :
 The cruell Irè, redde as any glede ^g.
 The Pikpurse also, and eke the pale Drede ^h ;
 The Smyter with the knife undir the cloke ⁱ :
 The shepin brenning with the blakè smoke ^k ;
 The Treason of the murdering in the bedde ^l,
 The opin Warre with woundis all bebledde ;
 Conteke ^m with bloodie knyves ⁿ, and sharpe Menace,
 All full of chirking ^o was that fory place !

^f A great tun. A tun-weight.

^g Coal.

^h Fear.

ⁱ Dryden has converted this image into clerical hypocrisy, under which he takes an opportunity of gratifying his spleen against the clergy. Knight's Tale, B. ii. p. 56. edit. 1713.

Next stood Hypocrisy with *holy leer*,
 Soft-smiling and demurely looking down,
 But hid the dagger underneath the *gown*.

^k Perhaps, for *shepyn* we should read *chepyn*, or *cheping*, i. e. a town, a place of trade. This line is therefore to represent, A City on fire. In Wickliffe's bible we have, "It is lyk to children sittynge in "CHEPYNGE," Matt. xi. 16.

^l Dryden has lowered this image,

Th' assassinating wife. — —

^m Strife.

ⁿ This image is likewise entirely misrepresented by Dryden, and turned to a satire on the church.

Contest with sharpen'd knives in *cloysters*
 drawn,
 And all with blood bespread the *holy lawn*.

^o Any disagreeable noise, or hollow murmur. Properly, the jarring of a door upon the hinges. See also Chaucer's Boeth. p. 364. b. Urr. edit. "When the felde "*chirkinge* agrisethe of the colde, by the "fellnesse of the wind Aquilon." The original is, "Vento Campus inhorruit."

The

The flear of himfelfe yet fawe I there,
 His hertè blode hath bathid all his here,
 The naile ydryvyn in the fhode^p anyght^q,
 With the cold deth the mouth gapyng upryght^r.
 Amiddis of the temple fate Mischaunce,
 With difcomfort, and fory countenance.
 Yet fawe I Wodenefs^s laughing in his rage.
 Armid complaint of Theft, and fers Corage;
 The carrein in the bufh with throte ycorve^t,
 A thoufand fleyne and not of qualme yftorve^u.
 The tyrant with the prey by force yreft,
 The town deftroiyd ther was nothing left.
 Yet faw I brent the fhips upon fteris,
 The hunter ftraunglid with the wild boris.
 The fow fretting^v the chyld right in the cradel,
 The coke fcaldid for all his longè ladel.
 Nought was forgott the infortune of Mart;
 The cartir^x overriddin by his cart^y,
 Under the whele he lay full low adowne.
 There were alfo of Marts divifioune,
 The Barbour, and the Butcher, and the Smith
 That forgith fharpè fwerdis on the ftith^z.
 And all above, depeintid in a towr,
 Saw I Conqueft fitting in grete honour,
 With the fharpe fwerdè right ovir his hed,
 Hanging but by a fubtill-twined thred^a.

^p Head.

^q In the night.

^s Madnefs.

^r This couplet refers to the fucide in the preceding one: who is fupposed to kill himfelf by driving a nail into his head in the night, and to be found dead and cold in his bed, with his "mouth gapyng up-ryght." This is properly the meaning of his "hair being bathed in blood." *Shode*, in the text, is literally a *bufh of hair*. Dryden has finely paraphrafed this paffage.

^t Throat cut.

^u "Slain, not deftroyed by ficknefs or
 "dying a natural death."

^v Devouring.

^x Charioteer.

^y Chariot.

^z Anvil.

^a v. 1993. p. 16. Urr.

This groupe is the effort of a strong imagination, unacquainted with selection and arrangement of images. It is rudely thrown on the canvas without order or art. In the Italian poets, who describe every thing, and who cannot, even in the most serious representations, easily suppress their natural predilection for burlesque and familiar imagery, nothing is more common than this mixture of sublime and comic ideas^b. The form of Mars follows, touched with the impetuous dashes of a savage and spirited pencil.

The statue^c of Mars upon a cart^d stode,
 Armid, and lokid grym as he were wode^e.
 A wolfe ther stod before him at his fete
 With eyin red, and of a man he etc.
 With sotill pensil paintid was the storie,
 In^f redouting Mars and of his glorie^g.

But the ground-work of this whole description is in the Thebaid of Statius. I will make no apology for transcribing the passage at large, that the reader may judge of the resemblance. Mercury visits the temple of Mars, situated in the frozen and tempestuous regions of Thrace^h.

^b There are many other instances of this mixture. v. 1179. "We strive as did the houndis for the bone." v. 1264. "We fare as he that dronk is as a mouse, &c." v. 2762. "Farewel physick! Go bere the corse to church." v. 2521. "Some said he lokid grim and he wolde fight, &c."

^c Form, or figure. Statuary is not implied here. Thus he mentions the statue of Mars on a banner, *supr.* v. 977. I cannot forbear adding in this place these fine verses of Mars arming himself in haste, from our author's *Complaint of Mars and Venus*, v. 99. He throwith on his helme of hugè weight;
 And girt him with his sworde, and in his hond
 His mighty spere, as he was wont to feight,
 He shekith so, that it almost to wende.

Here we see the force of description without a profusion of idle epithets. These verses are all *finew*: they have nothing but verbs and substantives.

^d Chariot.

^e Mad.

^f Recording.

^g v. 2043.

^h Chaucer points out this very temple in the introductory lines, v. 1981.

Like to the estries of the grisly place
 That hight the grete temple of Mars in Thrace.

In thilke cold and frosty region,
 Ther as Mars has his foveran mansion.

Hic steriles delubra notat Mavortia sylvas,
 Horrescitque tuens: ubi mille furoribus illi
 Cingitur, adverso domus immanfueta sub Æmo.
 Ferrea compago laterum, ferro arcta teruntur
 Limina, ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis.
 Læditur adversum Phœbi jubar, ipsaque sedem
 Lux timet, et dirus contristat fydera fulgor.
 Digna loco statio. Primis subit impetus amens
 E foribus, cæcumque Nefas, Iræque rubentes,
 Exanguesque Metus; occultisque ensibus astant
 Infidiæ, geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum.
 Innumeris strepit aula minis. Tristissima Virtus
 Stat medio, lætusque Furor, vultuque cruento
 Mors armata sedet. Bellorum solus in aris
 Sanguis, et incensis qui raptus ab urbibus ignis.
 Terrarum exuviæ circum, et fastigia templi
 Captæ insignibant gentes, cœlataque ferro
 Fragmina portarum, bellatricesque carinæ,
 Et vacui currus, protritaque curribus ora ⁱ.

Statius was a favourite writer with the poets of the middle ages. His bloated magnificence of description, gigantic images, and pompous diction, suited their taste, and were somewhat of a piece with the romances they so much admired. They neglected the gentler and genuine graces of Virgil, which they could not relish. His pictures were too correctly and chastly drawn to take their fancies: and truth of design, elegance of expression, and the arts of compo-

ⁱ Stat. Theb. vii. 40. And below we have Chaucer's *Doors of adamant eterne*, viz. v. 68.

— Clausæque adamante perenni
 Dissiluerè fores. — — —

Statius also calls Mars, *Armipotens*. v. 78. A sacrifice is copied from Statius, where says Chaucer, v. 2296.

And did her thingis as men might behold
 In *Stace of Thebes*. — — — —

I think Statius is copied in a simile, v. 1640. The introduction of this poem is also taken from the *Thebaid*, xii. 545. 481. 797. Compare Chaucer's lines, v. 870. seq. v. 917. seq. v. 996. seq. The funeral pyre of Arcite is also translated from Theb. vi. 195. seq. See Ch. v. 2940. seq. I likewise take this opportunity of observing, that Lucretius and Plato are imitated in this poem. Together with many passages from Ovid and Virgil.

sition,

sition were not their objects^k. In the mean time we must observe, that in Chaucer's Temple of Mars many personages are added: and that those which existed before in Statius have been retouched, enlarged, and rendered more distinct and picturesque by Boccacio and Chaucer. Arcite's address to Mars, at entering the temple, has great dignity, and is not copied from Statius.

O strongè god, that in the reignis cold
Of Thrace honourid art, and God yhold!
And hast in everie reign, and everie lond,
Of armis al the bridil in thy hond;
And them fortunist, as they left devise,
Accept of me my pitous sacrifice^l.

The following portrait of Lycurgus, an imaginary king of Thrace, is highly charged, and very great in the gothic style of painting.

Ther mayst 'ou^m fee, commyng with Palamon,
Lycurgus himself, the grete king of Thrace;
Blake was his berde, and manly was his face:
The circles of his eyin in his hede
They glowdin betwixtè yalowe and rede:
And like a lyon lokid he about,
With kempid heris on his browis stout:
His limis grete, his bawnis herd and strong,
His shulderes brode, his armis round and long.
And as the guise ywas in his contrè
Full high upon a char of gold stode he:
With four grete white bullis in the traxis.
Instead of court cote armur, on his harneis

^k In *Troilus and Cresside* he has translated the arguments of the twelve books of the *Thebaid* of Statius. See B. v. p. 1479. seq. ^l v. 2375. ^m You.

With yalowe nailes, and bright as any gold,
 He hath a beris ⁿ skinn cole-blak for old.
 His long here was kemped behind his bak,
 As any raven's fether't thone for blak.
 A wrethe of golde armgrete ^o, of hugè weight,
 Upon his hed, fett ful of stonis bright,
 Of fine rubies, and clere diamondes.
 About his char ther wentin white alandes ^p,
 Twentie and more, as grete as any stere,
 To huntin at the lyon or wild bere;
 And folowid him with mofil ^q fast ybound,
 Coleres of gold ^r and torretes ^s filid ^t round.
 A hundrid lordis had he in his rout,
 Armid ful wele, with hertis stern and stout ^u.

The figure of Emetrius king of India, who comes to the aid of Arcite, is not inferior in the same style, with a mixture of grace.

ⁿ A bear's.

^o As big as your arm.

^p Greyhounds. A favourite species of dogs in the middle ages. In the antient pipe-rolls, payments are frequently made in greyhounds. Rot. Pip. an. 4. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1203.] "Rog. Constabul. Cestrie debet D. Marcas, et X. palfridos et X. laiffas *Leporarium* pro habenda terra Vidonis de Loverell de quibus debet reddere per ann. C. M." *Ten leashes of greyhounds.* Rot. Pip. an. 9. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1208.] "SUTHANT. Johan. Teingre debet C. M. et X. *liporarios magnos, pulkros, et bonos*, de redemtionem sua, &c." Rot. Pip. an. 11. Reg. Johan. [A. D. 1210.] "EVE-
 RVEYCSIRE. Rog. de Mallvell redd. comp. de I. palefrido velociter currente, et II. *Laiffis leporarium* pro habendis literis deprecatoriis ad Matildam de M." I could give a thousand other instances of the sort.

^q Muzzle.

^r In Hawes's PASTIME OF PLEASURE,

[written temp. Hen. vii.] Fame is attended with two greyhounds; on whose golden collars Grace and Governauce, are inscribed in diamond letters. See next note.

^s Rings. The fastening of dogs collars. They are often mentioned in the INVENTORY of furniture, in the royal palaces of Henry the eighth, above cited. MSS. Harl. 1419: In the *Castle of Windsor*. Article COLLARS. f. 409. "Two greyhoundes collars of crimson velvett and cloth of gold, lacking *torrettes*."—"Two other collars with the kings armes, and at the ende portcullis and rose."—"Item, a collar embrawdered with pomegranates and roses with *turrets* of silver and gilt."—"A collar garnished with stoleworke with one shallop shelle of silver and gilte, with *torrettes* and pendautes of silver and guilte."—"A collar of white velvette, embrawdered with *perles*, the swivels of silver."

^t Filed. Highly polished.

^u v. 2129.

With

With Arcitè, in storys as men find,
 The grete Emetrius, the king of Ind,
 Upon a stedè bay, trappid in stele,
 Coverid with clothe of gold diaprid^w wel,
 Cam riding like the god of armis Mars :
 His cote armure was of the clothes of Tars^x,
 Couchid with perles white and round and grete;
 His sadill was of brent^y gold new ybete,
 A mantlet upon his shuldères hanging,
 Bretfull^z of rubies redde as fire sparkling.
 His crispè here like ringes^a was yronne,
 And yt was yalowe, glittering as the sonne.
 His nose was high, his eyin bright citryn^b,
 Ruddy his lippes, his colour was sangyn.
 And a fewe frekles in his face ysprent^c,
 Betwixt yalowe and somedele blak ymeint^d.
 And as a lyon he his eyis kest^e.
 Of five and twenty yere his age I ghest.
 His berde was well beginning for to spring,
 His throte was as a trompet thondiring.
 Upon his hede he wered, of laurer grene
 A garlond freshe, and lustie for to sene.
 Upon his honde he bore for his delite
 An egle tame, as ony lilie white^f.

^w See this word explained above, p. 176.

^x Not of Tarsus in Cilicia. It is rather an abbreviation for *Tartarin*, or *Tartarium*. See Chaucer's *Flowre and Leafe*, v. 212. On every trumpe hanging a brode bannere Of fine *Tartarium* full richely bete.

That it was a costly stuff appears from hence. "Et ad faciendum unum Jupoun de *Tartaryn* blu powderat. cum garteriis blu paratis cum boucles et pendants de argento deaurato." Comp. J. Coke *Provisoris Magn. Garderob.* temp. Edw. iii. ut supr. It often occurs in the wardrobe-

accounts for furnishing tournaments. D. Cange says, that this was a fine cloth manufactured in Tartary. Gloss. *Tartarium*. But Skinner in V. derives it from Torton. in the Milanese. He cites Stat. 4. Hen. viii. c. vi.

^y Burnt. Burnished.

^z Quite full.

^a Rings.

^b Lemon-colour. Lat. *Citrinus*.

^c Sprinkled.

^d "A mixture of black and yellow."

^e Cast. Darted.

^f See supr. p. 166.

An hundrid lordis had he with them there,
All armid, faaf their heddis, in their gere ^g.
About this king ther ran on every part
Full many a tamè lyon, and libart ^h.

The banner of Mars displayed by Theseus, is fublimely conceived.

The red statue of Mars, with spere and targe,
So shineth in his white banner large
That al the feldis glittrin up and down ⁱ.

This poem has many strokes of pathetic description, of which these specimens may be selected.

Upon that other side when Palamon
Wist that his cofin Arcite was ygon,
Such sorowe makith he, that the grete tour
Refoundid of his yelling and clamour :
The fetteris upon his shinnis grete
Werin of his bitter falt teris wete ^k.

Arcite is thus described, after his return to Thebes, where he despairs of seeing Emilia again.

His slepe, his mete, his drink, is hym byrest ;
That lene he waxith, and drie as a sheft :
His eyin hollow, griffie to behold
His hew fallowe, and pale as ashin ^l cold :
Solitary he was, evir alone,
And wayling all the night making his mone.
And if he herdè song or instrument,
Than would he wepin, he might not be stent ^m.
So febyll were his spirits and so low,
And chaungid so that no man might him know ⁿ.

^g Armour.
^o Stayed.

^h Libbard. v. 2157.
ⁿ V. 1363.

ⁱ v. 977.

^k v. 1277.

^l Askes.

Palamon is thus introduced in the procession of his rival Arcite's funeral.

Tho gan this wofull Theban Palamon
With flotery ° berde, and ruggy afhey heres,
In clothis blak bedropped all with teres,
And, passyng ovir weping Emily,
Was rufullist of all the company °.

To which may be added the surprize of Palamon, concealed in the forest, at hearing the disguised Arcite, whom he supposes to be the squire of Theseus, discover himself at the mention of the name of Emilia.

----- Through his herte
He felt a cold swerde suddenly to glide :
For ire he quoke, no longer wold he bide,
And whan that he had heard Arcitis tale,
As he were wode, wyth face al dede and pale,
He sterre him up out of the busshis thick, &c. °

A description of the morning must not be omitted; which vies, both in sentiment and expression, with the most finished modern poetical landscape, and finely displays our author's talent at delineating the beauties of nature.

The mery lark, messengere of the day,
Salewith ° in her song the morowe gray;
And firie Phebus ryfith up so bright,
That all the orient laughith at the sight °:
And with his strems dryeth in the greves °
The silvir dropis hanging in the leves °.

° Squallid.
° V. 2884.
° V. 1576.
° Saluteth.

° In the Greek, Βυβλ. iii. Signat. ε ε iii.
° Ο ουρανός ἔλθ᾽ ἡλιός, &c. See Dante,
Purgat. c. i. p. 234.
° Groves. Bushes. ° 1493.

Nor must the figure of the blooming Emilia, the most beautiful object of this vernal picture, pass unnoticed.

----- Emilie, that fairir was to fene
Than is the lillie upon the stalk grene;
And freshir than the May with flouris newe,
For with the rosy colour strofe hir hewe *.

In other parts of his works he has painted morning scenes *con amore*: and his imagination seems to have been peculiarly struck with the charms of a rural prospect at sun-rising.

We are surprised to find, in a poet of such antiquity, numbers so nervous and flowing: a circumstance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphrase of this poem the most animated and harmonious piece of versification in the English language. I cannot leave the KNIGHT'S TALE without remarking, that the inventor of this poem, appears to have possessed considerable talents for the artificial construction of a story. It exhibits unexpected and striking turns of fortune; and abounds in those incidents which are calculated to strike the fancy by opening resources to sublime description, or interest the heart by pathetic situations. On this account, even without considering the poetical and exterior ornaments of the piece, we are hardly disgusted with the mixture of manners, the confusion of times, and the like violations of propriety, which this poem, in common with all others of its age, presents in almost every page. The action is supposed to have happened soon after the marriage of Theseus with Hippolita, and the death of Creon in the siege of Thebes: but we are soon transported into more recent periods. Sunday, the celebration of matins, judicial astrology, heraldry, tilts and tournaments, knights of England, and targets of Prussia *, occur in the city of Athens under the reign of Theseus.

* V. 1037.

* The knights of the Teutonic order were settled in Prussia, before 1300. See also

Ch. Prol. v. 53. Where tournaments in Prussia are mentioned. Arcite quotes a fable from *Ætîop*, v. 1179.

S E C T. XIII.

CHAUCER'S ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE is translated from a French poem entitled, *LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE*. It was begun by William of Lorris, a student in jurisprudence, who died about the year 1260^a. Being left unfinished, it was completed by John of Meun, a native of a little town of that name, situated on the river Loire near Orleans, who seems to have flourished about the year 1310^b. This poem is esteemed by the French the most valuable piece of their old poetry. It is far beyond the rude efforts of all their preceding romancers: and they have nothing equal to it before the reign of Francis the first, who died in the year 1547. But there is a considerable difference in the merit of the two authors. William of Lorris, who wrote not one quarter of the poem, is remarkable for his elegance and luxuriance of description, and is a beautiful painter of allegorical personages. John of Meun is a writer of another cast. He possesses but little of his predecessor's inventive and poetical vein; and in that respect was not properly qualified to finish a poem begun by William of Lorris. But he has strong satire, and great liveliness^c. He was one of the wits of the court of Charles le Bel.

The difficulties and dangers of a lover, in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desires, are the literal argument of this poem. This design is couched under the allegory of

^a Fauchet, p. 193.

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 200. He also translated Boethius *De Consolatione*, and Abelard's *Letters*, and wrote *Answers of the Sybils*, &c.

^c The poem consists of 22734 verses. William of Lorris's part ends with v. 4149. viz.

"A peu que je ne m'en desespoir."

a Rose, which our lover after frequent obstacles gathers in a delicious garden. He traverses vast ditches, scales lofty walls, and forces the gates of adamantine and almost impregnable castles. These enchanted fortresses are all inhabited by various divinities; some of which assist, and some oppose, the lover's progress^d.

Chaucer has luckily translated all that was written by William of Lorris^e: he gives only part of the continuation of John of Meun^f. How far he has improved on the French

^d In the preface of the edition printed in the year 1538, all this allegory is turned to religion. The Rose is proved to be a state of grace, or divine wisdom, or eternal beatitude, or the Holy Virgin to which heretics cannot gain access. It is the white Rose of Jericho, *Quasi plantatio Rose in Jericho*, &c. &c. The chemists, in the mean time, made it a search for the Philosopher's Stone: and other professions, with laboured commentaries, explained it into their own respective sciences.

^e See Oecleve's *Letter of Cupide*, written 1402. Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 536. v. 283. Who calls John of Meun the author of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.

^f Chaucer's poem consists of 7699 verses: and ends with this verse of the original, viz. v. 13105.

“ Vous aurez absolution.”

But Chaucer has made several omissions in John of Meun's part, before he comes to this period. He has translated all William of Lorris's part, as I have observed; and his translation of that part ends with v. 4432. viz.

“ Than shuldin I fallin in wanhope.”

Chaucer's cotemporaries called his *Romaunt of the Rose*, a translation. Lydgate says that Chaucer

———Notably did his busynesse
By grete avyse his wittes to dispose,
To translate the ROMANS OF THE ROSE.
Prol. Boch. st. vi. It is manifest that Chaucer took no pains to disguise his translation. He literally follows the French, in saying, that a river was “ less than

“ *Saine*.” i. e. the Seine at Paris. v. 118. “ No wight in all Paris.” v. 7157. A grove has more birds “ than ben in all the “ *reime of Fraunce*, v. 495. He calls a pine, “ A tree in *France* men call a pine.” v. 1457. He says of roses, “ so faire “ *werin nevir in Rome*.” v. 1674. “ That for Paris ne for Pavie.” v. 1654. He has sometimes reference to French ideas, or words, not in the original. As “ Men “ *clepin hem Sereins in France*.” v. 684. “ From Jerusalem to Burgoine.” v. 554. “ *Grein de Paris*.” v. 1369. Where Skinner says, *Paris* is contracted for *Paradise*. In mentioning minstrells and juglers, he says, that some of them “ *Songin songes “ of Loraine*.” v. 776. He adds,

For in Loraine there notis be
Full swetir than in this contree.

There is not a syllable of these songs, and singers, of Loraine, in the French. By the way, I suspect that Chaucer translated this poem while he was at Paris. There are also many allusions to English affairs, which I suspected to be Chaucer's; but they are all in the French original. Such as, “ *Hornpipis of Cornouaille*.” v. 4250. These are called in the original, “ *Chale- “ meaux de Cornouaille*.” v. 3991. A knight is introduced, allied to king “ *Ar- “ thour of Bretagne*.” v. 1199. Who is called, “ *Bon roy Artus de Bretagne*.” Orig. v. 1187. Sir Gavin, and Sir Kay, two of Arthur's knights, are characterised, v. 2206. seq. See Orig. v. 2124. Where the word *Keulx* is corrupt for *Keie*. But there is one passage, in which he mentions a *Bacheiere* as fair as “ *The Lord's fennere of “ Baudouine*.”

original, the reader shall judge. I will exhibit passages selected from both poems; respectively placing the French under the English, for the convenience of comparison. The renovation of nature in the month of May is thus described.

That it was May, thus dremed me,^g
 In time of love and jollite,
 That all thing ginnith waxin gay,
 For ther is neither bushe nor hay^h
 In May that it n'ill shroudid bene,
 And it with newe levis wreneⁱ:
 These wooddis eke recoverin grene,
 That drie in winter ben to sene;
 And the erth waxith proude withall
 For sote dewis that on it fall,
 And the povir estate forgette
 In whiche that winter had it sette:
 And than becometh the grounde so proude,
 That it will have a newè shroud;
 And make so quaynt his robe and fayre,
 That it had hewes an hundred payre,

“Windisore.” v. 1250. This is added by Chaucer, and intended as a compliment to some of his patrons. In the *Legende of good Women*, Cupid says to Chaucer, v. 329. For in plain text, withoutin nede of glose, Theu hast *translatid* the *Romaunt of the Rose*.

g Qu'on joli moys de May songeoye,
 Ou temps amoureux plein de joye,
 Que toute chose si s'esgaye,
 Si qu'il n'y a buissons ne haye
 Qui en May parer ne se vueille,
 Et couvrir de nouvelle fueille:
 Les boys recouvrent leur verdure,
 Qui font sces tant qui l'hiver dure;
 La terre mesmes s'en orgueille
 Pour la rougée qui ta mouille,
 En oubliant la povreté
 Où elle a tout l'hiver esté;

Lors devient la terre si gobe,
 Qu'elle veult avoir neuve robe;
 Si sçet si cointe robe faire,
 Que de couleurs y a cent paire,
 D'herbes, de fleurs Indes and Perles:
 Et de maintes couleurs diverses
 Est la robe que je devise
 Parquoy la terre mieulx se prise.
 Les oiseaulx qui tant se font teuz
 Pour l'hiver qu'ils ont tous sentuz,
 Et pour le froit et divers temps,
 Sont en May, et par la printemps,
 Si liez, &c. v. 51.

^h Bush, or hedge-row. Sometimes Wood. Rot. Pip. an 17. Henr. iii. “Et
 “Heremita sancti Edwardi in *haga* de
 “Birchenwude, xl. fol.”

ⁱ Hide. From *wrie*, or *wrey*, to cover.

Of grasse and flowris Inde and Pers :
 And many hewis ful divers
 That is the robe I mene iwis,
 Through which the ground to praisin is,
 The birdis, that han leste thir songe
 While they han suffrid cold ful stronge,
 In wethers grille ^k and darke to fight,
 Ben in May, for the funnè bright
 So glad, &c ^l.

In the description of a grove, within the garden of Mirth,
 are many natural and picturesque circumstances, which are
 not yet got into the storehouse of modern poetry.

These trees were sett as I devise ^m,
 One from another in a toise,
 Five fadom or fixe, I trowe so,
 But they were hie and gret also ;
 And for to kepe out wel the funne,
 The croppis were so thik yrunne ⁿ,
 And everie branch in othir knitte
 And ful of grene levis fitte ^o,
 That funnè might ther none discende
 Lest the tendir graffis shende ^p.
 Ther might men does and roes ise ^q,
 And of squirels ful grete plente,

^k Cold.

^l v. 51.

^m Mais fachiès que les arbres furent
 Si loing a loing comme estre durent
 L'ung fut de l'autre loing assis
 De cinque toises voyre de fix,
 Mais moult furent fueilluz et haulx
 Pour gardir de l'este le chaulx
 Et si espès par dessus furent
 Que chaleurs percer ne lis peuvent
 Ne ne povoient bas descendre
 Ne faire mal a l'erbe tendre.

Au vergier eut dains & chevreleux,
 Et aussi beaucoup d'escureux,
 Qui par dessus arbres failloyent ;
 Conuins y avoit qui yffoient
 Bien souvent hors de leurs tanieres,
 En moult de diverses manieres. v. 1368.

ⁿ "The tops, or boughs, were so thick-
 ly twisted together."

^o Set.

^p Be hurt.

^q See.

From

From bow to bow alwaie lepinge;
 Connis^r ther were also playing^s.
 That comin out of ther clapers^t,
 Of sondrie colors and maners;
 And madin many a turneyng
 Upon the freshe grasse springing^u.

Near this grove were shaded fountains without frogs, running into murmuring rivulets, bordered with the softest grass enamelled with various flowers.

In placis sawe I wellis there^w
 In whichè ther no froggis were,
 And faire in shadow was eche wel;
 But I ne can the nombre tel
 Of strems smale, that by devise
 Mirth had don com thorough condise^x,
 Of which the watir in renning,
 Gan makin a noise ful liking.
 About the brinkis of these wellis,
 And by the strems ovir at ellis
 Sprange up the grasse as thick isett
 And soft eke as any velvett.

^r Conies.

^s Chaucer imitates this passage in the *Assemble of Foules*. v. 190. seq. Other passages of that poem are imitated from *Roman de la Rose*.

^t Burroughs.

^u v. 1391.

^w Par lieux y eut cleres fontaines,
 Sans barbelotes^a and sans raines,
 Qui des arbres estoient umbrez,
 Par moy ne vous feront nombrez,
 Et petit ruisseau, que Deduit
 Avoit la trouvés par conduit;
 L'eau alloit aval faisant
 Son melodieux et plaissant.
 Aux borts des ruisseaux et des rives
 Des fontaines cleres et vives

Poignoit l'herbe dru et plaissant
 Grant soulas et plaisir faissant.
 Amy pavoit avec sa mye
 Soy deporter ne'r doubtez mye.—
 Violette y fut moult belle
 Et aussi parvenche nouvelle;
 Fleurs y eut blanches et vermeilles,
 Ou ne pourroit trouver pareilles,
 De toutes diverses couleurs,
 De hault pris et de grans valeurs,
 Si estoit soef flairans
 Et resflagrans et odorans. v. 1348.

^a A species of insect often found in stagnant water.

^x Conduits.

On which man might his leman ley
 As softe as fetherbed to pley.—
 There sprange the violet all newe,
 And fresh perwinke^y riche of hewe;
 And flouris yalowe white and rede,
 Such plenti grew ther ner in mede:
 Full gaie was al the grounde and queint
 And poudrid, as men had it peint,
 With many a fresh and sondry floure
 That castin up ful gode favoure^z.

But I hasten to display the peculiar powers of William de Lorris in delineating allegorical personages; none of which have suffered in Chaucer's translation. The poet supposes, that the garden of Mirth, or rather Love, in which grew the Rose, the object of the lover's wishes and labours, was enclosed with embattled walls, richly painted with various figures, such as Hatred, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, and Hypocrisy. Sorrow is thus represented.

SORROWE was paintid next ENVIE^y
 Upon that wal of masonrie.
 But wel was seen in her colour,
 That she had livid in languour;
 Her seemid to have the jaundice,
 Not half so pale was AVARICE,

^y Periwinkle.

^z v. 1411.

^a De les ENVIE estoit TRISTESSE
 Painte aussi et garnye d'angoisse.
 Et bien paroit à sa couleur
 Qu'elle avoit a cueur grant douleur:
 Et sembloit avoir la jaunice,
 La n'y faisoit riens AVARICE,
 Le palisseur ne de maig esse
 Car le travaille et la destresse, &c.

Moult sembloit bien que fust dolente;
 Car el n'avoit pas este lente
 D'esgratignier toute sa chiere;
 Sa robe ne luy estoit chiere
 En mains lieux l'avoit desfirée,
 Comme culle qui fut yrée.
 Ses cheveux dérompus estoient,
 Qu'autour de son col pendoient,
 Preique les avoit tous defroux
 De maltalent et de corroux. v. 300.

Ne nothing alike of lenenesse
 For sorowe, thought, and grete distresse.
 A f'rowful thing wel semid she;
 Nor she had nothing slow ybe
 For to bescrachin of hir face,
 And for to rent in many place
 Hir clothes, and for to tere her swire^b,
 As she that was fulfilled of ire:
 And al to torn lay eke hir here
 About hir shoulders, here and there;
 As she that had it all to rent
 For angre and for male talent^c.

Nor are the images of HATRED and AVARICE inferior.

Amiddis sawe I HATE yftonde^d.—
 And she was nothing wel araide
 But like a wode woman afraide:
 Yfrowncid foule was hir visage,
 And grinning for dispiteous rage,
 Her nose yfnortid up for tene^e
 Full hideous was she forti sene,
 Full foul and rustey was she this,
 Her hed iwrithin was iwis,
 Full grimly with a grete towaile, &c^f.

The design of this work will not permit me to give the portrait of Idleness, the portress of the garden of Mirth, and of others, which form the groupe of dancers in the garden: but I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing those

^b Neck.

^c v. 300.

^d Au milieu de mur je vy HATRED.
 Si n'estoit pas bien atournée,
 Ains sembloit estre forcence
 Rechignée estoit et froncé
 Avoit le nez et reboarsé.

Moult hydeuse estoit et souillée
 Et fut sa teste entortillée
 Tres ordement d'un touaille,
 Qui moult estoit d'horrible taille. 143.

^e Anger.

^f v. 147.

of Beauty, Franchise, and Richesse, three capital figures in this genial assembly.

The God of love, jolife and light ^a,
 Ladde on his honde a ladie bright,
 Of high prise, and of gret degre,
 Thi ladie called was BEAUTIE.
 And an arowe, of which I told,
 Full well ythewid ^b was she holde :
 Ne was she darke ne browne, but bright,
 And clere as is the monè light.—
 Her fleshe was tendre as dewe of floure,
 Her chere was simple as birde in boure :
 As white as lillie, or rose in rise ⁱ,
 Her face was gentil and tretise ^k;
 Fetis ^l she was, and smal to se,
 No wintrid ^m browis hedde she;
 No popped ⁿ here, for't neded nought
 To windir ^o her or to peint ought.
 Her tressles yalowe and long straughten ^p
 Unto her helis down the ^q raughten ^r.

Nothing can be more sumptuous and superb than the robe, and other ornaments, of RICHESSE, or Wealth. They are

^a Le Dieu d'amours si s'estoit pris
 A une dame de hault pris,
 Pres se tenoit de son costé
 Celle dame eut nom BEAULTE.
 Ainsi comme une des cinque fiesches
 En ille aut toutes bonnes taiches :
 Point ne fut obscur, ne bran,
 Mais fut clere comme la lune.—
 Tendre eut la chair comme rousée,
 Simple fut comme une espousée.
 Et blanch comme fleur de lis,
 Visage eut bel doux et alis,
 Elle estoit gresle et alignée
 N'estoit fardée ne pignee,
 Car elle n'avoit pas mestier
 De soy farder et affaictier.

Les chevelx ent blons et si longs
 Qu' ils batoient aux talons. v. 1004.
^b Having good qualities. See *supr.* v.
 939. seq.
ⁱ On the bush. Or, In perfection. Or,
 A budding rose.
^k Well proportioned.
^l *Fetious.* Handsome.
^m Contracted.
ⁿ Affectedly dressed: Properly, dressed
 up like a puppet.
^o To trim. To adorn.
^p *Stretched.* Spread abroad.
^q Reached.
^r v. 1003.

imagined with great strength of fancy. But it should be remembered, that this was the age of magnificence and shew; when a profusion of the most splendid and costly materials were lavished on dress, generally with little taste and propriety, but often with much art and invention.

RICHESSE a robe of purple on had¹,
 Ne trow not that I lie or mad¹,
 For in this world is none it liche²,
 Ne by a thousand dele³ so riche,
 Ne none so faire: For it full wele
 With orfraies⁴ laid was everie dele,
 And purtraied in the ribaninges⁵
 Of dukis stories and of kinges;
 And with a bend⁶ of gold tassiled,
 And knoppis⁷ fine of gold amiled⁸.

¹ De pourpre fut le vestement
 A RICHESSE, si noblement,
 Qu'en tout le monde n'eust plus bel,
 Mieulx fait, ne aussi plus nouvel:
 Pourtraictes y furent d'orfroys
 Hystories d'empereurs et roys.
 Et encores y avoit-il
 Un ouvrage noble et subtil;
 A noyaux d'or au col fermoit,
 Et a bendes d'azur tenoit:
 Noblement eut le chief paré
 De riches pierres decoré
 Qui gettoient moult grant clarté,
 Tout y estoit bien assorté.
 Puis eut une riche sainture
 Sainte par dessus sa vesture:
 Le boucle d'une pierre fu,
 Grosse et de moult grant vertu
 Celluy qui sur soy le protoit
 De tous venins garde estoit.—
 D'autre pierre fut le mordans
 Qui guerissoit du mal des dens.
 Cest pierre portoit bon cur,
 Qui l'avoit pouvoit estre asscur
 De sa fanté et de sa vei,
 Quant à jeun il l'avoit vei:
 Les cloux furent d'or epuré,
 Par dessus le titlu doré,
 Qui estoient grans et pesans,
 En chascun avoit deux besans.

Si eut avecques a Richeſſe
 Uns cadre d'or mis sur la treſſe,
 Si riche, si plaſant, et si bel,
 Qu'onques ou ne veit le pareil:
 De pierres estoit fort garny,
 Precieusés et aplany,
 Qui bien en vouldroit deviser,
 On ne les pourroit pas priser
 Rubis, y eut saphirs, jagonces,
 Esmerandes plus de cent onces:
 Mais devant eut par grant maistrise,
 Un escarboucle bien assise
 Et le pierre si clere estoit
 Que cil qui devant la mettoit
 Si en pouvoit veoir au beſoing
 A ſoy conduire une lieue loing,
 Telle clarté si en yſſoit
 Que Richeſſe en reſplandiſſoit
 Par tout le corps et par ſa face
 Auſſi d'autour d'elle la place. v. 1066.

¹ "That I lie, or am mad."

² Like.

³ Parts.

⁴ Embroidery in gold.

⁵ Laces laid on robes. Embroideries.

⁶ Band. Knott.

⁷ Knobs. Buttons.

⁸ Enameled. Enameling, and perhaps
 pictures in enamel, were common in the
 middle

About her neck, of gentle' entaile^c,
 Was set the richè chevesaile^d;
 In which ther was ful grete plente
 Of stonis clere and faire to se.
 RICHESE a girdle had upon
 The bokill^e of it was of ston
 Of vertu grete and mokill^f might,
 For who so bare the ston so bright
 Of venim durst him nothing doubt
 While he the ston had him about.—
 The mordaunt^g wrought in noble guise
 Was of a ston ful precious,
 That was so fin and vertuous
 That whole a man it couth ymake
 Of palsie, and of the tothe ake:
 And yet the ston had soche a grace
 That he was fikre^h in evvrie place
 All thilkè daie not blinde to bene
 That fasting might that ston sene.
 The barrisⁱ were of gold full fine
 Upon a tiffue of fattin,
 Full hevie, grete, and nothing light,
 In everiche was a befaunt wight^k.

middle ages. From the Testament of Joh. de Foxle, knight, Dat. apud Bramhill Co. Southampt. Nov. 5. 1378. "Item lego domino abbati de Waltham unum annulum auri grossi, cum una saphiro infixa, et nominibus trium regum [of Cologne] sculptis in eodem annulo. Item lego Margarite forori mee unam tabulam argenti deaurati et *amelitam*, minorem de duabus quas habeo, cum diversis ymaginibus sculptis in eadem.—Item lego Margerie uxori Johannis de Wilton unum monile auri, cum S. litera sculpta et *amelita* in eodem." Registr. Wykeham, Episc. Winton. P. ii. fol. 24. See also Dugd. Bar. i. 234. a.

^c Of good workmanship, or carving. From *Intagliare*. Ital.

^d Necklace. ^e Buckle.

^f *Muckel*. Great.

^g Tongue of a buckle. *Mordeo*. Lat.

^h Certain.

ⁱ I cannot give the precise meaning of *Barris*, nor of *Cloux* in the French. It seems to be part of a buckle. In the wardrobe-roll, quoted above, are mentioned, "One hundred garters *cum boucles*, barris, "et pendentibus de argento." For which were delivered, "ccc barrs argenti." An. 21. Edw. iii.

^k "The weight of a besant." A byzant was a species of gold-coin, stamped at *Byzantium*. A wedge of gold.

Upon

Upon the tressis of RICHESSE
 Was sett a circle of noblesse,
 Of brende¹ gold, that full light yshone,
 So faire, trowe I, was nevyr none.
 But he were konning for the nones^m
 That could devisin all the stoness,
 That in the circle shewin clere,
 It is a wonder thing to here:
 For no man could or praiseⁿ, or gesse,
 Of hem the value or richesse:
 Rubies ther were, saphirs, ragounces^o,
 And emeraudes more than two ounces:

¹ Burnished.

^m "Well-skilled in these things."

ⁿ Appraise. Value.

^o The gem called a *facinth*. We should read, in Chaucer's text, *fagonces* instead of *Ragounces*, a word which never existed; and which Speght, who never consulted the French *Roman de la Rose*, interprets merely from the sense of the context, to be "A kind of precious stone." Gloss. Ch. in V. The knowledge of precious stones was a grand article in the natural philosophy of this age: and the medical virtue of gems, alluded to above, was a doctrine much inculcated by the Arabian naturalists. Chaucer refers to a treatise on gems, called the LAPIDARY, famous in that time. *House of Fame*, L. ii. v. 260.

And thei were sett as thicke of ouchis
 Fine, of the finist stonis faire

That men *viden* in the LAPIDARE.

Montfaucon, in the royal library at Paris, recites, "Le LAPIDARE, de la vertu des pierres." Catal. MSS. p. 794. This I take to be the book here referred to by Chaucer. Henry of Huntingdon wrote a book *De Gemmis*. He flourished about 1155. Lann. Bibl. p. 395. See a Greek Treatise, Du Cange, Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor, p. 37. col. 1. In the Cotton library is a Saxon Treatise on precious stones. TIBER. A. 3. liii. fol. 98. The writing is more ancient than the conquest. See top. p. 10. SECT. I. Pelloutier men-

tions a Latin poem of the eleventh century on Precious Stones, written by Marbode bishop of Rennes, and soon afterwards translated into French verse. Mem. Lang. Celt. part. i. vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 26. The translation begins,

Evax fut un mult riche reis
 Lu reigne tint d'Arabeis.

It was printed in OEUVRES de Hildebert Evêque du Mons, edit. Ant. Beaugendre, col. 1638. This may be reckoned one of the oldest pieces of French versification. A manuscript *De Speciebus Lapidum*, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, falsely attributed to one Adam Nidzarde, Cod. Digb. 28. f. 169.—Cod. Laud. C. 3. *Præf.* "Evax rex Arabum legitur scripsisse." But it is, I think, Marbode's book above-mentioned. Evax is a fabulous Arabian king, said to have written on this subject. Of this Marbode, or Marbodæus, see Ol. Borrich. Diff. Acad. de Poet. pag. 87. §. 78. edit. Francof. 1683. 4^{to}. His poem was published, with notes, by Lampridius Alardus. The eastern writers pretend, that king Solomon, among a variety of physiological pieces, wrote a book on Gems: one chapter of which treated of those precious stones, which resist or repel evil Genii. They suppose that Aristotle stole all his philosophy from Solomon's books. See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. 387. seq. And i. p. 71. Compare Herbelot, Bibl. Oriental. p. 962. b. Art. KETAB *alahjyar*. seq.

But

But all before full subtilly
 A fine carboncle fet sawe I :
 The stone so clere was and so bright,
 That al so sone as it was night,
 Men mightin se to go for nede,
 A mile or two, in length or brede ;
 Soche light ysprang out of the stone,
 That RICHESSE wondir bright yshone
 Both on her hedde and all hir face
 And eke about her all the place ¹.

The attributes of the portrait of MIRTH are very expressive.

Of berde unnethe had he nothing ¹,
 For it was in the firstè spring :
 Ful young he was and merie' of thought,
 And in samette ² with birdis wrought,
 And with golde bete ful fetously,
 His bodie was clad full richely ;
 Wrought was his robe in straunge gise,
 And all to flittered ³ for queintise,
 In many a place lowe and hie,
 And shod he was, with grete maistrise,
 With shone decopid ⁴ and with lace,
 By drurie ⁵ and eke by solace ;

P v. 1071.

¹ Et si n'avoit barbe a menton
 Si non petit poil follaton ;
 Il estoit jeune damoyseaulx ;
 Son bauldrier fut portrait d'oiseaulx
 Qui tout estoit è or batu,
 Tres richement estoit vestu
 D'un' robe moult desgyfée,
 Qui fut en maint lieu incisée,
 Et decoupee par quointise,
 Et fut chauffé par mignotise
 D'un' soulers decouppés à las
 Par joyeufete et soulas,

Et sa neye luy fist chapeau

De roses gracieux et beau. v. 832.

² Samite. Sattin. Explained above.

³ Cut and flashed.

⁴ Cut or marked with figures. From
Decouper, Fr. To cut. Thus the parish
 clerk Absolon, in the *Miller's Tale*, v. 210.
 p. 26. Urr.

With Poulis windowes carven on his shose.

I suppose *Poulis windowes* was a cant phrase
 for a fine device or ornament.

⁵ Modesty.

His

His lefe " a rosin chapelet
Had made and on his hedde it fet *.

FRANCHISE is a no less attractive portrait, and sketched with equal grace and delicacy.

And next him daunfid dame FRANCHISE ^y,
Arayid in ful noble guise.
She n'as not broune ne dunne of hewe,
But white as snowe ifallin newe,
Her nose was wrought at point devise ^z,
For it was gentill and tretise;
With eyin glad and browis bent,
Her hare down to her helis went ^a:
Simple she was as dove on tre,
Ful debonaire of hart was she ^b.

The personage of DANGER is of a bolder cast, and may serve as a contrast to some of the preceding. He is supposed suddenly to start from an ambuscade; and to prevent Bialcoil, or *Kind Reception*, from permitting the lover to gather the rose of beauty.

With that anon out start DANGERE ^c,
Out of the place where he was hidde;
His malice in his chere was kidde ^d;

* Mistress. * v. 833.

^y Apres tous ceulx estoit FRANCHISE,
Qui ne fut ne brune ne bise;
Ains fut comme la neige blanche
Courtoise estoit, joyeuse et franche,
Le nez avoit long et tretis
Yeulx vers rins, fourails faitis,
Les cheveulx eut tres-blons et longs,
Simple feut comme les coulons.

Le cuer eut doux et debonnaire. v. 1190.

^z With the utmost exactness.

^a All the females of this poem have grey eyes and yellow hair. One of them is said to have "Her eyen graie as is a faucon." v. 546. Where the original word, translated *graie*, is *vers*. v. 546. We have this colour again, Orig. v. 822. "Les yeulx eut

"*vers*." This too Chaucer translates, "Her eyin graie." 862. The same word occurs in the French text before us, v. 1195. This comparison was natural and beautiful, as drawn from a very familiar and favourite object in the age of the poet. Perhaps Chaucer means "grey as a falcon's eyes."

^b v. 1211.

^c A tant faillit villain DANGERE,
De là on il estoit muec;
Grant fut, noir et tout hericè
S'ot, les yeulx rouges comme feux,
Le vis froncè, le nez hydeux
Et s'erie tout forcenez. v. 2959.

^d "Was discovered by his behaviour, or "countenance." Perhaps we should read *cheke*, for *chere*.

His

Full grete he was, and blacke of hewe,
 Sturdie and hideous whofo him knewe;
 Like sharpe urchons^c his heere was grow,
 His eyes red sparcling as fire glow,
 His nose frouncid^f full kirkid^g stoode,
 He come criande^h as he were woodeⁱ.

Chaucer has enriched this figure. The circumstance of DANGER's hair standing erect like the prickles on the urchin or hedge-hog, is his own, and finely imagined.

Hitherto specimens have been given from that part of this poem which was written by William de Lorris, its first inventor. Here Chaucer was in his own walk. One of the most striking pictures in the style of allegorical personification, which occurs in Chaucer's translation of the additional part, is much heightened by Chaucer, and indeed owes all its merit to the translator; whose genius was much better adapted to this species of painting than that of John of Meun, the continuator of the poem.

With her, Labour and eke Travaile^k,
 Lodgid bene, with forowe and wo,
 That nevir out of her court go.
 Pain and Distresse, Sicknesse and Ire,
 And Melanc'ly that angry fire,
 Ben of her palais^l senators;
 Groning and Grutching her herbegeors^m;
 The day and night her to tourment,
 With cruill deth thei her present,

^c *Urchins*. Hedge-hogs.

^f Contracted.

^g *Cracked*. Turned upwards.

^h "Crying as if he was mad."

ⁱ v. 3130.

^k Travaile et douleur la hebergent,
 Mais ill le lient et la chagent,

Que mort prochaine luy presentent,

Et talent de seq repentir;

Tant luy font de beaux sentir;

Adonc luy vient en remembrance,

En cest tardive presence,

Quant et se voit foible et chenu. v. 4733.

^l Palace.

^m Chamberlains.

And tellin her erlicheⁿ and late,
 That DETH stondith armid at her gate. .
 Then bring they to remembraunce,
 The foly dedes of hir enfance^o.

The fiction that Sicknefs, Melancholy, and other beings of the like fort, were counsellors in the palace of OLD AGE, and employed in telling her day and night, that "DEATH" stood *armed* at her gate," was far beyond the sentimental and fatirical vein of John of Meun, and is conceived with great vigour of imagination.

Chaucer appears to have been early struck with this French poem. In his DREME, written long before he begun this translation, he supposes, that the chamber in which he slept was richly painted with the story of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE^p. It is natural to imagine, that such a poem must have been a favorite with Chaucer. No poet, before William of Lorris, either Italian or French, had delineated allegorical personages in so distinct and enlarged a style, and with such a fullness of characteristical attributes: nor had descriptive poetry selected such a variety of circumstances, and disclosed such an exuberance of embellishment, in forming agreeable representations of nature. On this account, we are surprised that Boileau should mention Villon as the first poet of France who drew form and order from the chaos of the old French romancers.

Villon fçeut le PREMIER, dans ces siecles grossiers
 Debrouïller l'ART CONFUS de nos vieux ROMANCIERS^q.

But the poetry of William of Lorris was not the poetry of Boileau.

ⁿ Early.

^o v. 4994.

^p v. 322. Chaucer alludes to this poem

in THE MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1548.
 p. 72. Urr.

^q Art. Poet. ch. i. He died about the year 1456.

That

That this poem should not please Boileau, I can easily conceive. It is more surprising that it should have been censured as a contemptible performance by Petrarch, who lived in the age of fancy. Petrarch being desired by his friend Guy de Gonzague to send him some new piece, sent the *ROMAN DE LA ROSE*. With the poem, instead of an encomium, he returned a severe criticism; in which he treats it as a cold, inartificial, and extravagant composition: as a proof, how much France, who valued this poem as her chief work, was surpassed by Italy in eloquence and the arts of writing¹. In this opinion we must attribute something to jealousy. But the truth is, Petrarch's genius was too cultivated to relish these wild excursions of imagination: his favorite classics, whom he revived, and studied with so much attention, ran in his head. Especially Ovid's *ART OF LOVE*, a poem of another species, and evidently formed on another plan; but which Petrarch had been taught to venerate, as the model and criterion of a didactic poem on the passion of love reduced to a system. We may add, that although the poem before us was founded on the visionary doctrines and refinements concerning love invented by the Provençal poets, and consequently less unlikely to be favourably received by Petrarch, yet his ideas on that delicate subject were much more Platonic and metaphysical.

¹ See Petrarch. *Carm.* L. i. Ep. 30.

S E C T. XIV.

CHAUCER's poem of TROILUS and CRESSEIDE is said to be formed on an old history, written by Lollius, a native of Urbino in Italy ^a. Lydgate says, that Chaucer, in this poem,

----- made a translation
Of a boke which called is TROPHE
In Lumbarde tongue, &c. ^b.

It is certain that Chaucer, in this piece, frequently refers to "MYNE AUCTOR LOLLIUS^c." But he hints, at the same time, that Lollius wrote in Latin ^d. I have never seen this history, either in the Lombard or the Latin language. I have before observed, that it is mentioned in Boccacio's Decameron, and that a translation of it, was made into Greek verse by some of the Greek fugitives in the fourteenth century. Du Fresne, if I mistake not, somewhere mentions it in Italian. In the royal library at Paris it occurs often as an antient French romance. "Cod. 7546. Roman de Troilus."---"Cod. 7564. Roman de Troilus et de Briseida ou Criseida."---Again, as an original

^a Petrus Lambecius enumerates Lollius Urbicus among the *Historici Latini profani* of the third century. Prodrom. p. 246. Hamb. 1659. See also Voss. *Historic. Latin.* ii. 2. p. 163. edit. Ludg. Bat. But this could not be Chaucer's Lollius. Chaucer places Lollius among the historians of Troy, in his House of Fame, iii. 380. It is extraordinary, that Du Fresne, in the *Index Auctorum*, used by him for his Latin glossary, should mention this Lollius Urbicus of the third century. Tom. i. p. 141. edit. i. As I apprehend, none of his works remain. A proof that Chaucer translated

from some Italian original is, that in a manuscript which I have seen of this poem, I find, *Monestes* for *Menestes*, *Rapheo* for *Ruphes*, *Phebujeo* for *Phebujes*, lib. iv. 50. seq. Where, by the way, Xantippo, a Trojan chief, was perhaps corruptly written for Xantippo, i. e. Xantippus. As Joseph. *Isca.* iv. 10. In Lydgate's Troy, *Zantiphus*, iii. 26. All corrupted from Antiphus, *Dist. Cret.* p. 105. In the printed copies we have *Aiscalapho* for *Aiscalaphus*. lib. v. 319.

^b Prol. Boch. ff. iii.

^c See lib. i. v. 395.

^d Lib. ii. v. 10.
work

work of Boccacio. "Cod. 7757. Philostrato dell' amorose
"fatiche de Troilo per GIOVANNI BOCCACIO." "Les fuivans
" (adds Montfaucon ^d) contiennent *les autres œuvres* de Boc-
"cace." Much fabulous history concerning Troilus, is re-
lated in Guido de Columna's Destruction of Troy. Whatever
were Chaucer's materials, he has on this subject constructed a
poem of considerable merit, in which the vicissitudes of love
are depicted in a strain of true poetry, with much pathos and
simplicity of sentiment ^e. He calls it, "a litill tragedie ^f." Troilus is supposed to have seen Cresside in a temple; and re-
tiring to his chamber, is thus naturally described, in the
critical situation of a lover examining his own mind after
the first impresson of love.

And whan that he in chambre was alone,
He down upon his beddis fete him sette,
And first he gan to sihe ^g, and then to grone,
And thought aie on her so withoutin lette:
That as he fatte and woke, his spirit mette ^h
That he her saugh, and temple, and all the wise ⁱ;
Right of her loke, and gan it newe avise ^k.

There is not so much nature in the sonnet to Love, which
follows. It is translated from Petrarch; and had Chaucer
followed his own genius, he would not have disgusted us

^d Bibl. p. 793. col. 2. Compare Lengl. Bibl. Rom. ii. p. 253.

^e Chaucer however claims no merit of invention in this poem. He invokes Clio to favour him with rhymes only; and adds,

— To everie lover I me' excuse
That of no *sentiment* I this endite
But *out of latin in my tonge it write*.

L. ii. v. 10. seq. But Sir Francis Kinaston who translated TROILUS AND CRESSIDE [1635.] into Latin rhymes, says, that Chaucer in this poem "has taken
"the liberty of his own inventions." In the mean time, Chaucer, by his own re-

ferences, seems to have been studious of seldom departing from Lollius. In one place, he pays him a compliment, as an author whose excellencies he could not reach. L. iii. v. 1330.

Bot sothe is, though I can not tellen all,
As can mine author of *his excellence*.

See also L. iii. 576 1823.

^f L. ult. v. 1785.

^g Sigh.

^h Thought. Imagined.

ⁱ Manner.

^k L. i. v. 359.

with the affected gallantry and exaggerated compliments which it extends through five tedious stanzas. The doubts and delicacies of a young girl disclosing her heart to her lover, are exquisitely touched in this comparison.

And as the newe abashid nightingale
That stintith ^m first, when she beginith sing,
When that she herith any herdis ⁿ tale,
Or in the hedgis anie wight stirring,
And after fikir ^o doth her voice outring;
Right so Cresseidè when that her drede stent ^p
Opened her herte and told him her intent ^q.

The following pathetic scene may be selected from many others. Troilus seeing Cressida in a swoon, imagines her to be dead. He untheaths his sword with an intent to kill himself, and utters these exclamations.

And thou, cite, in which I live in wo,
And thou Priam, and brethren al ifere ^r,
And thou, my mother, farwel, for I go:
And, Atropos, make ready thou my bere:
And thou Cresseidè, O sweet hertè dere,
Receive thou now my spirit, would he say,
With swerd at hert all redy for to dey.

But as god would, of swough ^s she tho abraide ^t,
And gan to fighe, and TROILUS she cride:
And he answerid, Lady mine Cresseide,
Livin ye yet? And let his sword doune glide,
Yes, hertè mine, that thankid be Cupide,

^m Stops.

ⁿ *Her shepherd.* A Shepherd.

^o With confidence.

^p Her fears ceased.

^q L. iii. v. 1239.

^r Together.

^s Swoon.

^t Then awaked.

Quoth she : and therewithall she forè fight ^u
And he began to glad her as he might.

Toke her in armis two, and kist her oft,
And her to glad he did all his entent :
For which her ghost, that flickered aie alo
Into her woefull breast aien it went :
But at the last, as that her eyin glent ^w
Aside, anon she gan his swerde aspie,
As it lay bere, and gan for fere to crie :

And askid him why he had it outdrawe ?
And Troilus anon the cause hir tolde,
And how therwith himself he would have slawe :
For which Creseide upon him gan behold,
And gan him in her armis fast to fold ;
And said, O mercy, God, to whiche a dede
Alas ! how nere we werin bothè dede ^x !

Pathetic description is one of Chaucer's peculiar excellencies.

In this poem are various imitations from Ovid, which are of too particular and minute a nature to be pointed out here, and belong to the province of a professed and formal commentator on the piece. The Platonic notion in the third book ^y about universal love, and the doctrine that this principle acts with equal and uniform influence both in the natural and moral world, are a translation from Boethius ^z. And in the KNIGHT'S TALE he mentions, from the same favorite system of philosophy, the FAIRE CHAINE OF LOVE ^a. It is worth observing, that the reader is referred to Dares

^u Sighed.

^w Glanced.

^x L. iv. v. 1205.

^y v. 1750.

^z Consolat. Philosoph. L. ii. Met. ult.
iii. Met. 2. Spenser is full of the same

doctrine. See Fairy Queen, i. ix. 1. iv.
x. 34. 35, &c. &c. I could point out many
other imitations from Boethius in this
poem.

^a v. 2990. Urr.

Phrygius,

Phrygius, instead of Homer, for a display of the achievements of Troilus.

His worthi dedis who so list him here,
Rede DARES, he can tel hem all ifere ^a.

Our author, from his excessive fondness for Statius, has been guilty of a very diverting and what may be called a double anachronism. He represents Cresside, with two of her female companions, sitting in a *pavid parlour*, and reading the THEBAID of Statius ^b, which is called *the Geste of the Siege of Thebes* ^c, and *the Romance of Thebis* ^d. In another place, Cassandra translates the Arguments of the twelve books of the THEBAID ^e. In the fourth book of this poem, Pandarus endeavours to comfort Troilus with arguments concerning the doctrine of predestination, taken from Brawardine, a learned archbishop and theologist, and nearly Chaucer's cotemporary ^f.

This poem, although almost as long as the Eneid, was intended to be sung to the harp, as well as read.

And redde where so thou be, or ellis *songe* ^g.

It is dedicated to the *morall* Gower, and to the *philosophical* Strode. Gower will occur as a poet hereafter. Strode was

^a L. iv. v. 1770.

^b L. ii. v. 81.

^c L. ii. v. 84.

^d L. ii. v. 100. *Bisshop Amphiorax* is mentioned, ib. v. 104. Pandarus says v. 106.

— All this I know my selve,
And all the assiege of Thebes, and all
the care;
For herof ben ther makid *bokis twelve*.

In his *Dr me*, Chaucer, to pass the night away, rather than play at chess, calls for a *Romance*; in which "were writtin fables of queinis livis and of kings, and many othir thingis smale." This proves to be Ovid, v. 52. seq. See Man. of L.T. v.

54. Urr. There was an old French Romance called PARTONEPEX, often cited by Du Cange and Carpentier. Gl. Lat. This is Parthenopeus, a hero of the Theban story. It was translated into English, and called PERTONAPE. See p. 123. *supr*.

^e L. v. v. 1490. I will add here, that Cresside proposes the trial of the Ordeal to Troilus. L. iii. v. 1048. Troilus, during the times of truce, amuses himself with hawking. L. iii. v. 1785.

^f In his book DE CAUSA DEI, published by Sir Henry Savile, 1617. He touches on this controversy, Nonne's Pr. T. v. 1349. Urr. See also Tr. Cr. L. iv. v. 961. seq.

^g L. ult. v. 1796.

eminent for his scholastic knowledge, and tutor to Chaucer's son Lewis at Merton college in Oxford.

Whether the HOUSE OF FAME is Chaucer's invention, or suggested by any French or Italian poet, I cannot determine. But I am apt to think it was originally a Provencial composition, among other proofs, from this passage.

And ther came out so gret a noise,
That had it standin upon OYSE,
Men might have herd it esily,
I trow, to ROME fikerly^h.

The Oyse is a river in Picardy, which falls into the river Seine, not many leagues from Paris. An Englishman would not have expressed distance by such an unfamiliar illustration. Unless we reconcile the matter, by supposing that Chaucer wrote this poem during his travels. There is another passage where the ideas are those of a foreign romance. To the trumpeters of renown the poet adds,

----- All that usid clarion
In Casteloigne or Arragonⁱ.

Casteloigne is Catalonia in Spain^k. The martial musicians of English tournaments, so celebrated in story, were a more natural and obvious allusion for an English poet^l.

This poem contains great strokes of Gothic imagination, yet

^h L. ii. v. 838.

ⁱ B. iii. v. 157.

^k See MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1231. p. 70. Urr. He mentions a rock higher than any in Spain. B. ii. v. 27. But this I believe was an English proverb.

^l He mentions a plate of gold, "As fine as duckett in Venise." B. iii. v. 258. But he says, that the Galaxy is called *Wat-*

lynstrete. B. ii. v. 431. He swears by Thomas a Beckett, B. iii. v. 41. In one place he is addressed by the name of GEOFFREY. B. ii. v. 221. But in two others by that of PETER. B. i. v. 526. B. iii. v. 909. Among the musicians, he mentions "Pipers of all the Duche tong." B. iii. v. 144.

bordering often on the most ideal and capricious extravagance. The poet, in a vision, sees a temple of glafs,

In which were more images
Of gold stondinge in fundrie stages,
Sette in more riche tabernacles,
And with perre ^m more pinnacles,
And more curious pourtraituris,
And quaint manir of figuris,
Of golde work than I sawe evir ⁿ.

On the walls of this temple were engraved stories from Virgil's *Eneid* ^o, and Ovid's *Epistles* ^p. Leaving this temple, he sees an eagle with golden wings soaring near the sun.

----- Faste by the sonne on hie,
As kennyng myght I with mine eie,
Methought I sawe an egle fore ;
But that it semid mochil more ^q,
Then I had any egle fene ^r.-----
It was af gold, and shone so bright,
That nevir man sawe suche a sight ^s, &c.

The eagle descends, seizes the poet in his talons, and mounting again, conveys him to the House of Fame; which is

^m Jewels.

ⁿ B. i. v. 120.

^o Where he mentions Virgil's hell, he likewise refers to Claudian *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, and Dante's *Inferno*. v. 450. There is a translation of a few lines from Dante, whom he calls "the wise poet of Florence," in the *WIFE OF BATH'S TALE*, v. 1125. p. 84. Urr. The story of Hugolin of Pisa, a subject which Sir Joshua Reynolds has lately painted in a capital style, is translated from Dante, "the grete poete" "of Italie that hight Dante," in the *MONK'S TALE*, v. 877. A sentence from Dante is cited in the *LEGENDE OF GOOD WOMEN*, v. 360. In the *FREFRE'S TALE*, Dante is compared with Virgil, v. 256.

^p It was not only in the fairy palaces of

the poets and romance-writers of the middle ages, that Ovid's stories adorned the walls. In one of the courts of the palace of Nonestuch, all Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were cut in stone under the windows. Hearne, Coll. MSS. 55. p. 64. But the *Epistles* seem to have been the favorite work, the subject of which coincided with the gallantry of the times.

^q Greater.

^r The eagle says to the poet, that this house stands

"Right so as *thine ane boke* tellith."

B. ii. v. 204. That is, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See Met. L. xii. v. 40, &c.

^s B. i. v. 496. seq.

situated

situated, like that of Ovid, between earth and sea. In their passage thither, they fly above the stars; which our author leaves, with clouds, tempests, hail, and snow, far beneath him. This aerial journey is partly copied from Ovid's Phaeton in the chariot of the sun. But the poet apologises for this extravagant fiction, and explains his meaning, by alledging the authority of Boethius; who says, that Contemplation may soar on the wings of Philosophy above every element. He likewise recollects, in the midst of his course, the description of the heavens, given by Marcius Capella in his book *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii*¹, and Alanus in his *Anticlaudian*². At his arrival in the confines of the House of Fame, he is alarmed with confused murmurs issuing from thence, like distant thunders or billows. This circumstance is also borrowed from Ovid's temple³. He is left by the eagle near the house, which is built of materials bright as polished glass, and stands on a rock of ice of excessive height, and almost inaccessible. All the southern side of this rock was covered with engravings of the names of famous men, which were perpetually melting away by the heat of the sun. The northern side of the rock was alike covered with names; but being here shaded from the warmth of the sun, the characters remained unmelted and uneffaced. The structure of the house is thus imagined.

----- Me thoughtin by saint Gile,
That all was of stone of berille,
Both the castle and the toure,
And eke the hall and everie boure⁴:

¹ See *The MARCHAUNT'S TALE*, v. 1248. p. 70. Urr. And Lidg. Stor. Theb. fol. 357.

² A famous book in the middle ages.

There is an old French translation of it. Bibl. Reg. Paris. MSS. Cod. 7632.

³ See Met. l. ii. 39. And Virg. *Æn.* iv. 173. Val. Flacc. ii. 117. Lucan. i. 469.

⁴ Chamber.

Without pecis or joynnynges,
 And many subtill compassyngs,
 As barbicans^y and pinnacles,
 Imageries and tabernacles
 I fawe, and full eke of windowis
 As flakis fallin in grete snowis.

In these lines, and in some others which occur hereafter^z, the poet perhaps alludes to the many new decorations in architecture, which began to prevail about his time, and gave rise to the florid Gothic style. There are instances of this in his other poems. In his DREAM, printed 1597^a.

And of a fute were al the touris,
 Subtily carven aftir flouris.-----
 With many a smal turret hie.

And in the description of the palace of PLEASAUNT REGARD, in the ASSEMBLIE OF LADIES^b.

Fairir is none, though it were for a king,
 Devifid wel and that in every thing ;
 The towris hie, ful plesante shal ye finde,
 With fannis fresh, turning with everie winde.
 The chambris, and the palirs of a forte,
 With bay windows, goodlie as may be thought :
 As for daunfing or othir wise disporte,
 The galleries be al right wel ywrought.

In Chaucer's Life by Anthony Hall, it is not mentioned that he was appointed clerk of the king's works, in the palace of Westminster, in the royal manors of Shene, Kenington, Byfleet, and Clapton, and in the Mews at Charing^c.

^y Turrets.

^z B. ii. v. 211.

^a v. 81. p. 572. Urr.

^b V. 158.

^c Clauf. 8. Ric. ii.

Again

Again in 1380, of the works of St. George's chapel at Windfor, then ruinous^c. But to return.

Within the niches formed in the pinnacles stood all round the castle,

----- All manir of minstrelis,
And jefstours^d that tellyn tales
Both of weping and eke of game.

That is, those who sung or recited adventures either tragic or comic, which excited either compassion or laughter. They were accompanied with the most renowned harpers, among which were Orpheus, Arion, Chiron, and the Briton Glaske-
rion^e. Behind these were placed, "by many a thousand
"time twelve," players on various instruments of music. Among the trumpeters are named Joab, Virgil's Misenus, and Theodamas^f. About these pinnacles were also marshalled the most famous magicians, jugglers, witches, prophetesses, forcereffes, and professors of natural magic,^g which ever existed in antient or modern times: such as Medea, Circe, Calliope, Hermes^h, Limotheus, and Simon Ma-

^c Pat. 14. Ric. ii. Apud Tanner, Bibl. p. 166. Not. e.

^d This word is above explained.

^e Concerning this harper, see Percy's Ballads.

^f See also THE MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1236. seq. p. 70. Urr.

^g See the FRANKLEIN'S TALE, where several feats are described, as exhibited at a feast done by natural magic, a favorite science of the Arabians. Chaucer there calls it "An art which sotill tragedie^g toris plaie." v. 2696. p. 110. Urr. Of this more will be said hereafter.

^h None of the works of the first Hermes Trismegistus now remain. See Cornel. Agripp. Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. The astrological and other philosophical pieces under that name are supposititious. See Fabr. Biblioth. Gr. xii. 703. And Chan. YEM. TALE, v. 1455. p. 126. Urr. Some of these pieces

were published under the fictitious names of Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Solomon, Saint Paul, and of many of the patriarchs and fathers. Cornel. Agripp. De Van. Scient. cap. xlv. Who adds, that these *trifles* were followed by Alphonfus king of Castile, Robert Grosthead, Bacon, and Apponus. He mentions Zabulus and Barnabas of Cyprus as famous writers in magic. See also Gower's Confess. Amant. p. 134. b. 149. b. edit. 1554. fol. per Berthelette. In speaking of antient authors, who were known or celebrated in the middle ages, it may be remarked, that Macrobius was one. He is mentioned by William de Lorris in the ROMAN DE LA ROSE, v. 9. "Ung
"aucteur qui ot nom *Macrobe*." A line literally translated by Chaucer, "An author that hight *Macrobes*." v. 7. Chaucer quotes him in his DREME, v. 284. In the NONNES PRIEST'S TALE, v. 1238.

gus¹. At entering the hall he sees an infinite multitude of heralds, on the surcoats of whom were richly embroidered the armorial ensigns of the most redoubted champions that ever tourneyed in Africa, Europe, or Asia. The floor and roof of the hall were covered with thick plates of gold, studded with the costliest gems. At the upper end, on a lofty shrine made of carbuncle, sat Fame. Her figure is like those in Virgil and Ovid. Above her, as if sustained on her shoulders, sat Alexander and Hercules. From the throne to the gates of the hall, ran a range of pillars with respective inscriptions. On the first pillar made of lead and iron², stood Josephus, the Jewish historian, "That of the Jewish" "gestis told," with seven other writers on the same subject. On the second pillar, made of iron, and painted all over with the blood of tigers, stood Statius. On another higher than the rest stood Homer, Dares Phrygius, Livy³, Lollius, Guido of Columna, and Geoffry of Monmouth, writers of the Trojan story. On a pillar of "tinnid iron clere," stood Virgil: and next him, on a pillar of copper, appeared Ovid.

p. 171. Urr. In the ASSEMBLIE OF FOWLES, v. III. see also *ibid.* v. 31. He wrote a comment on Tully's *SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS*, and in these passages he is referred to on account of that piece. Petrarch, in a letter to Nicolas Sigeros, a learned Greek of Constantinople, quotes Macrobius, as a Latin author of all others the most familiar to Nicolas. It is to prove that Homer is the fountain of all invention. This is in 1354. *Famil. Let.* ix. 2. There is a manuscript of the first, and part of the second book of Macrobius, elegantly written, as it seems, in France, about the year 800. MSS. Cotton. VITELL. C. iii. Cod. Membr. fol. viii. fol. 138. M. Planudes, a Constantinopolitan monk of the fourteenth century, is said to have translated Macrobius into Greek. But see Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 534. It is remarkable, that in the above letter, Petrarch apologises for calling Plato the Prince of Philosophers, after Cicero,

Seneca, Apuleius, Plotinus, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Austin.

¹ Among these he mentions *Juglers*, that is, in the present sense of the word, those who practised *Legerdemain*: a popular science in Chaucer's time. Thus in *Squ. T.* v. 239. Urr.

As jugelours playin at these festis grete.

It was an appendage of the occult sciences studied and introduced into Europe by the Arabians.

² In the composition of these pillars, Chaucer displays his chemical knowledge.

³ Dares Phrygius and Livy are both cited in Chaucer's *DREME*, v. 1070. 1084. Chaucer is fond of quoting Livy. He was also much admired by Petrarch; who, while at Paris, assisted in translating him into French. This circumstance might make Livy a favorite with Chaucer. See *Vie de Petrarque*, iii. p. 547.

The

The figure of Lucan was placed on a pillar of iron "wrought
"full sternly," accompanied with many Roman historians^m.
On a pillar of sulphur stood Claudian, so symbolised, because
he wrote of Pluto and Proserpine.

That bare up all the fame of hell;
Of Pluto and of Proserpine
That queen is of the darkè pineⁿ.

The hall was filled with the writers of antient tales and romances, whose subjects and names were too numerous to be recounted. In the mean time crouds from every nation and of every condition filled the hall, and each presented his claim to the queen. A messenger is dispatched to summon Eolus from his cave in Thrace; who is ordered to bring his two clarions called SLANDER and PRAISE, and his trumpeter Triton. The praises of each petitioner are then refounded, according to the partial or capricious appointment of Fame; and equal merits obtain very different success. There is much satire and humour in these requests and rewards, and in the disgraces and honours which are indiscriminately distributed by the queen, without discernment and by chance. The poet then enters the house or labyrinth of RUMOUR. It was built of fallow twigs, like a cage, and therefore admitted every sound. Its doors were also more numerous than leaves on the trees, and always stood open. These are romantic exaggerations of Ovid's inventions on the same subject. It was moreover sixty miles in length, and perpetually turning round. From this house, says the poet, issued tidings of every kind, like fountains and rivers from the sea. Its inhabitants, who were eternally employed in hearing or telling news, together with the rise of reports, and the for-

^m Was not this intended to characterise Lucan? Quintilian says of Lucan, "*Oratoribus magis quam poetis annumerandus*." Instit. Orat. L. x. c. i.

ⁿ B. iii. v. 419. Chaucer alludes to this poem of Claudian in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, where he calls Pluto, the king of "fayrie." v. 1744. p. 73. Urr.

mation of lies are then humourously described : the company is chiefly composed of sailors, pilgrims, and pardoners. At length our author is awakened at seeing a venerable personage of great authority : and thus the Vision abruptly concludes.

Pope has imitated this piece, with his usual elegance of diction and harmony of versification. But in the mean time, he has not only misrepresented the story, but marred the character of the poem. He has endeavoured to correct it's extravagancies, by new refinements and additions of another cast : but he did not consider, that extravagancies are essential to a poem of such a structure, and even constitute it's beauties. An attempt to unite order and exactness of imagery with a subject formed on principles so professedly romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corinthian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I am walking among the modern monuments unsuitably placed in Westminster-abbey.

S E C T. XV.

NOTHING can be more ingeniously contrived than the occasion on which Chaucer's *CANTERBURY TALES* are supposed to be recited. A company of pilgrims, on their journey to visit the shrine of Thomas a Beckett at Canterbury, lodge at the Tabarde-inn in Southwark. Although strangers to each other, they are assembled in one room at supper, as was then the custom; and agree, not only to travel together the next morning, but to relieve the fatigue of the journey by telling each a story ^a. Chaucer undoubtedly intended to imitate Boccacio, whose *DECAMERON* was then the most popular of books, in writing a set of tales. But the circumstance invented by Boccacio, as the cause which gave rise to his *DECAMERON*, or the relation of his hundred stories ^b, is by no means so happily conceived as that of Chaucer for a similar purpose. Boccacio supposes, that when the plague began to abate at Florence, ten young persons of both sexes retired to a country house, two miles from the city, with a design of enjoying fresh air, and passing ten days agreeably. Their principal and established amusement, instead of playing at chess after dinner, was for each to tell a tale. One superiority which, among others, Chaucer's plan afforded above that of Boccacio, was

^a There is an inn at Burford in Oxfordshire, which accommodated pilgrims on their road to Saint Edward's shrine in the abbey of Gloucester. A long room, with a series of Gothic windows, still remains, which was their refectory. Leland mentions such another, *Itin.* ii. 70.

^b It is remarkable, that Boccacio chose a Greek title, that is, *Δεκάμερον*, for his *Tales*. He has also given Greek names to the ladies and gentlemen who recite the tales. His *Eclogues* are full of Greek words. This was natural at the revival of the Greek language.

the opportunity of displaying a variety of striking and dramatic characters, which would not have easily met but on such an expedition. A circumstance which also contributed to give a variety to the stories. And for a number of persons in their situation, so natural, so practicable, so pleasant, I add so rational, a mode of entertainment could not have been imagined.

The *CANTERBURY TALES* are unequal, and of various merit. Few, if any, of the stories are perhaps the invention of Chaucer. I have already spoken at large of the *KNIGHT'S TALE*, one of our author's noblest compositions. That of the *CANTERBURY TALES*, which deserves the next place, as written in the higher strain of poetry, and the poem by which Milton describes and characterises Chaucer, is the *SQUIER'S TALE*. The imagination of this story consists in Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry. Nor is this Arabian fiction purely the sport of arbitrary fancy: it is in great measure founded on Arabian learning. Cambuscan, a king of Tartary, celebrates his birth-day festival in the hall of his palace at Sarra, with the most royal magnificence. In the midst of the solemnity, the guests are alarmed with a miraculous and unexpected spectacle: the minstrells cease on a sudden, and all the assembly is hushed in silence, surprise, and suspense.

While that the king sat thus in his noblay,
Herkining his minstrelis ther thingis play,
Beforn him at his bord deliciously:
In at the hallè dore, ful sodeinly,
There came a knight upon a stede of brafs;
And in his honde a brode mirroür of glafs:
Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring,

The reader will excuse my irregularity in not considering it under the *CANTER-*

BURY TALES. I have here given the reason, which is my apology, in the text.

And

And by his fide a nakid fword hanging.
And up he rideth to the hiè bord:
In all the hall ne was there spoke a word,
For marveile of this knight him to behold^d.

These presents were sent by the king of Araby and Inde to Cambuscan in honour of his feast. The Horie of brafs, on the skillful movement and management of certain secret springs, transported his rider into the most distant region of the world in the space of twenty-four hours; for, as the rider chose, he could fly in the air with the swiftness of an eagle: and again, as occasion required, he could stand motionless in opposition to the strongest force, vanish on a sudden at command, and return at his master's call. The Mirror of glass was endued with the power of shewing any future disasters which might happen to Cambuscan's kingdom, and discovered the most hidden machinations of treason. The Naked Sword could pierce armour deemed impenetrable,

“ Were it as thik as is a branchid oke.”

And he who was wounded with it could never be healed, unless its possessor could be entreated to stroke the wound with its edge. The Ring was intended for Canace, Cambuscan's daughter; and, while she bore it in her purse, or wore it on her thumb, enabled her to understand the language of every species of birds, and the virtues of every plant.

^d v. 96. See a fine romantic story of a Count de Maton: who, while revelling in his hall with many knights, is suddenly alarmed by the entrance of a gigantic figure of a black man, mounted on a black steed. This terrible stranger, without re-

ceiving any obstruction from guards or gates, rides directly forward to the high table; and, with an imperious tone, orders the count to follow him, &c. Nic. Gilles, chron. ann. 1120. See also OBS. FAIR. Qu. §. v. p. 146.

And whan this knight hath first his tale ytold,
 He ridd out of the hall and down he light :
 His Stede, which that shone as the sunnè bright,
 Stant in the court as still as any stone.
 The knight is to his chamber lad anon,
 He is unarmed and to the mete yfette :
 And all these presents full riche bene yfette,
 That is to faine, the Sword and the Mirroür,
 All born anon was unto the high tour,
 With certayn officers ordayned therefore :
 And unto Canace the Ring is bore
 Solemnly ther as she fate at the table^c.

I have mentioned, in another place, the favorite philosophical studies of the Arabians^f. In this poem the nature of those studies is displayed, and their operations exemplified : and this consideration, added to the circumstances of Tartary being the scene of action, and Arabia the country from which these extraordinary presents are brought, induces me to believe this story to be one of the many fables which the Arabians imported into Europe. At least it is formed on their principles. Their sciences were tinged with the warmth of their imaginations ; and consisted in wonderful discoveries and mysterious inventions.

This idea of a horse of brass took its rise from their chemical knowledge and experiments in metals. The treatise of Jeber a famous Arab chemist of the middle ages, called LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM, contains many curious and useful processes concerning the nature of metals, their fusion, purification, and malleability, which still maintain a place in modern systems of that science^g. The poets of romance,

^c v. 188.

^f Diff. i. ii.

^g The Arabians call chemistry, as treating of minerals and metals, SIMIA. From SIM, a word signifying the veins of gold

and silver in the mines. Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 810. b. Hither, among many other things, we might refer Merlin's two dragons of gold finished with most exquisite workmanship, in Geoffrey of Monmouth,

who deal in Arabian ideas, describe the Trojan horse as made of brass^h. These sages pretended the power of giving life or speech to some of their compositions in metal. Bishop Grosthead's speaking brazen head, sometimes attributed to Bacon, has its foundation in Arabian philosophyⁱ. In the romance of VALENTINE and ORSON, a brazen head fabricated by a necromancer in a magnificent chamber of the castle of Clerimond, declares to those two princes their royal parentage^k. We are told by William of Malmesbury, that Pope Sylvester the second, a profound mathematician who lived in the eleventh century, made a brazen head, which would speak when spoken to, and oracularly resolved many difficult questions^l. Albertus Magnus, who was also a profound adept in those sciences which were taught by the Arabian schools, is said to have framed a man of brass; which not only answered questions readily and truly, but was so loquacious, that Thomas Aquinas while a pupil of Albertus Magnus, afterwards a seraphic doctor, knocked it in pieces as the disturber of his abstruse speculations. This was about the year 1240^m. Much in the same manner, the notion of our knight's horse being moved by means of a concealed engine, corresponds with their pretences of producing preternatural effects, and their love of surprising by geometrical powers. Exactly in this notion, Rocail, a giant in some of the Arabian romances, is said to have built a palace, together with his own sepulchre, of most magnificent ar-

mouth, l. viii. c. 17. See also *ibid.* vii. c. 3. Where Merlin prophesies that a brazen man on a brazen horse shall guard the gates of London.

^h See Lydgate's *TROYA BOKE*, B. iv. c. 35. And Gower's *CONF. AMANT.* B. i. f. 13. b. edit. 1554. "A horse of brasse
"thei lette do forge."

ⁱ Gower, *Confes. Amant.* ut *supr.* L. iv. fol. lxiii. a. edit. 1554.

For of the greate clerke Groostest
I red, how redy that he was
Upon clergy a HEAD OF BRASSE
To make, and forge it for to telle
Of such things as *bisell*, &c.

^k Ch. xxviii. seq.

^l De Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 10.
Compare Majer. *Symbolor. Aureæ Mensæ*,
lib. x. p. 453.

^m Delrio, *Disquis. Magic.* lib. i. cap. 4.

chitecture,

chitecture, and with singular artifice: in both of these he placed a great number of gigantic statues, or images, figured of different metals by talismanic skill, which, in consequence of some occult machinery, performed actions of real life, and looked like living menⁿ. We must add, that astronomy, which the Arabian philosophers studied with a singular enthusiasm, had no small share in the composition of this miraculous deed. For, says the poet,

He that it wrought couth many a gin,
He waitid many a constellation
Ere he had don this operation °.

Thus the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, as famous among the orientals as that of Achilles among the Greeks, was fabricated by the powers of astronomy^p. And Pope Sylvester's brazen head, just mentioned, was prepared under the influence of certain constellations.

Natural magic, improperly so called, was likewise a favorite pursuit of the Arabians, by which they imposed false appearances on the spectator. This was blended with their astrology. Our author's FRANKLEIN'S TALE is entirely founded on the miracles of this art.

ⁿ Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. V. ROCAIL. p. 717. a.

^o v. 149. I do not precisely understand the line immediately following.

And knew tul many sele and many a bond.

Sele, i. e. *Seal*, may mean a talismanic sigil used in astrology. Or the Hermetic seal used in chemistry. Or, connected with *Bond*, may signify contracts made with spirits in chemical operations. But all these belong to the Arabian philosophy, and are alike to our purpose. In the Arabian books now extant, are the alphabets out of which they formed Talismans to

draw down spirits or angels. The Arabian word *KIMIA*, not only signifies chemistry, but a magical and superstitious science, by which they bound spirits to their will and drew from them the information required. See Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 810. 1005. The curious and more inquisitive reader may consult Cornelius Agrippa, De Vanit. Scient. cap. xlv. xlv. xlv.

¹ Many mysteries were concealed in the composition of this shield. It destroyed all the charms and enchantments which either demons or giants could make by *goetic* or magic art. Herbelot ubi sup. V. GIAN. p. 396. a.

For

For I am fiker ^a ther be sciences,
By which men maken divers appearances,
Soche as these sotill tragetories ^b plaie :
For oft at festis, I have herdè saie,
That tragetors, within a hallè large,
Have made to comin watir in a barge,
And in the hallè rowin up and down :
Sometime hath semid come a grim liown,
And sometime flouris spring as in a maede ;
Sometimes a vine, and grapis white and rede ;
Sometimes a castill, &c ^c.

Afterwards a magician in the same poem shews various specimens of his art in raising such illusions : and by way of diverting king Aurelius before supper, presents before him parks and forests filled with deer of vast proportion, some of which are killed with hounds and others with arrows. He then shews the king a beautiful lady in a dance. At the clapping of the magician's hands all these deceptions disappear ^d. These feats are said to be performed by consultation of the stars ^e. We frequently read in romances of illusive

^a Sure...

^b Juglers.

^c v. 2700. Urr.

^d But his most capital performance is to remove an immense chain of rocks from the sea-shore : this is done in such a manner, that for the space of one week, "it" "semid all the rockis were away." *ibid.* 2849. By the way, this tale appears to be a translation. He says, "As the boke" "doth me remember." v. 2799. And "From Garumne to the mouth of Seine." v. 2778. The Garonne and Seine are rivers in France.

^e See Frankel. T. v. 2820. p. 111. Urr. The Christians called this one of the diabolical arts of the Saracens or Arabians. And many of their own philosophers, who afterwards wrote on the subject or per-

formed experiments on it's principles, were said to deal with the devil. Witness our Bacon, &c. From Sir John Maundeville's Travels it appears, that these sciences were in high request in the court of the Cham of Tartary about the year 1340. He says, that, at a great festival, on one side of the Emperor's table, he saw placed many philosophers skilled in various sciences, such as astronomy, necromancy, geometry, and pyromancy : that some of these had before them astrolabes of gold and precious stones, others had horologes richly furnished, with many other mathematical instruments, &c. chap. lxxi. Sir John Maundeville began his travels into the East in 1322, and finished his book in 1364. chap. cix. See Johannes Sarisb. Polycrat. L. i. cap. xi. fol. 10. b.

appearances

appearances framed by magicians^w, which by the same powers are made suddenly to vanish. To trace the matter home to its true source, these fictions have their origin in a science which professedly made a considerable part of the Arabian learning^x. In the twelfth century the number of magical and astrological Arabic books translated into Latin was prodigious^y. Chaucer, in the fiction before us, supposes that some of the guests in Cambuscan's hall believed the Trojan horse to be a temporary illusion, effected by the power of magic^z.

An appearaunce ymade by some magike,
As jogleurs playin at these festis grete^a.

In speaking of the metallurgy of the Arabians, I must not omit the sublime imagination of Spenser, or rather some British bard, who feigns that the magician Merlin intended to build a wall of brass about Cairmardin, or Carmarthen; but that being hastily called away by the Lady of the Lake, and slain by her perfidy, he has left his fiends still at work on this mighty structure round their brazen cauldrons, under a rock among the neighbouring woody cliffs of Dynevaure, who dare not desist till their master returns. At this day, says the poet, if you listen at a chink or cleft of the rock,

^w See what is said of Spenser's FALSE FLORIMEL. OBS. SPENS. §. xi. p. 123.

^x Herbelot mentions many oriental pieces, "Qui traittent de cette art pernicieux et defendu." Dict. Orient. V. SCHER. Compare Agrippa, ubi supr. cap. xlii. seq.

^y "Incepit hac ætate etiam turba astrologorum et Magorum, ejus farinae libris una cum aliis de Arabico in Latinum conversis." Conring. Script. Comment. Ben. xiii. cap. 3. p. 125. See also Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. V. KERN. passim.

^z John of Salisbury says, that magicians are those who, among other deceptions, "Rebus adiungunt species suas." Polycrat.

i. 10. fol. 10. b. Agrippa mentions one Pafetes a jugler, who "was wont to shewe to strangers a very sumptuous banquet, and when it pleased him, to cause it vanish away, al they which sate at the table being disapointed both of meate and drinke, &c." Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. p. 62. b. Engl. Transl. ut infr. Du Halde mentions a Chinese enchanter, who, when the Emperour was inconsolable for the loss of his deceased queen, caused her image to appear before him. Hist. Chin. iii. §. iv. See the deceptions of Hakem an Arabian jugler in Herbelot, in. V. p. 412. See supr. p. 393. 394.

^a v. 238.

Such

----- Such gastly noyse of yron chaines
 And brasen cauldrons thou shalt rombling heare,
 Which thousand sprights with long enduring paines
 Do tosse, that it will stunn thy feeble braines.
 And oftentimes great grones and grievous stowndes
 When too huge toile and labour them constraines,
 And oftentimes loud strokes and ringing fowndes
 From under that deepe rocke most horribly reboundes.

X.

The cause some say is this: a little while
 Before that Merlin dyde, he dyd intend
 A BRASEN WALL in compasse to compyle
 About Cairmardin, and did it commend
 Unto those sprights to bring to perfect end:
 During which work the Lady of the Lake,
 Whom long he lov'd for him in haste did send,
 Who therby forst his workemen to forsake,
 Them bounde, till his returne, their labour not to flake.

XI.

In the mean time, through that false ladies traine,
 He was surprizd, and buried under beare,
 Ne ever to his work returnd againe:
 Nathlesse those feends may not their worke forbear,
 So greatly his commandement they feare,
 But there do toyle and travayle night and day,
 Until that BRASEN WALL they up do reare ^b.

This story Spenser borrowed from Giraldus Cambrensis, who during his progress through Wales, in the twelfth century, picked it up among other romantic traditions propa-

^b Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 9 seq.

gated by the British bards ^c. I have before pointed out the source from which the British bards received most of their extravagant fictions.

Optics were likewise a branch of study which suited the natural genius of the Arabian philosophers, and which they pursued with incredible delight. This science was a part of the Aristotelic philosophy; which, as I have before observed, they refined and filled with a thousand extravagancies. Hence our strange knight's MIRROR OF GLASS, prepared on the most profound principles of art, and endued with preternatural qualities.

And some of them wondrin on the mirrour,
That born was up into the master tour :
How men mightin in it such thingis se.
And othir seid, certis it wel might be
Naturally by compositiouns
Of angles, and of fly reflectiouns :
And faide, that at Rome was soche an one,
Thei spak of Alcen and Vitellion,
And Aristote, that writith in their lives
Of queint MIRROURIS, and of PERSPECTIVES ^d.

And again.

The mirrour eke which I have in my hand,
Hath such a might, that men may in it se
When there shall fall any adversite
Unto your reigne, &c. ^e.

Alcen, or Alhazen, mentioned in these lines, an Arabic philosopher, wrote seven books of perspective, and flourished

^c See Girald. Cambrenf. Itin. Cambr. i. c. 6. Hollingsh. Hist. i. 129. And Camden's Brit. p. 734. Drayton has this fiction, which he relates somewhat differently. Polyolb. lib. iv. p. 62. edit. 1613. Hence Bacon's wall of brais about England. ^d v. 244. ^e v. 153.

about the eleventh century. Vitellio, formed on the same school, was likewise an eminent mathematician of the middle ages, and wrote ten books of Perspective. The Roman mirror here mentioned by Chaucer, as similar to this of the strange knight, is thus described by Gower.

When Rome stoode in noble plite
Virgile, which was the parfite,
A mirroure made of his clergie^f
And sette it in the townes eie
Of marbre on a pillar without,
That thei be thyrte mile aboute
By daie and eke also bi night
In that mirroure behold might
Her enemies if any were, &c.^g

The oriental writers relate, that Giamschid, one of their kings, the Solomon of the Persians and their Alexander the Great, possessed, among his inestimable treasures, cups, globes, and mirrors, of metal, glass, and crystal, by means of which, he and his people knew all natural as well as supernatural things. A title of an Arabian book, translated from the Persian, is, "The Mirror which reflects the World." There is this passage in an antient Turkish poet, "When I am purified by the light of heaven my soul will become the *mirror of the world*, in which I shall discern all *abstruse secrets*." Monsieur l'Herbelot is of opinion, that the orientals took these notions from the patriarch Joseph's cup of divination, and Nestor's cup in Homer, on which all nature was symbolically represented^h. Our great countryman Roger

^f Learning. Philosophy.

^g Confess. Amant. l. v. fol. xciv. 6. edit. Berth. 1554. ut sup.

^h Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. V. GIAM. p. 392. col. 2. John of Salisbury men-

tions a species of diviners called SPECULARII, who predicted future events, and told various secrets, by consulting mirrors, and the surfaces of other polished reflecting substances. Polycrat. i. 12. pag. 32. edit. 1595.

Bacon, in his *Opus Majus*, a work entirely formed on the Aristotelic and Arabian philosophy, describes a variety of Specula, and explains their construction and uses ¹. This is the most curious and extraordinary part of Bacon's book, which was written about the year 1270. Bacon's optic tube, with which he pretended to see *future events*, was famous in his age, and long afterwards, and chiefly contributed to give him the name of a magician ². This art, with others of the experimental kind, the philosophers of those times were fond of adapting to the purposes of thaumaturgy; and there is much occult and chimerical speculation in the discoveries which Bacon affects to have made from optical experiments. He asserts, and I am obliged to cite the passage in his own mysterious expressions, "Omnia sciri per Perspectivam, quoniam omnes actiones rerum fiunt secundum specierum et virtutum multiplicationem ab agentibus hujus mundi in materias patientes, &c. ³." Spenser feigns, that the magician Merlin made a *glassie globe*, and presented it to king Ryence, which shewed the approach of enemies, and discovered treasons ⁴. This fiction, which exactly corresponds with Chaucer's *Mirroure*, Spenser borrowed from some romance, perhaps of king Arthur, fraught with oriental fancy. From the same sources came a like fiction of Camoens, in the *Lusiad* ⁵, where a globe is shewn to Vasco de Gama, representing the universal fabric or system of the world, in which he sees future kingdoms and future events. The Spanish historians report an American tradition, but more

¹ Edit. Jebb. p. 253: Bacon, in one of his manuscripts, complains, that no person read lectures in Oxford *De Perspectiva*, before the year 1267. He adds, that in the university of Paris, this science was quite unknown. In *Epist. ad Opus Minus*. Clementi iv. Et ibid. *Op. Min.* iii. cap. ii. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Univ. Oxon. c. 20. In another he affirms, that Julius Cæsar, before he invaded Britain, viewed our harbour and shores with a telescope

from the British coast. MSS. lib. *De Perspectivis*. He accurately describes reading glasses or *spectacles*, *Op. Maj.* p. 236. And the *Camera Obscura*, I believe, is one of his discoveries.

² Wood, *Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* i. 122.

³ *Op. Min.* MSS. ut *supr.*

⁴ *Fairy Queen*, iii. ii. 21.

⁵ *Cant. l. x.*

probably

probably invented by themselves, and built on the Saracen fables, in which they were so conversant. They pretend that some years before the Spaniards entered Mexico, the inhabitants caught a monstrous fowl, of unusual magnitude and shape, on the lake of Mexico. In the crown of the head of this wonderful bird, there was a mirror or plate of glass, in which the Mexicans saw their future invaders the Spaniards, and all the disasters which afterwards happened to their kingdom. These superstitions remained, even in the doctrines of philosophers, long after the darker ages. Cornelius Agrippa, a learned physician of Cologne, about the year 1520, author of a famous book on the Vanity of the Sciences, mentions a species of mirror which exhibited the form of persons absent, at command °. In one of these he is said to have shewn to the poetical earl of Surry, the image of his mistress, the beautiful Geraldine, sick and reposing on a couch p. Nearly allied to this, was the infatuation of *seeing things* in a beryl, which was very popular in the reign of James the first, and is alluded to by Shakespeare. The Arabians were also famous for other machineries of glass, in which their chemistry was more immediately concerned. The philosophers of their school invented a story of a magical steel-glass, placed by Ptolemy on the summit of a lofty pillar near the city of Alexandria, for burning ships at a distance. The Arabians called this pillar *H'madeflaeor*, or the pillar of the Arabians q. I think it is mentioned by Sandys.

° It is diverting in this book to observe the infancy of experimental philosophy, and their want of knowing how to use or apply the mechanical arts which they were even actually possessed of. Agrippa calls the inventor of magnifying glasses, "with-
" out doubt the beginner of all dishonest-
" tie." He mentions various sorts of diminish-
" ing, burning, reflecting, and multi-
" plying glasses, with some others. At length
this profound thinker closes the chapter
with this sage reflection, " All these things

" are vaine and superfluous, and invented
" to no other end but for pompe and idle
" pleasure!" Chap. xxvi. p. 36. A transla-
tion by James Sandford, Lond. 1569. 4to.
Bl. Let.

p Drayton's Heroical Epit. p. 87. b.
edit. 1598.

q The same fablers have adapted a simi-
lar fiction to Hercules: that he erected pil-
lars at Cape Finetterre, on which he raised
magical looking-glasses. In an eastern
romance,

Roger Bacon has left a manuscript tract on the formation of burning-glasses^r: and he relates that the first burning-glass which he constructed cost him sixty pounds of Parisian money^s. Ptolemy, who seems to have been confounded with Ptolemy the Egyptian astrologer and geographer, was famous among the eastern writers and their followers for his skill in operations of glass. Spenser mentions a miraculous tower of glass built by Ptolemy, which concealed his mistress the Egyptian Phao, while the invisible inhabitant viewed all the world from every part of it.

Great Ptolomee it for his leman's sake
Ybuidled *all of glass* by magicke power,
And also it impregnable did make^t.

But this magical fortress, although impregnable, was easily broken in pieces at one stroke by the builder, when his mistress ceased to love. One of Boyardo's extravagancies is a prodigious wall of glass built by some magician in Africa, which obviously betrays its foundation in Arabian fable and Arabian philosophy^u.

The Naked Sword, another of the gifts presented by the strange knight to Cambuscan, endued with medical virtues,

romance, called the SEVEN WISE MASTERS, of which more will be said hereafter, at the siege of Hur in Persia, certain philosophers terrified the enemy by a device of placing a habit (says an old English translation) "of a giant-like proportion, "on a tower, and covering it with burning-glasses, looking-glasses of cristall, and "other glasses of several colours, wrought "together in a marvellous order, &c." ch. xvii. p. 182. edit. 1674. The Constantinopolitan Greeks possessed these arts in common with the Arabians. See Morifotus, ii. 3. Who says, that in the year 751, they set fire to the Saracen fleet before Constantinople by means of burning glasses.

^r MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 183. And Arch. A. 149. But I think it was printed at Francfort, 1614. 4^{to}.

^s Twenty pounds sterling. Compend. Stud. Theol. c. i. p. 5. MS.

^t Fairy Queen, iii. ii. 20.

^u Hither we might also refer Chaucer's House of Fame, which is built of glass, and Lydgate's TEMPLE OF GLASS. It is said in some romances written about the time of the Crusades, that the city of Damascus was walled with glass. See Hall's VIRGIDEM. or Satyres, &c. B. iv. S. 6. written in 1597.

Or of Damascus magicke wall of glass,
Or Solomon his sweating piles of brasle, &c.

and

and so hard as to pierce the most solid armour, is likewise an Arabian idea. It was suggested by their skill in medicine, by which they affected to communicate healing qualities to various substances ^w, and from their knowledge of tempering iron and hardening all kinds of metal ^x. It is the classical spear of Peleus, perhaps originally fabricated in the same regions of fancy.

And othir folk han wondrid on the Sworde,
That wold so percin thorow everie thing;
And fell in speche of Telephus the king,
And of Achilles for his quyntè spere
For he couth with it bothè hele and dere ^y
Right in soche wise as men may by that sworde,
Of which right now you have your selfis harde.
Thei spake of fundri harding of metall
And spake of medicinis ther withall,
And how and when it sholdin hardin be, &c ^z.

The sword which Berni in the *ORLANDO INNAMORATO*, gives to the hero Ruggiero, is tempered by much the same sort of magic.

Quel brando con tal tempra fabbricato,
Che taglia incanto ad ogni fatatura ^a.

So also his continuator Ariosto,

Non vale incanto, ov'elle mette il taglio ^b.

^w The notion, mentioned before, that every stone of Stone-henge was washed with juices of herbs in Africa, and tintured with healing powers, is a piece of the same philosophy.

^x Montfaucon cites a Greek chemist of the dark ages, "CHRISTIANI LABY-

"RINTHUS SALOMONIS, de temperando
"ferro, conficiendo crystallo, et de aliis
"naturæ arcanis." Palæogr. Gr. p. 375-

^y Hurt. Wound.

^z v. 256.

^a Orl. Innam. ii. 17. st. 13.

^b Orl. Fur. xii. 83.

And

And the notion that this weapon could resist all incantations, is like the fiction above-mentioned of the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, which baffled the force of charms and enchantments made by giants or demons^c. Spenser has a sword endued with the same efficacy, the metal of which the magician Merlin mixed with the juice of meadow-wort, that it might be proof against enchantment; and afterwards, having forged the blade in the flames of Etna, he gave it hidden virtue by dipping it seven times in the bitter waters of Styx^d. From the same origin is also the golden lance of Berni, which Galafron king of Cathaia, father of the beautiful Angelica and the invincible champion Argalia, procured for his son by the help of a magician. This lance was of such irresistible power, that it unhorsed a knight the instant he was touched with its point.

----- Una lancia d'oro,
Fatto con arte, e con sottil lavoro.
E quella lancia di natura tale,
Che resister non puossi alla sua spinta;
Forza, o destrezza contra lei non vale,
Convien che l'una, e l'altra resti vinta:
Incanto, a cui non è nel mondo eguale,
L'ha di tanta possanza intorno cinta,
Che nè il conte di Brava, nè Rinaldo,
Nè il mondo al colpo suo starebbe saldo^e.

Britormart in Spenser is armed with the same enchanted spear, which was made by Bladud an antient British king skilled in magic^f.

^c Amadis de Gaul has such a sword. See Don Quixote, B. iii. Ch. iv.

^d Fairy Queen, ii. viii. 20. See also Ariost. xix. 84.

^e Orl. Innam. i. i. st. 43. See also, i.

ii. st. 20, &c. And Ariosto, viii. 17. xviii. 118. xxiii. 15.

^f Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 60. iv. 6. 6. iii. 1. 4.

The Ring, a gift to the king's daughter Canace, which taught the language of birds, is also quite in the style of some others of the occult sciences of these inventive philosophers^c: and it is the fashion of the oriental fabulists to give language to brutes in general. But to understand the language of birds, was peculiarly one of the boasted sciences of the Arabians; who pretend that many of their countrymen have been skilled in the knowledge of the language of birds, ever since the time of king Solomon. Their writers relate, that Balkis the queen of Sheba, or Saba, had a bird called *Hudbud*, that is, a lapwing, which she dispatched to king Solomon on various occasions; and that this trusty bird was the messenger of their amours. We are told, that Solomon having been secretly informed by this winged confidant, that Balkis intended to honour him with a grand embassy, enclosed a spacious square with a wall of gold and silver bricks, in which he ranged his numerous troops and attendants in order to receive the ambassadors, who were astonished at the suddenness of these splendid and unexpected preparations^d. Monsieur l'Herbelot tells a curious story of an Arab feeding his camels in a solitary wilderness, who was accosted for a draught of water by Alhejaj a famous Arabian commander, and who had been separated from his retinue in hunting. While they were talking together, a bird flew over their heads, making at the same time an unusual sort of noise; which the camel-feeder hearing, looked steadfastly on Alhejaj, and demanded who he was. Alhejaj, not choosing to return him a direct answer, desired to know the reason of that question. "Because," replied the camel-feeder, this "bird assured me, that a company of people is coming this

^c Rings are a frequent implement in romantic enchantment. Among a thousand instances, see Orland. Innams i. 14. Where

the palace and gardens of Dragontina vanish at Angelica's ring of virtue.

^d Herbelot, Dict. Oriental. V. BALKIS, p. 182.

“ way, and that you are the chief of them.” While he was speaking, Alhejaj’s attendants arrived¹.

This wonderful ring also imparted to the wearer a knowledge of the qualities of plants, which formed an important part of the Arabian philosophy².

The vertues of this ring if ye woll here
 Are these, that if she list it for to were,
 Upon her thomb, or in her purse it bere,
 There is no fowle that fleith undir heven
 That she ne shal wele understond his steven¹,
 And know his mening opinly and plain,
 And answere him in his language againe.
 And everie grasse that growith upon rote,
 She shal wele knowe, and whom it woll do bote :
 All be his woundis never so depe and wide².

Every reader of taste and imagination must regret, that instead of our author’s tedious detail of the quaint effects of Canace’s ring, in which a falcon relates her amours, and talks familiarly of Troilus, Paris, and Jason, the notable achievements we may suppose to have been performed by the assistance of the horse of brass, are either lost, or that this part of the story, by far the most interesting, was never written. After the strange knight has explained to Cambuscan the management of this magical courser, he vanishes on a sudden, and we hear no more of him.

And aftir suppir goth this nobil king
 To fene this Horse of Brasse, with all his rout
 Of lordis and of ladies him about :

¹ See Herbel. ubi sup. V. HEGIAGE EBN YUSEF AL THAKEFI. p. 442. This Arabian commander was of the eighth century. In the SEVEN WISE MASTERS, one of the tales is founded on the language of birds. Ch. xvi.

² See what is said of this in the DIS-SERTATIONS.

¹ Language.

² V. 100.

Soch wondering was ther on this Horſe of Braſs",
 That fithin the grete ſiege of Troyè was,
 Ther as men wondrid on an horſe alſo,
 Ne was ther ſoch a wondering as was tho °.
 But finally the king aſkith the knight
 The vertue of this courſere and the might ;
 And prayid him to tell his governaunce :
 The hors anon gan forth to trip and daunce,
 When that the knight laid hold upon his reine.—
 Enfourmid when the king was of the knight,
 And hath conceivid in his wit aright,
 The mannir and the form of all the thing,
 Full glad and blyth, this nobil doubty king
 Repairith to his revell as beforne :
 The brydil is into the Toure yborn,
 And kept among his jewels ° lefe and dere :
 The horſe vaniſhith : I not in what manere ¹.

By ſuch inventions we are willing to be deceived. Theſe
 are the triumphs of deception over truth.

Magnanima menſogna, hor quando è al vero
 Si bello, che ſi poſſa à te preporre ?

THE CLERKE OF OXENFORDES TALE, or the ſtory of Patient Grifilde, is the next of Chaucer's Tales in the ſerious ſtyle which deſerves mention. The Clerke declares in his Prologue, that he learned this tale of Petrarch at Padua.

° Cervantes mentions a horſe of wood, which, like this of Chaucer, on turning a pin in his forehead, carried his rider through the air. This horſe, Cervantes adds, was made by Merlin for Peter of Provence ; with which that valorous knight carried off the fair Magalona. From what romance Cervantes took this I do not recollect : but the reader ſees its correſpon-

dence with the fiction of Chaucer's horſe, and will refer it to the ſame original. See Don Quixote, B. iii. ch. 8. We have the ſame thing in VALENTINE AND ORSON, ch. xxxi.

° Then.

p Jocalia. Precious things.

¹ v. 322. ſeq. 355. ſeq.

But it was the invention of Boccacio, and is the last in his *DECAMERON*'. Petrarch, although most intimately connected with Boccacio for near thirty years, never had seen the *Decameron* till just before his death. It accidentally fell into his hands, while he resided at Arque between Venice and Padua, in the year one thousand three hundred and seventy-four. The tale of Grifilde struck him the most of any: so much, that he got it by heart to relate it to his friends at Padua. Finding that it was the most popular of all Boccacio's tales, for the benefit of those who did not understand Italian, and to spread its circulation, he translated it into Latin with some alterations. Petrarch relates this in a letter to Boccacio; and adds, that on shewing the translation to one of his Paduan friends, the latter, touched with the tenderness of the story, burst into such frequent and violent fits of tears, that he could not read to the end. In the same letter he says, that a Veronese having heard of the Paduan's exquisiteness of feeling on this occasion, resolved to try the experiment. He read the whole aloud from the beginning to the end, without the least change of voice or countenance; but on returning the book to Petrarch, confessed that it was an affecting story: "I should have wept, added he, like the Paduan, had I thought the story true. But the whole is "a manifest fiction. There never was, nor ever will be, "such a wife as Grifilde'." Chaucer, as our Clerke's declaration in the Prologue seems to imply, received this tale from Petrarch, and not from Boccacio: and I am inclined to think, that he did not take it from Petrarch's Latin translation, but that he was one of those friends to whom Petrarch used to relate it at Padua. This too seems sufficiently pointed out in the words of the Prologue.

' Giorn. x. Nov. 10. Dryden, in the superficial but lively Preface to his Fables, says, "The Tale of Grifilde was the invention of Petrarch: by him sent to

"Boccace, from whom it came to Chaucer."

' Vie de Petrarch, iii. 797.

I wolle you telle a talè which that I
Lernid at Padow of a worthie clerke :—
Frauncis Petrarke, the laureate poete,
Hightin this clerke, whose rhetorike so swete
Enluminid Italie of poetrie¹.

Chaucer's tale is also much longer, and more circumstantial, than Boccacio's. Petrarch's Latin translation from Boccacio was never printed. It is in the royal library at Paris, and in that of Magdalene college at Oxford².

The story soon became so popular in France, that the comedians of Paris represented a Mystery in French verse entitled *LE MYSTERE DE GRISEILDIS MARQUIS DE SALUCES*, in the year 1393³. Lydgate, almost Chaucer's cotemporary, in his manuscript poem entitled the *TEMPLE OF GLASS*⁴, among the celebrated lovers painted on the walls of the temple⁵,

¹ v. 1057. p. 96. Urr. Afterwards Petrarch is mentioned as dead. He died of an apoplexy, Jul. 18. 1374. See v. 2168.

² Viz. "Vita Griseildis per Fr. Petrar-
cham de vulgari in Latinam linguam tra-
ducta." But Rawlinson cites, "Epistola
Francisci Petrarchæ de insigni obedientia
et fide uxoria Griseildis in Waltherum
Ulme, impress." per me R. . . . A. D.
1823. MS. Not. in Mattairii Typogr.
Hist. i. i. p. 104. In Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.
Among the royal manuscripts, in the Bri-
tish Museum, there is, "Fr. Petrarchæ
super Historiam Walterii Marchionis et
Griseildis uxoris ejus." 8. B. vi. 17.

³ It was many years afterwards printed
at Paris, by Jean Bonnefons. The writers
of the French stage do not mention this
piece. See p. 246. Their first theatre is that
of Saint Maur, and its commencement is
placed five years later, in the year 1398.
Afterwards Apostolo Zeno wrote a theatri-
cal piece on this subject in Italy. I need
not mention that it is to this day repre-
sented in England, on a stage of the lowest
species, and of the highest antiquity: I mean
at a puppet-show. The French have this
story in their *PAREMENT DES DAMES*,
see Mem. Lit. Tom. ii p. 743. 4^o.

⁴ And in a *Balade*, translated by Lyd-
gate from the Latin, "Griseilde's humble
patience" is recorded. Urr. Ch. p. 550.
v. 108.

⁵ There is a more curious mixture in *Chau-
cer's Balade to king Henry iv.* Where Alex-
ander, Hector, Julius Cesar, Judas Mac-
cabeus, David, Joshua, Charlemagne, God-
frey of Bulloign, and king Arthur, are all
thrown together as antient heroes. v. 281.
seq. But it is to be observed, that the
French had a metrical romance called *Judas
Maccabée*, begun by Gualtier de Belle-
perche, before 1240. It was finished a few
years afterwards by Pierros du Riez. Fauch.
p. 197. See also Lydgate, Urr. Chauc. p.
550. v. 89. M. de la Curne de Sainte
Palaye, has given us an extract of an old
Provencal poem, in which, among heroes
of love and gallantry, are enumerated Paris,
Sir Tristram, Ivaine the inventor of gloves
and other articles of elegance in dress,
Apollonius of Tyre, and king Arthur.
Mem. Chev. Extr. de Poef. Prov. ii. p. 154.
In a French romance, *Le livre de cuer a'
amour espris*, written 1457, the author in-
troduces the blasfoning of the arms of several
celebrated lovers: among which are king
David.

mentions Dido, Medea and Jason, Penelope, Alcestis, PATIENT GRISILDE, Bel Isoulde and Sir Tristram ², Pyramus and Thisbe, Theseus, Lucretia, Canace, Palamon and Emilia ³.

The pathos of this poem, which is indeed exquisite, chiefly consists in invention of incidents, and the contrivance of the story, which cannot conveniently be developed in this place: and it will be impossible to give any idea of its essential excellence by exhibiting detached parts. The versification is equal to the rest of our author's poetry.

David, Nero, Mark Antony, Theseus, Hercules, Eneas, Sir Lancelot, Sir Tristram, Arthur duke of Bretagne, Gaston du Foix, many French dukes, &c. Mem. Lit. viii. p. 592. edit. 4to. The chevalier Bayard, who died about the year 1524, is compared to Scipio, Hannibal, Theseus, king David, Samson, Judas Maccabeus, Orlando, Godfrey of Bulloign, and mon-

sieur de Palisse, marshal of France. LA VIE ET LES GESTES DU PREUX CHEVALIER BAYARD, &c. Printed 1525.

² From MORTE ARTHUR. They are mentioned in Chaucer's ASSEMBLIE OF FOWLES, v. 290. See also Compl. Bl. Kn. v. 367.

³ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 16.

S E C T. XVI.

THE TALE of the NONNES PRIEST is perhaps a story of English growth. The figment of Dan Burnell's Afs is taken from a Latin poem entitled SPECULUM STULTORUM^a, written by Nigellus de Wireker, monk and precentor of Canterbury cathedral, a profound theologist, who flourished about the year 1200^b. The narrative of the two pilgrims is borrowed from Valerius Maximus^c. It is also related by Cicero, a less known and a less favorite author^d. There is much humour in the description of the prodigious confusion which happened in the farm-yard after the fox had conveyed away the cock.

-----Aftir him they ran,
And eke with stavis many anothir man.
Ran Coll our dogge, Talbot, and eke Garlond^e,
And Malkin with her distaffe in her hond.
Ran cowe and calfe, and eke the very hogges.----
The duckis cryed as men would hem quell^f,
The geese for fere flewin ovir the trees,
Out of the hivis came the swarme of bees^g.

Even Jack Strawe's insurrection, a recent transaction, was not attended with so much noise and disturbance.

^a v. 1427. p. 172. Urr.

^b Or John of Salisbury. Printed at Cologne in 1449.

^c v. 1100.

^d See Val. Max. i. 7. And Cic. de Divinat. i. 27.

^e Names of dogs.

^f Kill.

^g v. 1496.

So hidious was the noise, *ah Benedicite!*
 Certes ne Jacke Strawe, ne all his meine,
 Ne madin nevir shoutis half so shrill, &c.^b.

The importance and affectation of sagacity with which dame Partlett communicates her medical advice, and displays her knowledge in physick, is a ridicule on the state of medicine and its professorsⁱ.

In another strain, the cock is thus beautifully described, and not without some striking and picturesque allusions to the manners of the times.

----A cocke hight chaunticlere,
 In al the land of crowing nas his pere.
 His voice was merier than the merie organ
 On masse-daiës that in the churchis gon.
 Wel fikerer^l was his crowing in his loge^m
 Than is a clock, or abbey horologe.----
 His comb was reddir than the fine corall,
 And battelledⁿ as it were a castill wall,
 His bake was blacke as any get it shone,
 Like asure were his leggis, and his tone^o:
 His nailis whiter than the lillie floure,
 And like the burnid golde was his colore^p.

In this poem the fox is compared to the three arch-traitors Judas Iscariot, Virgil's Sinon, and Ganilion who betrayed the Christian army under Charlemagne to the Saracens, and is mentioned by archbishop Turpin^q. Here also are cited, as writers of high note or authority, Cato, Physiologus or Pliny the elder, Boethius on music, the author of the legend

^b v. 1509. This is a proof that the
 CANTERBURY TALES were not written
 till after the year 1381.

ⁱ v. 1070.

^k Organ.

^l Clearer.

^m Pen. Yard.

ⁿ Embattelled.

^o Toes.

^p v. 962.

^q v. 1341. See also Monk. T. v. 806.

of the life of saint Kenelme, Josephus, the historian of Sir Lancelot du Lake, Saint Austin, bishop Brawardine, Jeffrey Vinesauf who wrote a monody in Latin verse on the death of king Richard the first, Ecclesiastes, Virgil, and Macrobius.

Our author's JANUARY and MAY, or the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, seems to be an old Lombard story. But many passages in it are evidently taken from the POLYCRATICON of John of Salisbury. *De molestiis et oneribus conjugiorum secundum Hieronymum et alios philosophos. Et de perniciē libidinis. Et de mulieris Ephefinæ et similibus fide* ¹. And by the way, about forty verses belonging to this argument are translated from the same chapter of the POLYCRATICON, in the WIFE OF BATH'S Prologue ². In the mean time it is not improbable, that this tale might have originally been oriental. A Persian tale is just published which it extremely resembles ³; and it has much of the allegory of an eastern apologue.

The following description of the wedding-feast of January and May is conceived and expressed with a distinguished degree of poetical elegance.

Thus ben thei weddid with solempnite,
And at the feste sittith both he and she,

¹ L. viii. c. 11. fol. 193. b. edit. 1513.

² Mention is made in this Prologue of St. Jerom and Theophrast, on that subject, v. 671. 674. The author of the Polycraticon quotes Theophrastus from Jerom, viz. "Fertur auctore Hieronimo aureolus Theophrasti libellus de non ducenda uxore." fol. 194. a. Chaucer likewise, on this occasion, cites *Valerie*, v. 671. This is not the favorite historian of the middle ages, Valerius Maximus. It is a book written by Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, under the assumed name of Valerius, entitled, *Valerius ad Rufinum de non ducenda uxore*. This piece is in the Bodleian library with a large Gloss. MSS. Dibg. 166. ii. 147. Mapes perhaps adopted this name, because one Va-

lerius had written a treatise on the same subject, inserted in St. Jerom's works. Some copies of this Prologue, instead of "Valerie and Theophrast," read *Paraphrast*. If that be the true reading, which I do not believe, Chaucer alludes to the gloss above-mentioned. *Helowis*, cited just afterwards, is the celebrated Eloisa. Trotula is mentioned, v. 677. Among the manuscripts of Merton College in Oxford; is, "Trotula Mulier Salernitana de passionibus mulierum." There is also extant, "Trotula, seu potius Erotis medici muliebrium liber." Basil. 1586, 4to. See also Montfauc. Catal. MSS. p. 385. And Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. p. 439.

³ By Mr. Dow, ch. xv. p. 252.

With othir worthy folk upon the deis^u :
 All ful of joye and blifs is the paleis,
 And ful of instruments and of vitaile,
 And the most dayntyist of al Itaile.
 Before him stode soche instruments of sounne,
 That Orpheus, ne of Thebis Amphioune
 Ne madin nevir soche a melodie ;
 At everie cours cam the loud minstralcie,
 That never Joab trompid^w, for to here,
 Neither Theodamas yet half so clere,
 At Thebis, when the cite was in dout^y.
 Bacchus the wine them skinkith^z al about,
 And Venus laugith blithe on everie wight,
 For January was become her knight,
 And wold in both assayin his corage
 In liberty and eke in marriage,
 And with her firebronde in her hond aboute
 Dauncith before the bride and al the route.
 And certainly I dare say wel right this,
 Hymeneus that god of wedding is
 Saw never so mery a wedded man.
 Hold thou thy peace, thou poet Marcian^a,
 That writist us that ilk wedding mery
 Of Philology and of Mercury,
 And of the songis that the Muses song ;
 Too small is both thy pen, and eke thy tong,

^u I have explained this word, p. 40. But will here add some new illustrations of it. Undoubtedly the high table in a public refectory, as appears from these words in Matthew Paris, " Priore prandente ad MAGNAM " MENSAM quam DAIS vulgo appellamus." In Vit. Abbat. S. Albani, p. 92. And again the same writer says, that a cup, with a foot, or stand, was not permitted in the hall of the monastery, " Nisi tantum in MA- " JORI MINSA quam DAIS appellamus." Additam. p. 148. There is an old French word, DAIS, which signifies a throne, or

canopy, usually placed over the head of the principal person at a magnificent feast. Hence it was transferred to the *table* at which he sate. In the antient French *Roman de Garin* ;

Au plus haut DAIS s'ist roy Anseis.
 Either at the first table, or, which is much the same thing, under the highest canopy.

^w Such as Joab never, &c.

^y Danger.

^z Fill, pour.

^a See *supr*, p. 391.

For to descrivin of his marriage,
 When tendir Youth has married stooping Age.—
 MAY that fittin with so benign a chere
 That her to behold it semed a feirie^a:
 Quene Hester lokid ner with soch an eye
 On Affuere, so meke a loke hath she:
 I may you not devis al her bewte,
 But thus much of her bewte tel I may
 That she was like the bright morowe of May,
 Fulfilled of all bewte and plesaunce.
 Tho JANUARY is ravished in a trance
 At everie time he lokid in her face,
 But in his hert he gan her to menace, &c.^b

Dryden and Pope have modernised the two last mentioned poems. Dryden the tale of the NONNES PRIEST, and Pope that of JANUARY and MAY: intending perhaps to give patterns of the best of Chaucer's Tales in the comic species. But I am of opinion that the MILLER'S TALE has more true humour than either. Not that I mean to palliate the levity of the story, which was most probably chosen by Chaucer in compliance with the prevailing manners of an unpolished age, and agreeable to ideas of festivity not always the most delicate and refined. Chaucer abounds in liberties of this kind, and this must be his apology. So does Boccacio, and perhaps much more, but from a different cause. The licentiousness of Boccacio's tales, which he composed *per cacciar le malincolia delle femine*, to amuse the ladies, is to be vindicated, at least accounted for, on other principles: it was not so much the consequence of popular incivility, as it was owing to a particular event of the writer's age. Just before Boccacio wrote, the plague at Florence had totally changed the customs and manners of the people. Only a few of the

^a A phantasy, enchantment.

^b v. 1225. Urr.

women had survived this fatal malady; who having lost their husbands, parents, or friends, gradually grew regardless of those constraints and customary formalities which before of course influenced their behaviour. For want of female attendants, they were obliged often to take men only into their service: and this circumstance greatly contributed to destroy their habits of delicacy, and gave an opening to various freedoms and indecencies unsuitable to the sex, and frequently productive of very serious consequences. As to the monasteries, it is not surprising that Boccacio should have made them the scenes of his most libertine stories. The plague had thrown open their gates. The monks and nuns wandered abroad, and partaking of the common liberties of life, and the levities of the world, forgot the rigour of their institutions, and the severity of their ecclesiastical characters. At the ceasing of the plague, when the religious were compelled to return to their cloisters, they could not forsake their attachment to these secular indulgences; they continued to practice the same free course of life, and would not submit to the disagreeable and unsocial injunctions of their respective orders. Cotemporary historians give a shocking representation of the unbounded debaucheries of the Florentines on this occasion: and ecclesiastical writers mention this period as the grand epoch of the relaxation of monastic discipline. Boccacio did not escape the censure of the church for these compositions. His conversion was a point much laboured; and in expiation of his follies, he was almost persuaded to renounce poetry and the heathen authors, and to turn Carthusian. But, to say the truth, Boccacio's life was almost as loose as his writings; till he was in great measure reclaimed by the powerful remonstrances of his master Petrarch, who talked much more to the purpose than his confessor. This Boccacio himself acknowledges in the fifth of his eclogues, which like those
of

of Petrarch are enigmatical and obscure, entitled PHILOSOTROPHOS.

But to return to the MILLER'S TALE. The character of the Clerke of Oxford, who studied astrology, a science then in high repute, but under the specious appearance of decorum, and the mask of the serious philosopher, carried on intrigues, is painted with these lively circumstances.

This clerke yclepid was hend Nicholas ^c,
Of dernè ^d love he couth and of folas :
And therto was he flie, and right prive,
And like unto a maidin for to fe.
A chambre had he in that hostelrie ^e
Alone, withoutin any company,
Ful fetously ydight with herbis sote ^f;
And he himself as fwete as in the rote ^g
Of licoris, or any seduwall ^h.
His almagist ⁱ, and bokis grate and small,
His afterlagour ^k longing for his art,
His augrim stonis ^l lying feire apart,

^c The gentle Nicholas.

^d Secret.

^e *Hospitium*, one of the old hostels at Oxford, which were very numerous before the foundation of the colleges. This is one of the citizens houses : a circumstance which gave rise to the story.

^f Sweet.

^g Root.

^h The herb Valerian.

ⁱ A book of astronomy written by Ptolemy. It was in thirteen books. He wrote also four books of judicial astrology. He was an Egyptian astrologist, and flourished under Marcus Antoninus. He is mentioned in the *Sompnour's Tale*, v. 1025, and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, v. 324.

^k Afterlabore. An astrolabe.

^l Stones for computation. Augrim is *Algorithm*, the sum of the principal rules of

common arithmetic. Chaucer was himself an adept in this sort of knowledge. The learned Selden is of opinion, that his *Astrolabe* was compiled from the Arabian astronomers and mathematicians. See his Pref. to Notes on Drayt. Polyolb. p. 4. where the word *Dulcannon*, (*Troil. Cr.* iii. 933, 935.) is explained to be an Arabic term for a root in calculation. His CHANON YEMAN'S TALE, proves his intimate acquaintance with the Hermetic philosophy, then much in vogue. There is a statute of Henry the fifth, against the transmutation of metals, in Statut. an. 4 Hen. V. cap. iv. viz. A.D. 1416. Chaucer, in the *Astrolabe*, refers to two famous mathematicians and astronomers of his time, John Some, and Nicholas Lynne, both Carmelite friars of Oxford, and perhaps his friends, whom he calls "reverent clerkes." *Astrolabe*, p. 440. col. i. Urr. They

On shelveis, al couchid at his beddis hede ;
 His presse ^m ycoverid with a folding rede :
 And all above there lay a gay fautrie ⁿ,
 On which he made on nightis melodie
 So swetely that al the chamber rung,
 And *Angelus ad Virginem* he fung°.

In the description of the young wife of our philosopher's host, there is great elegance with a mixture of burlesque allusions. Not to mention the curiosity of a female portrait, drawn with so much exactness at such a distance of time.

Faire was this yongè wife, and therewithall
 As a wefill ^p her bodie gent and small.
 A feint she werid, barrid all with silk ^r,
 A barmecloth ^s eke, as white as morrow milk,
 Upon her lendis, full of many a gore ^t.
 White was her smok, embroudid all bifore ^u,
 And eke behind, on her colere about,
 Of coleblak silk, within, and eke without.
 The tapis ^v of her whitè volipere ^x
 Were of the samè sute of her colere ^y.

They both wrote calendars, which, like Chaucer's Astrolabe, were constructed for the meridian of Oxford. Chaucer mentions Alcabucius, an astronomer, that is, Abdilazi Alchabitius, whose Ifagege in astrologiam was printed at Venice, 1485, 4^{to}. Ib. fol. 440. col. ii. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 963. b. V. KETAB. *Astrolab*. p. 141. a. Nicholas Lyne abovementioned is said to have made several voyages to the most northerly parts of the world; charts of which he presented to Edward the third. Perhaps to Iceland, and the coasts of Norway, for astronomical observations. These charts are lost. Hakluyt apud Anderson. Hist. Com. i. p. 191. sub. ann. 1360. (See Hakl. Voy. i. 121. seq. ed. 1598.)

^m Press.

ⁿ Pfaltery. An instrument like a harp.

^o v. 91. p. 24. Urr.

^p Weasle.

^r "A girdle edged with silk." But we have no exact idea of what is here meant by *barrid*. See *supr.* p. 377. The Doctor of PHISICKE is "girt with a *jiint* of silk" with *barris* female." Prol. v. 138. I once conjectured *barded*. See Hollingsh. Chron. iii. 84. col. ii. 850. col. i. &c. &c.

^s Apron.

^t Plait. Fold.

^u Edged. Adorned.

^v Tapes. Strings.

^x Head-dress.

^y Collar.

Her fillit ^u brode of filke, and fet ful hie,
 And fikerly ^w she had a licorous eie.
 Full small ypullid ^x were her browis two,
 And tho ^y were bent ^z and blak as any flo.
 And she was moche more blisfull for to se
 Than is the newè perienet ^a tre;
 And softer than the wool is of a wether :
 And by her girdil hong a purse of lether,
 Tassid ^b with filke, and parlid ^c with latoun ^d.
 In all this world to sekin up and down,
 There nis no man so wise that couthe thence
 So gay a popelete ^e or so gay a wench.
 Full brightir was the shining of her hewe
 Than in the Towre the noble ^f forgid newe.
 But of her song she was so loud and yerne ^g,
 As any swallow sitting on a berne.
 Therto she couthe skip, and make a game,
 As any kid or calfe foll'wing her dame.
 Hir mouth was swete as brackit ^h or the methe,
 Or hord of applis layd in hay or heth.
 Winsing she was as is a jolly colt,
 Long as a mast, and upright as a bolt ⁱ.
 A broche ^k she bare upon her low collere
 As brode as is the bosse of a bokelere ^l.
 Her shoes were lacid on her leggis hie, &c ^m.

Nicholas, as we may suppose, was not proof against the charms of his blooming hostess. He has frequent opportu-

^u Knot. Top-knot.

^w Certainly.

^x "Made small or narrow, by plucking."

^y They.

^z Arched.

^a A young pear-tree. Fr. *Poir jeunet*.

^b Tasseled. Fringed.

^c I would read purfild.

^d Latoun, or chekelaton, is cloth of gold.

^e "So pretty a puppet."

^f A piece of money.

^g Shrill.

^h Bragget. A drink made of honey, spices, &c.

ⁱ "Straight as an arrow."

^k A jewel.

^l Buckler.

^m v. 125. Urr.

nities of conversing with her: for her husband is the carpenter of Ofeney Abbey near Oxford, and often absent in the woods belonging to the monasteryⁿ. His rival is Absalom, a parish-clerk, the gaiest of his calling, who being amorously inclined, very naturally avails himself of a circumstance belonging to his profession: on holidays it was his business to carry the censer about the church, and he takes this opportunity of casting unlawful glances on the handsomest dames of the parish. His gallantry, agility, affectation of dress and personal elegance, skill in shaving and surgery, smattering in the law, taste for music, and many other accomplishments, are thus inimitably represented by Chaucer, who must have much relished so ridiculous a character.

Now was ther of the chirch a parish clerke,
 The which that was yclepid Absalon,
 Crull was his heere, and as the gold it shone,
 And stroutid as a fannè longe and brode,
 Ful straigh and even lay his jolly shode^o.
 His rude^p was redde, his eyin gray as gose,
 With Poulis windows carvin on his shofe^q.
 In hofin red he went ful fetously:
 Yclad he was ful smale and propirly
 Al in a kirtil^r of a light watchet,
 Ful fayre, and thickè be the pointis fet:
 And thereuppon he hadde a gaie surplice
 As white as is the blofome on the rice^s.
 A merie child he was, so god me save,
 Well couth he lettin blode, and clip, and shave.

ⁿ See v. 557.

---I trow that he bewent
 For timber, there our abbot hath him sent:
 For he is wont for timber for to go,
 And dwellin at the grange a day or two.

^o Hair.

^p Complexion.

^q See p. 379. *supr.*

^r Jacket.

^s Hawthorn.

Or make a chartre of land or acquittaunce ;
In twentie manir couth he trip and daunce,
After the schole of Oxenfordi tho,
And with his leggis castin to and fro.
And pleyin songis on a smale ribible ¹,
Therto he sometimes foud a long quible ¹.

His manner of making love must not be omitted. He serenades her with his guittar.

He wakith al the night, and al the day,
He kembith his lockes brode, and made him gay.
He woith her by menis and brocage ²,
And swore that he would ben her ownè page.
He fingith broking ³ as a nightingale.
He sent her piment ⁴, methe, and spicid ale,
And wafirs piping hot out of the glede ⁵,
And, for she was of town, he proffred mede ⁶.---

¹ v. 224. A species of guittar. Lydgate, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairf. 16. In a poem never printed, called *Reason and Sensualite*, compiled by John Lydgate.

Lutys, rubibis, (l. ribibles) and geternes, More for estatys than tavernes.

² Treble.

³ By offering money : or a settlement.

⁴ Quavering.

⁵ Explained above, p. 178.

⁶ The coals. The oven.

⁷ See RIME OF SIR THOPAS, v. 3357. p. 146. Urr. Mr. Walpole has mentioned some curious particulars concerning the liquors which antiently prevailed in England. Anecd. Paint. i. p. 11. I will add, that cyder was very early a common liquor among our ancestors. In the year 1295, an. 23 Edw. I. the king orders the sheriff of Southamptonshire to provide with all speed four hundred quarters of wheat, to be collected in parts of his bailiwick nearest the sea, and to convey the same, being well winnowed, in good ships from Portsmouth to Winchel-

sea. Also to put on board the said ships, at the same time, two hundred tons of cyder. Test. R. apud Canterbury. The cost to be paid immediately from the king's wardrobe. This precept is in old French. Registr. Joh. Pontiffar. Episc. Winton. fol. 172. It is remarkable that Wickliffe translates, Luc. i. 21. "He schal not drinke "wyn ne sydyr." This translation was made about A. D. 1380. At a visitation of St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, by the said bishop, it appears that the monks claimed to have, among other articles of luxury, on many festivals, "Vinum, tam al. "bum quam rubeum, claretum, medonem, "burgarastrum, &c." This was so early as the year 1285. Registr. Priorat. S. Swith. Winton. MS. supr. citat. quatern. 5. It appears also, that the *Hordarius* and *Camerarius* claimed every year of the prior ten *dolia vini*, or twenty pounds in money, A. D. 1337. Ibid. quatern. 5. A benefactor grants to the said convent on the day of his anniversary, "unam pipam vini pret. xx. s." for their refectory, A. D. 1286

Sometimes to shew his lightness and maistry
He playith heraudes^a on a scaffold hie.

Again,

When that the firstè cok hath crow anon,
Uprist this jolly lovir Absolon;
And him arayith gay at point devise.
But first he chewith greyns^b and licorice,
To smellin sote, ere he had kempt his here.
Under his tongue a true love knot he bare,
For therby wend he to be graciouse;
Then romith to the carpenteris house^c.

In the mean time the scholar, intent on accomplishing his intrigue, locks himself up in his chamber for the space of two days. The carpenter, alarmed at this long seclusion, and supposing that his guest might be sick or dead, tries to gain admittance, but in vain. He peeps through a crevice of the door, and at length discovers the scholar, who is conscious that he was seen, in an affected trance of abstracted meditation. On this our carpenter, reflecting on the danger of being wise, and exulting in the security of his own ignorance, exclaims,

A man wott littil what shall him betide!
This man is fallen with his astronomy
In some wodeness, or in some agony.

Ibid. quatern. 10. Before the year 1200, "Vina et medones" are mentioned as not uncommon in the abbey of Evesham in Worcestershire. Stevens Monast. Append. p. 138. The use of mead, *medo*, seems to have been very antient in England. See Mon. Angl. i. 26. Thorne, Chron. sub. ann. 1114. Compare DISSERTAT. i.

^a Speght explains this "feats of activity, "furious parts in a play." Gloss. Ch. Urr. Perhaps the character of HEROD in a MYSTERY.

^b Greyns, or grains, of Paris, or Paradise,

occurs in the ROMANT OF THE ROSE. v. 1369. A rent of herring pies is an old payment from the city of Norwich to the king, seasoned among other spices with half an ounce of grains of Paradise. Blomf. Norf. ii. 264.

^c v. 579. It is to be remarked, that in this tale the carpenter swears, with great propriety, by the patroness saint of Oxford, saint Frideswide, v. 340.

This carpenter to blissin him began,
And seide nowhelpin us saint Frideswide.

I thoughtin

I thoughtin ay wele how it shuldè be :
 Men shuldè not know ^d of gods privite.
 Yea bleßid be alway the lewdè-man °,
 That nought but only his belefe can ^f.
 So farde another clerke with astronomy ;
 He walkid in the feldis for to pry
 Upon the starres to wate what shuld bifall
 Tyll he was in a marlèpit yfall ;
 He saw not that. But yet, by seint Thomas,
 Me ruith fore on hendè Nicholas :
 He shall be ratid for his studying.

But the scholar has ample gratification for this ridicule. The carpenter is at length admitted ; and the scholar continuing the farce, gravely acquaints the former that he has been all this while making a most important discovery by means of astrological calculations. He is soon persuaded to believe the prediction : and in the sequel, which cannot be repeated here, this humourous contrivance crowns the scholar's schemes with success, and proves the cause of the carpenter's disgrace. In this piece the reader observes that the humour of the characters is made subservient to the plot.

I have before hinted, that Chaucer's obscenity is in great measure to be imputed to his age. We are apt to form romantic and exaggerated notions about the moral innocence of our ancestors. Ages of ignorance and simplicity are thought to be ages of purity. The direct contrary, I believe, is the case. Rude periods have that grossness of manners which is not less friendly to virtue than luxury itself. In the middle ages, not only the most flagrant violations of modesty were frequently practised and permitted, but the most infamous vices. Men are less ashamed as they are less polished. Great refinement multiplies criminal pleasures, but

^d " Pry into the secrets of nature." Or, his Creed.

^e Unlearned.

^f " Who knows only what

at the same time prevents the actual commission of many enormities: at least it preserves public decency, and suppresses public licentiousness.

THE REVES TALE, or the MILLER of TROMPINGTON, is much in the same style, but with less humourⁱ. This story was enlarged by Chaucer from Boccacio^k. There is an old English poem on the same plan, entitled, *A ryght pleasant and mery history of the Mylner of Abington, with his Wife and faire Daughter, and two poore Scholars of Cambridge*^l. It begins with these lines.

“Faure lordinges, if you list to heere
“A mery jest^m your minds to cheere.”

This piece is supposed by Wood to have been written by Andrew Borde, a physician, a wit, and a poet, in the reign of Henry the eighthⁿ. It was at least evidently written

ⁱ See also THE SHIPMAN'S TALE, which was originally taken from some comic French troubadour. But Chaucer had it from Boccacio. The story of Zenobia, in the MONKES TALE, is from Boccacio's *Cas. Vir. Illustr.* (See Lydg. *Boch.* viii. 7.) That of Hugolin of Pisa in the same Tale, from Dante. That of Pedro of Spain, from archbishop Turpin, *ibid.* Of Julius Cesar, from Lucan, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus, *ibid.* The idea of this TALE was suggested by Boccacio's book on the same subject.

^k Decamer. *Giom.* ix. Nov. 6.

^l A manifest mistake for Oxford, unless we read Trumpington for Abingdon, or retaining Abingdon we might read Oxford for Cambridge. Imprint. at London by Rycharde Jones. 4to. Bl. Let. It is in Bibl. Bodl. Selden, C. 39. 4to. This book was probably given to that library, with many other petty black letter histories, in prose and verse, of a similar cast, by Robert Burton, author of the *ANATOMY of MLLANCHOLY*, who was a great collector of such pieces. One of his books

now in the Bodleian is the HISTORY OF TOM THUMB; whom a learned antiquary, while he laments that antient history has been much disguised by romantic narratives, pronounces to have been no less important a personage than king Edger's dwarf.

^m Story.

ⁿ See Wood's *Atlien.* Oxon. BORDE. And Hearne's *Bened. Abb.* i. *Præfat.* p. xl. lv. I am of opinion that Solere-Hall, in Cambridge, mentioned in this poem, was Aula Solarii. The hall, with the upper story, at that time a sufficient circumstance to distinguish and designate one of the academical hospitia. Although Chaucer calls it, “a grete college,” v. 88. Thus in Oxford we had Chimney-hall, Aula cum Camino, an almost parallel proof of the simplicity of their antient houses of learning. Twyne also mentions Solere-hall, at Oxford. Also Aula Selarii, which I doubt not is properly Solarii. Compare Wood. *Ant. Oxon.* ii. 11. col. i. 13. col. i. 12. col. 2. Caius will have it to be Clare-hall. *Hist. Acad.* p. 57. Those who read
Scholars-

after the time of Chaucer. It is the work of some tasteless imitator, who has sufficiently disguised his original, by retaining none of its spirit. I mention these circumstances, lest it should be thought that this frigid abridgment was the ground-work of Chaucer's poem on the same subject. In the class of humorous or satirical tales, the *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*, which exposes the tricks and extortions of the mendicant friars, has also distinguished merit. This piece has incidentally been mentioned above with the *FLOWMAN'S TALE*, and *Pierce Plowman*.

Genuine humour, the concomitant of true taste, consists in discerning improprieties in books as well as characters. We therefore must remark under this class another tale of Chaucer, which till lately has been looked upon as a grave heroic narrative. I mean the *RIME OF SIR THOPAS*. Chaucer, at a period which almost realised the manners of romantic chivalry, discerned the leading absurdities of the old romances : and in this poem, which may be justly called a prelude to *Don Quixote*, has burlesqued them with exquisite ridicule. That this was the poet's aim, appears from many passages. But, to put the matter beyond a doubt, take the words of an ingenious critic. "We are to observe, says he, " that this was Chaucer's own Tale : and that, when in the " progress of it, the good sense of the host is made to break " in upon him, and interrupt him, Chaucer approves his " disgust, and changing his note, tells the simple instructive " Tale of *MELIBOEUS*, *a moral tale vertuous*, as he terms it ; " to shew what sort of fictions were most expressive of real " life, and most proper to be put into the hands of the " people. It is further to be noted, that the *Boke of The " Giant Olyphant, and Chylle Thopas*, was not a fiction of

Scholars-hall (of Edw. iii.) may consult Wacht. V. SOLLER. In the mean time for the reasons assigned, one of these two halls or colleges at Cambridge, might at first have been commonly called Soler-hall. A

hall near Brazen-nose college, Oxford, was called Glazen-hall, having glass windows, antiently not common. See Twyne Miscel. quædam, &c. ad calc. Apol. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.

“ his own, but a story of antique fame, and very celebrated in the days of chivalry: so that nothing could better suit the poet’s design of discrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of his ridicule upon them °. But it is to be remembered, that Chaucer’s design was intended to ridicule the frivolous descriptions, and other tedious impertinencies, so common in the volumes of chivalry with which his age was overwhelmed, not to degrade in general or expose a mode of fabling, whose sublime extravagancies constitute the marvellous graces of his own *CAMBUSCAN*; a composition which at the same time abundantly demonstrates, that the manners of romance are better calculated to answer the purposes of pure poetry, to captivate the imagination, and to produce surprise, than the fictions of classical antiquity.

° See Dr. Hurd’s *LETTERS ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE*. Dialogues, &c. iii. 218. edit. 1765.

S E C T. XVII.

BUT Chaucer's vein of humour, although conspicuous in the *CANTERBURY TALES*, is chiefly displayed in the Characters with which they are introduced. In these his knowledge of the world availed him in a peculiar degree, and enabled him to give such an accurate picture of antient manners, as no cotemporary nation has transmitted to posterity. It is here that we view the pursuits and employments, the customs and diversions, of our ancestors, copied from the life, and represented with equal truth and spirit, by a judge of mankind, whose penetration qualified him to discern their foibles or discriminating peculiarities ; and by an artist, who understood that proper selection of circumstances, and those predominant characteristics, which form a finished portrait. We are surprised to find, in so gross and ignorant an age, such talents for satire, and for observation on life ; qualities which usually exert themselves at more civilised periods, when the improved state of society, by subtilising our speculations, and establishing uniform modes of behaviour, disposes mankind to study themselves, and renders deviations of conduct, and singularities of character, more immediately and necessarily the objects of censure and ridicule. These curious and valuable remains are specimens of Chaucer's native genius, unassisted and unalloyed. The figures are all British, and bear no suspicious signatures of classical, Italian, or French imitation. The characters of Theophrastus are not so lively, particular, and appropriated. A few traits from this celebrated part of our author, yet too little tasted and understood, may be sufficient to prove and illustrate what is here advanced.

The

The character of the PRIORESSE is chiefly distinguished by an excess of delicacy and decorum, and an affectation of courtly accomplishments. But we are informed, that she was educated at the school of Stratford at Bow near London, perhaps a fashionable feminary for breeding nuns.

There was also a nonne a Prioresse
 That of her smiling was fimple and coy ;
 Her gretist othe was but by saint Eloye ^b.
 And French she spake full fayre and fetisly,
 Aftir the schole of Stratford atte Bowe,
 For French of Paris was to her unknowe.
 At metè ^c was she well ytaught withall ;
 She let no morfell from her lippis fall,
 Ne wet her fingris in the faucè depe ;
 Well couth she carry a morfel, and well kepe,
 That no dropè ne fell upon her brest ;
 In curtesie was sett ful much her lest ^d.
 Her ovirlippè wipid she so clene,
 That in her cup ther was no ferthing sene
 Of grecè, when she dronkin had hir draught,
 Full semly aftir hir mete she raught ^e.---
 And painid hir to counterfetè chere
 Of court, and to ben stately of manere ^f.

She has even the false pity and sentimentality of many modern ladies.

She was so charitable and so pitous,
 She wouldè wepe if that she saw a mous
 Caught in a trapp, if it were ded or bled.
 Of smalè houndis had she that she fed

^a *See* *Lez*, i. c. Saint Lewis. The same oath occurs in the FREERE'S TALE, v. 300. p. 88. Urr.
^c Dinner.

^d Pleasure. Desire.
^e Literally. *Sentenced*.
^f *Prolog.* v. 124.

With roſtid fleſh, or milk, or waſtell bred^g :
But ſore wept ſhe if any of them were ded,
Or if men ſmote them with a yardè^h ſmert :
And all was conſcience and tendir hertⁱ.

The WIFE OF BATH is more amiable for her plain and uſeful qualifications. She is a reſpectable dame, and her chief pride conſiſts in being a conſpicuous and ſignificant character at church on a Sunday.

Of clothmaking^k ſhe haddè ſuch a haunt
She paſſid them of Ipſe and of Gaunt^l.
In all the pariſh, wiſe ne was there none
That to the offryng was before her gone ;
And if ther did, certain ſo wroth was ſhe,
That ſhe was outin of all charite.
Her coverchefes^m were large and fine of ground,
I durſt to ſwere that thei weyid three pound,
That on a ſonday were upon hir hedde :
Her hoſin werin of fine ſcarlett redde,
Full ſtrait iſtreynid, and hir ſhoos ful newe :
Bold was hir face, and fayr and redde hir hewe.
She was a worthy woman all her live :
ⁿ Husbanded at the chirche dore had ſhe had five^o.

^g Bread of a finer ſort.

^h Stick.

ⁱ v. 143.

^k It is to be obſerved, that ſhe lived in the neighbourhood of Bath ; a country famous for clothing to this day.

^l See above, p. 177.

^m Head dreſs.

ⁿ At the ſouthern entrance of Norwich cathedral, a representation of the *Eſpouſals*, or ſacrament of marriage, is carved in ſtone ; for here the hands of the couple were joined by the prieſt, and great part

of the ſervice performed. Here alſo the bride was endowed with what was called *Dos ad uſum eccleſiæ*. This ceremony is exhibited in a curious old picture engraved by Mr. Walpole, where king Henry the ſeventh is married to his queen, ſtanding at the facade or western portal of a magnificent Gothic church. *Anecd. Paint. i. 31.* Compare Marten. *Rit. Eccl. Anecd. ii. p. 630.* And Hearne's *Antiquit. Glaſtonb. Append. p. 310.*

^o v. 449.

The FRANKLEIN is a country gentleman, whose estate consisted in free land, and was not subject to feudal services or payments. He is ambitious of shewing his riches by the plenty of his table: but his hospitality, a virtue much more practicable among our ancestors than at present, often degenerates into luxurious excess. His impatience if his sauces were not sufficiently poignant, and every article of his dinner in due form and readiness, is touched with the hand of Pope or Boileau. He had been a president at the sessions, knight of the shire, a sheriff, and a coroner ^p.

An housholder, and that a gret, was he:
 Saint Julian he was in his countre ^q.
 His brede, his ale, was alway aftir one;
 A bettir viendid ^r men was no wher none.
 Withoutin bake mete never was his house
 Of fish and fleshe, and that so plenteouse,
 It snwid ^s in his house of mete and drink,
 And of all dainties that men couth of think.
 Aftir the fondrie seasons of the yere,
 So chaungid he his mete ^t, and his suppere.
 Many a fat partriche had he in mewe,
 And many a breme, and many a luce ^u, in stewe.
 Woe was his cooke, but that his saucis were
 Poinant and sharpe, and redy all his gere!
 His table dormaunt ^v in the halle alway,
 Stode redy coverid, all the longè day^x.

^p An office antiently executed by gentlemen of the greatest respect and property.

^q Simon the leper, at whose house our Saviour lodged in Bethany, is called, in the legends, *Julian the good hostler*, and Bishop of Bethpage. In the *Tale of Beryn*, St. Julian is invoked to revenge a traveller who had been traiterously used in

his lodgings. See Urr. Ch. p. 599. v. 625.

^r Better vianded.

^s Snowed.

^t Dinner.

^u Pike.

^v Never removed.

^x v. 356.

The character of the Doctor of PHISICKE preserves to us the state of medical knowledge, and the course of medical erudition then in fashion. He treats his patients according to rules of astronomy: a science which the Arabians engrafted on medicine.

For he was groundid in astronomie:
He kept his patients a full gret dele
In houris by his magike natural ^y.

Petrarch leaves a legacy to his physician John de Dondi, of Padua, who was likewise a great astronomer, in the year 1370^z. It was a long time before the medical profession was purged from these superstitions. Hugo de Evesham, born in Worcestershire, one of the most famous physicians in Europe about the year 1280, educated in both the universities of England, and at others in France and Italy, was eminently skilled in mathematics and astronomy ^a. Pierre d'Apono, a celebrated professor of medicine and astronomy at Padua, wrote commentaries on the problems of Aristotle, in the year 1310. Roger Bacon says, "astronomiæ pars melior medicina^b." In the statutes of New-College at Oxford, given in the year 1387, medicine and astronomy are mentioned as one and the same science. Charles the fifth king of France, who was governed entirely by astrologers, and who commanded all the Latin treatises which could be found relating to the stars, to be translated into French, established a college in the university of Paris for the study of medicine and astrology ^c. There is a scarce and very curious book, entitled, "Nova medicinæ methodus curandi morbos ex mathematica scientia deprompta, nunc denuo

^y v. 416.

^z See Acad. Inscript. xx. 443.

^a Pitf. p. 370. Bale, iv. 50. xiii. 86.

^b Bacon, Op. Maj. edit. Jebb, p. 158.

See also p. 240. 247.

^c Montfaucon, Bibl. Manuscript. tom. ii. p. 791. b.

“ revifa, &c. Joanne Hasfurto Virdungo, medico et astrologo
 “ doctiffimo, auctore, Haganore excuf. 1518 ^d.” Hence magic
 made a part of medicine. In the MARCHAUNTS fecond tale,
 or HISTORY OF BERYN, falſely aſcribed to Chaucer, a chirur-
 gical operation of changing eyes is partly performed by the
 aſſiſtance of the occult ſciences.

-----The whole ſcience of all ſurgery,
 Was undyd, or the chaunge was made of both eye,
 With many ſotill enchantours, and eke nygrymauncers,
 That ſent wer for the nonis, maiſtris, and ſcoleris ^e.

Leland mentions one William Glatifaunt, an aſtrologer and
 phyſician, a fellow of Merton college in Oxford, who wrote
 a medical tract, which, ſays he, “ neſcio quid MAGIÆ ſpira-
 “ bat ^f.” I could add many other proofs ^g.

The books which our phyſician ſtudied are then enumerated,

Well knew he the old Eſculapius,
 And Dioſcorides, and eke Rufus,
 Old Hippocrates, Haly, and Galen,
 Serapion, Rafis, and Avicen,
 Averrois, Damascene, Conſtantine,
 Bernard, and Gattiſden, and Gilbertin.

Rufus, a phyſician of Ephelus, wrote in Greek, about
 the time of Trajan. Some fragments of his works ſtill
 remain ^h. Haly was a famous Arabic aſtronomer, and a
 commentater on Galen, in the eleventh century, which pro-
 duced ſo many famous Arabian phyſicians ⁱ. John Serapion,
 of the ſame age and country, wrote on the practice of

^d In quarto. ^e v. 2989. Urr. Ch.

^f Lel. apud Tann. Bibl. p. 262. And
 Lel. Script. Brit. p. 400.

^g See Ames's Hiſt. Print. p. 147.

^h Conring. Script. Com. ſæc. i. cap. 4.
 p. 66. 67. The Arabians have translations

of him. Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 972. b.
 977. b.

Id. ibid. ſæc. xi. cap. 5. p. 114.
 Haly, called Abbas, was likewise an emi-
 nent phyſician of this period. He was
 called, “ Simia Galeni.” Id. ibid.

physic^k. Avicen, the most eminent physician of the Arabian school, flourished in the same century^l. Rhafis, an Asiatic physician, practiced at Cordoua in Spain, where he died in the tenth century^m. Averroes, as the Asiatic schools decayed by the indolence of the Caliphs, was one of those philosophers who adorned the Moorish schools erected in Africa and Spain. He was a professor in the university of Morocco. He wrote a commentary on all Aristotle's works, and died about the year 1160. He was styled the most *Peripatic* of all the Arabian writers. He was born at Cordoua of an antient Arabic familyⁿ. John Damascene, secretary to one of the Caliphs, wrote in various sciences, before the Arabians had entered Europe, and had seen the Grecian philosophers^o. Constantinus Afer, a monk of Cassino in Italy was one of the Saracen physicians who brought medicine into Europe, and formed the Salernitan school, chiefly by translating various Arabian and Grecian medical books into Latin^p. He was born at Carthage: and learned grammar, logic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and natural philosophy, of the Chaldees, Arabians, Persians, Saracens, Egyptians, and Indians, in the schools of Bagdat. Being thus completely accomplished in these sciences, after thirty-nine years study, he returned into Africa. where an attempt was formed against his life. Constantine, having fortunately discovered this design, privately took ship and came to Sa-

^k Id. *ibid.* p. 113, 114.

^l Id. *ibid.* See *Pard.* T. v. 2407. *Urr.* p. 136.

^m *Conring.* ut *supr.* *Sæc.* x. cap. 4. p. 110. He wrote a large and famous work, called *Continens*. Rhafis and Almafor, (f. Al-bumafar, a great Arabian astrologer,) occur in the library of Peterborough Abby, *Matric. Libr. Monast. Burgi S. Petri. Gunton, Peterb.* p. 187. See *Hearne, Ben. Abb. Præf.* lix.

ⁿ *Conring.* ut *supr.* *Sæc.* vii. cap. 2. p. 118. ^o *Voss Hist. Gr. L.* iii. c. 24.

^p *Petr. Diacon. de Vir. Illustr. Monast. Cassin. cap. xxiii.* See the *DISSERTATIONS*. He is again mentioned by our author in the *MARCHAUNT'S TALE*, v. 1326. p. 71. *Urr.*

And lectuaries had he there full nine,
So che as the curful monk *Pier Constantine*
Hath written in his boke de Coitu.

The title of this book is, "DE COITU,
" quibus proffit aut obfit, quibus medica-
" minibus et alimentis acuatur impedia-
" turve." *Inter Op. Basil.* 1536. fol.

lerno in Italy, where he lurked some time in disguise. But he was recognised by the Caliph's brother then at Salerno, who recommended him as a scholar universally skilled in the learning of all nations, to the notice of Robert duke of Normandy. Robert entertained him with the highest marks of respect: and Constantine, by the advice of his patron, retired to the monastery of Cassino, where being kindly received by the abbot Desiderius, he translated in that learned society the books above-mentioned, most of which he first imported into Europe. These versions are said to be still extant. He flourished about the year 1086⁹. Bernard, or Bernardus Gordonius, appears to have been Chaucer's contemporary. He was a professor of medicine at Montpelier, and wrote many treatises in that faculty¹. John Gatifden was a fellow of Merton college, where Chaucer was educated, about the year 1320². Pitts says, that he was professor of

⁹ See Leo Ostiensis, or P. Diac. Austar. ad Leon. Chron. Mon. Cassin. lib. iii. c. 35. p. 445. Scriptor. Italic. tom. iv. Murator. In his book DE INCANTATIONIBUS, one of his enquiries is, *An invenire in libris GRÆCORUM hoc qualiter in INDORUM libris est invenire*, &c. Op. tom. i. ut sup.

¹ Petr. Lambec. Prodrum. Sac. xiv. p. 274. edit. ut sup.

² It has been before observed, that at the introduction of philosophy into Europe by the Saracens, the clergy only studied and practiced the medical art. This fashion prevailed a long while afterwards. The Prior and Convent of S. Swithin's at Winchester granted to Thomas of Shaftesbury, clerk, a corrody, consisting of two dishes daily from the Prior's kitchen, bread, drink, robes, and a competent chamber in the monastery, for the term of his life. In consideration of all which concessions, the said Thomas paid them fifty mares: and moreover is obliged, "deservire nobis in Arte *medicina*". Dat. in dom. Capitul. Feb. "15. A. D. 1319." Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. sup. citat. The most learned and accurate Fabricius has a

separate article on THEOLOGI MEDICI. Bibl. Gr. xii. 739. seq. See also Gianon. litor. Neapol. l. x. ch. xi. §. 491. In the romance of SIR GUY, a monk heals the knight's wounds. Signat. G. iiiii.

There was a monk beheld him well
That could of leach craft some dell.

In G. of Monmouth, who wrote in 1128, Eopa intending to poison Ambrosius, introduces himself as a physician. But in order to sustain this character with due propriety, he first shaves his head, and assumes the habit of a monk. lib. viii. c. 14. John Arundale, afterwards bishop of Chichester, was chaplain and first physician to Henry the sixth, in 1458. Wharton, Angl. sacr. i. 777. Faricius abbot of Abingdon, about 1110, was eminent for his skill in medicine; and a great cure performed by him is recorded in the register of the abbey. Hearne's Bened. Abb. Pref. xlvii. King John, while sick at Newark, made use of William de Wodestoke, abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Croxton, as his physician. Bever, Chron. MSS. Harl. apud Hearne, Pref. ut sup. p. xlix. Many other instances may be added. The physicians of the
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physic in Oxford'. He was the most celebrated physician of his age in England; and his principal work is entitled, *ROSA MEDICA*, divided into five books, which was printed at Paris in the year 1492^u. Gilbertine, I suppose is Gilbertus Anglicus, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and wrote a popular compendium of the medical art^w. About the same time, not many years before Chaucer wrote, the works of the most famous Arabian authors, and among the rest those of Avicenne, Averroes, Serapion, and Rhafis, above-mentioned, were translated into Latin^x. These were our physician's library. But having mentioned his books, Chaucer could not forbear to add a stroke of satire so naturally introduced.

His studie was but litill in the *bible*^y.

The following anecdotes and observations may serve to throw general light on the learning of the authors who compose this curious library. The Aristotelic or Arabian philosophy continued to be communicated from Spain and Africa to the rest of Europe chiefly by means of the Jews: particularly to France and Italy, which were over-run with Jews about the tenth and eleventh centuries. About these periods, not only the courts of the Mahometan princes, but even that of the pope himself, were filled with Jews. Here they principally gained an establishment by the profession of

university of Paris were not allowed to marry till the year 1452. Menagian. p. 333. In the same university, antiently at the admission to the degree of doctor in physic, they took an oath that they were not married. MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 249.

^u p. 414.

^v Tanner, Bibl. p. 312. Leland styles this work, "opus luculentum juxta ac eruditum." Script. Brit. p. 355.

^w Conring. ut sup. Sæc. xiii. cap. 4. p. 127. And Leland. Script. Brit. p. 291.

Who says, that Gilbert's *Practica et Compendium Medicinæ* was most carefully studied by many "ad quæritum properantes." He adds, that it was common, about this time, for foreign writers to assume the surname *Anglicus*, as a plausible recommendation.

^x Conring. ut sup. Sæc. xiii. cap. 4. p. 126. About the same time, the works of Galen and Hippocrates were first translated from Greek into Latin: but in a most barbarous style. Id. ibid. p. 127.

^y v. 440.

physic;

physic; an art then but imperfectly known and practiced in most parts of Europe. Being well versed in the Arabic tongue, from their commerce with Africa and Egypt, they had studied the Arabic translations of Galen and Hippocrates; which had become still more familiar to the great numbers of their brethren who resided in Spain. From this source also the Jews learned philosophy; and Hebrew versions made about this period from the Arabic, of Aristotle and the Greek physicians and mathematicians, are still extant in some libraries *. Here was a beneficial effect of the dispersion and vagabond condition of the Jews: I mean the diffusion of knowledge. One of the most eminent of these learned Jews was Moses Maimonides, a physician, philosopher, astrologer, and theologist, educated at Cordoua in Spain under Averroes. He died about the year 1208. Averroes being accused of heretical opinions, was sentenced to *live with the Jews in the street of the Jews*, at Cordoua. Some of these learned Jews began to flourish in the Arabian schools in Spain, as early as the beginning of the ninth century. Many of the treatises of Averroes were translated by the Spanish Jews into Hebrew: and the Latin pieces of Averroes now extant were translated into Latin from these Hebrew versions. I have already mentioned the school or university of Cordoua. Leo Africanus speaks of "*Platea bibliothecariorum Cordouæ*." This, from what follows, appears to be a street of booksellers. It was in the time of Averroes, and about the year 1220. One of our Jew philosophers having fallen in love, turned poet, and his verses were publicly sold in this street *. My author says, that renouncing the dignity of the Jewish doctor, he took to writing verses †.

* Euseb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vii. 254.

† Leo African. de Med. et Philosoph. Hebr. c. xxviii. xxix.

‡ Leo ibid. "Amore capitur, et digne"

"TATI DOCTORUM POSTHABITA cepit
"edere carmina." See also Simon. in
Suppl. ad Leon. Mutinens. de Ritib. Hebr.
p. 104.

The **SOMPNOUR**, whose office it was to summon uncanonical offenders into the archdeacon's court, where they were very rigorously punished, is humourously drawn as counteracting his profession by his example: he is libidinous and voluptuous, and his rosy countenance belies his occupation. This is an indirect satire on the ecclesiastical proceedings of those times. His affectation of Latin terms, which he had picked up from the decrees and pleadings of the court, must have formed a character highly ridiculous.

And when that he well dronkin had the wine,
Then would he speke no word but Latine.
A few schole termis couth he two or thre,
That he had lernid out of some decre.
No wonder is, he herd it all the day:
And ye well knowin eke, how that a jay
Can clepè wult as well as can the pope:
But whofo couth in other things him grope^b,
Then had he spent al his philosophie,
A questio quid juris^c would he crie^d.

He is with great propriety made the friend and companion of the **PARDONERE**, or dispenser of indulgences, who is just arrived from the pope, "brimful of pardons come from Rome al hote:" and who carries in his wallet, among other holy curiosities, the virgin Mary's veil, and part of the sail of Saint Peter's ship^e.

The **MONKE** is represented as more attentive to horses and hounds than to the rigorous and obsolete ordinances of Saint Benedict. Such are his ideas of secular pomp and pleasure, that he is even qualified to be an abbot^f.

^b Examine.

^c Read "Aye, *questio*, &c."

^d v. 639.

^e v. 670. seq.

^f There is great humour in the circumstances which qualify our monk to be an abbot. Some time in the thirteenth cen-

tury, the prior and convent of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, appear to have recommended one of their brethren to the convent of Hyde as a proper person to be presented to the abbacy of that convent, then vacant. These are his merits. "ut enim confiteri
"ille noster in glorianda sacra pagina bene
M m m " callens

An outrider that lovid venery ^z,
 A manly mon, to ben an abbot able :
 Many a dainty horſe he had in ſtable.----
 This ilkè ^b monke let old thingis to pace,
 And heldin aftir the new world to trace.
 He gave not of the text a pullid hen ⁱ
 That faith, that hunters be not holy men ^k.

He is ambitious of appearing a conspicuous and ſtately figure on horſeback. A circumſtance repreſented with great elegance.

And when he rode, men might his bridle here
 Gingiling in a whiſtling wind, as clere
 And eke as loud, as doth the chapel bell ^l.

The gallantry of his riding-dreſs, and his genial aſpect, is painted in lively colours.

I ſee his ſleves purfilid ^m at the hande,
 With grys ⁿ, and that the finiſt in the lande.
 And to fuſtene his hode undir his chin
 He had of gold wrought a ful curious pin,
 A love-knot in the greter end ther was.
 His hed was bald, and ſhone as any glas,
 And eke his face as he had been anoint :
 He was a lorde ful fat, and in gode point.

^a callens, in ſcriptura [tranſcribing] peritus, in capitalibus literis appingendis
^b bonus artifex, in regula S. Benedicti inſtructiſſimus, pſallendi doctiſſimus, &c.”
 MS. Registr. ut ſupr. quat. . . Theſe were the oſtenſible qualities of the maſter of a capital monaſtery. But Chaucer, in the verſes before us, ſeems to have told the real truth, and to have given the real character as it actually exiſted in life. I believe, that our induſtrious *confrere*, with all his knowledge of gloſſing, writing, illuminating, chanting, and Benedict's rules, would in

fact have been leſs likely to ſucceed to a vacant abbey, than one of the genial complexion and popular accompliſhments here inimitably deſcribed.

^z Hunting.

^b Same.

ⁱ “ He did not care a ſtraw for the text, &c.”

^k v. 176. ſeq.

^l See ſupr. p. 164.

^m Fringed.

ⁿ Fur.

His eyin stepe, and rolling in his hed,
That stemith as a furneis of led.
His bootes souple, his hors in great estate,
Now certainly he was a fayr prelate!
He was not pale as a forpynid ghost;
A fat swan lovde he best of any rost.
His palfry was as brown as is the berry °.

The FRERE, or friar, is equally fond of diversion and good living; but the poverty of his establishment obliges him to travel about the country, and to practice various artifices to provide money for his convent, under the sacred character of a confessor ^p.

A frere there was, a wanton and a merry;
A limitour^q, and a ful solempne man:
In all the orders four^r is none that can
So much of daliaunce, and of faire langage.---
Ful swetely herde he their confessioun:
Ful plesant was his absolutioun.
His tippit was aye farfid ful of knives
And pinnis for to givin to faire wives.
And certainly he had a merry note:
Wele couthe he sing and playin on a rote^s.

° v. 193.

^p A friar that had a particular grant for begging or hearing confessions within certain limits. See *supr.* p. 288. *seq.*

^q Of mendicants.

^r In Urry's Glossary this expression, *on a Rote*, is explained, *by Rote*. But a rote is a musical instrument. Lydgate, MSS. Fairfax, Bibl. Bodl. 16.

For ther was Rotys of Almayne,
And eke of Arragon and Spayne.

Again, in the same manuscript,
Harpys, fitheles, and eke *rotys*,
Wel according to ther notys.

Where *fitbules* is *fiddles*, as in the Prol. Cl. Oxenf. v. 590. So in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. ut *supr.* fol. i. b. col. 2.

Rote, harpe, viole, et gigne, et siphonie.

I cannot help mentioning in this place, a pleasant mistake of bishop Morgan, in his translation of the New Testament into Welch, printed 1567. He translates the *VIALS* of *wrath*, in the Revelations, by *Crythan* i.e. *Crouds* or *Fiddles*, Rev. v. 8. The greek is *φιδαν*. Now it is probable that the bishop translated only from the English, where he found *VIALS*, which he took for *VIOLS*.

Of yedding * he bare utterly the price.
 Ther n'as no man no where so vertuouse ;
 He was the best beggare in all his house †.
 Somewhat he lipfid for his wantonneſſe,
 To make his Engliſh ſwete upon his tonge ;
 And in his harping, when that he had ſonge,
 His eyis twinkelid in his hede aright
 As donn the ſtarris in a froſtie night ‡.

With theſe unhallowed and untrue ſons of the church is contrasted the PARSON, or pariſh-prieſt: in deſcribing whoſe ſanctity, ſimplicity, ſincerity, patience, induſtry, courage, and conſcientious impartiality, Chaucer ſhews his good ſenſe and good heart. Dryden imitated this character of the GOOD PARSON, and is ſaid to have applied it to biſhop Ken.

The character of the SQUIRE teaches us the education and requiſite accompliſhments of young gentlemen in the gallant reign of Edward the third. But it is to be remembered, that our ſquire is the ſon of a knight, who has performed feats of chivalry in every part of the world; which the poet thus enumerates with great dignity and ſimplicity.

At Aliſſandre' he was whan it was won,
 Full oft timis had he the bourd begon ^w,
 Abovin allè naciouns in Pruce ^x.
 In Lettow ^y had he riddin and in Luce ^z:

* Yelding, i. e. dalliance.

† Convent.

‡ v. 208.

^w See this phraſe explained above, p. 172.

I will here add a ſimilar expreſſion from Gower, Conf. Amant. lib. viii. fol. 177, b. edit. Berthel. 1554.

--Bad his marſhall of his hall
 To ſetten him in ſach degre,

That he upon him myght ſe.
 The kyng was ſoone ſette and ſerved :
 And he which had his priſe deſerved,
 After the kyngis own worde,
 Was made *begyn* a myddle *bord*.

That is, "he was ſeated in the middle of
 "the table, a place of diſtinction and dig-
 "nity."

^x Pruſſia. ^y Lithuania. ^z Livonia.

No cristen man so oft of his degree
 In Granada, and in the sege had he be
 Of Algezir ^a, and ridd in Belmary ^b.
 At Leyis ^c was he, and at Sataly ^d,
 When they were won: and in the gretè sea:
 At mañy a noble army had he be:
 At mortal battailes had he ben fiftene,
 And foughtin for our faith at Tramisene ^e
 In lyftis thrys, and alway slein his fo.
 This ilkè worthy Knight had ben also
 Sometimis with the lord of Palathy ^f:
 Ayens ^g another hethen in Turkey.
 And evirmore he had a fòvrane prize,
 And thoug that he was worthy he was wise ^h.

The poet in some of these lines implies, that after the Christians were driven out of Palestine, the English knights of his days joined the knights of Livonia and Prussia, and attacked the pagans of Lithuania, and its adjacent territories. Lithuania was not converted to christianity till towards the close of the fourteenth century. Prussian targets are mentioned, as we have before seen, in the KNIGHT'S TALE. Thomas duke of Gloucester, youngest son of king Edward the third, and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards king Henry the fourth, travelled into Prussia: and in conjunction with

^a A city of Spain. Perhaps Gibraltar.

^b Speght supposes it to be that country in Barbary which is called Benamarin. It is mentioned again in the KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 2632. p. 20. Urr.

Ne in *Balmarie* ther is no lion,
 That huntid is, &c.

By which at least we may conjecture it to be some country in Africa. Perhaps a corruption for Barbarie.

^c Some suppose it to be Lavissa, a city on the continent, near Rhodes. Others Lybissa, a city of Bithynia.

^d A city in Anatolia, called Atalia. Many of these places are mentioned in the history of the crusades.

^e "In the holy war at Thrasimene, a city in Barbary.

^f Palathia, a city in Anatolia. See Froissart, iii. 40.

^g Against.

^h v. 51.

the grand Masters and Knights of Prussia and Livonia, fought the infidels of Lithuania. Lord Derby was greatly instrumental in taking Vilna, the capital of that county, in the year 1390^b. Here is a seeming compliment to some of these expeditions. This invincible and accomplished champion afterwards tells the heroic tale of PALAMON and ARCITE. His son the SQUIER, a youth of twenty years, is thus delineated.

And he had been sometime in chivauchie
In Flandris, in Artois, and Picardie:
And born him wele, as of so littill space,
In hope to standin in his ladies grace.
Embroudid was he as it were a mede
All ful of fresh flouris both white and rede.
Singing he was and floityng al the day,
He was as fresh as in the month of May.
Schort was his gown with flevis long and wide,
Wel couth he fit an hors, and faire yride.
And songis couth he make, and wel endite,
Just, and eke daunce, and wel portraie, and write^k.

To this young man the poet, with great observance of decorum gives the tale of Cambuscan, the next in knightly dignity to that of Palamon and Arcite. He is attended by a yeoman, whose figure revives the ideas of the forest laws.

And he was clad in cote and hode of grene:
A shaft of pecocke arrows bright and kene^l.

^b See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, i. 122. seq. ed't. 1598. See also Hakluyt's account of the conquest of Prussia by the Dutch Knights Hospitallers, of Jerusalem, ibid.

Chivalry, riding, exercises of horsemanship, Compl. Mar. Ven. v. 144.

Cicilius riding in his *chivauchie*
From Venus. ———

^k v. 85.

^l Comp. Gul. Waynflete, episc. Winton. an. 1471. (supr. citat.) Among the stores of the bishop's castle of Farnham. "*Aras cum chordis*. Et red. comp. de xxiv. "*arcibus cum xxiv. chordis de remanentia*. "*--- Sagitta magna*. Et de cxliv. sagittis "*magnis barbati cum pennis pavonum*."

Undir his belt he bare ful thriftily :
 Wel couth he drefs his tackle yomanly :
 His arrows droupid not with featheris low ;
 And in his hand he bare a mighty bow.
 Upon his arm he bare a gay bracer ^m,
 And by his side a sword and bokeler.---
 A Christopher ⁿ on his brest of silver shene :
 A horn he bare, the baudrick was of grene ^o,

The character of the REEVE, an officer of much greater trust and authority during the feudal constitution than at present, is happily pictured. His attention to the care and custody of the manors, the produce of which was then kept in hand for furnishing his lord's table, perpetually employs his time, preys upon his thoughts, and makes him lean and choleric. He is the terror of bailiffs and hinds : and is remarkable for his circumspection, vigilance, and subtlety. He is never in arrears, and no auditor is able to over-reach or detect him in his accounts : yet he makes more commodious purchases for himself than for his master, without forfeiting the good will or bounty of the latter. Amidst these strokes of satire, Chaucer's genius for descriptive painting breaks forth in this simple and beautiful description of the REEVE's rural habitation.

In a *Computus* of bishop Gervays, episc. Winton. an. 1266. (supr. citat.) among the stores of the bishop's castle of Taunton, one of the heads or styles is, *Cauda pavonum*, which I suppose were used for feathering arrows. In the articles of *Arma*, which are part of the episcopal stores of the said castle, I find enumerated one thousand four hundred and twenty-one great arrows for cross bows, remaining over and above three hundred and seventy-one delivered to the bishop's vassals *tempore guerre*. Under the same title occur cross-bows made of horn. Ar-

rows with feathers of the peacock occur in Lydgate's Chronicle of Troy, B. iii. cap. 22. sign. O iii. edit. 1555. fol.

—Many good archers
 Of Boeme, which with their arrows kene,
 And with fethirs of peccoke freme and
 shene, &c.

^m Armour for the arms.

ⁿ A faint who presided over the weather.
 The patron of field sports.

^o v. 103.

His

His winning ^p was ful fayre upon a heth,
With grene trees yshadowed was his place ^q.

In the CLERKE OF OXENFORDE our author glances at the inattention paid to literature, and the unprofitableness of philosophy. He is emaciated with study, clad in a threadbare cloak, and rides a steed lean as a rake.

For he had gotten him no benefice,
Ne was so worldly for to have office:
For him had lever ^r han at his bedshed
Twentie bokis, yclad in with black or red,
Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
Then robis rich, fithell ^s, or gay fautrie:
But albe that he was a philosopher,
Yet had he but little gold in his coffer ^t.

His unwearied attention to logic had tinctured his conversation with much pedantic formality, and taught him to speak on all subjects in a precise and sententious style. Yet his conversation was instructive: and he was no less willing to submit than to communicate his opinion to others.

Sowning in moral virtue was his speche,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teche ^u.

The perpetual importance of the SERJEANT OF LAWE, who by habit or by affectation has the faculty of appearing busy when he has nothing to do, is sketched with the spirit and conciseness of Horace.

^p Dwelling.

^q v. 608.

^r Rather.

^s Fiddle. See *supr.* p. 147.

^t v. 293. Or it may be explained, "Yet he could not find the philosopher's stone."

^u v. 300.

No where so busy'a man as he ther n'as,
And yet he semid busier than he was *.

There is some humour in making our lawyer introduce the language of his pleadings into common conversation. He addresses the hoste,

Hoste, quoth he, *de pardeux jeo assent* *.

The affectation of talking French was indeed general, but it is here appropriated and in character.

Among the rest, the character of the HOSTE, or master of the Tabarde inn where the pilgrims are assembled, is conspicuous. He has much good sense, and discovers great talents for managing and regulating a large company; and to him we are indebted for the happy proposal of obliging every pilgrim to tell a story during their journey to Canterbury. His interpositions between the tales are very useful and enlivening; and he is something like the chorus on the Grecian stage. He is of great service in encouraging each person to begin his part, in conducting the scheme with spirit, in making proper observations on the merit or tendency of the fe-

* v. 323. He is said to have "often yben at the *parvise*." v. 312. It is not my design to enter into the disputes concerning the meaning or etymology of *parvis*: from which *parvisia*, the name for the public schools in Oxford, is derived. But I will observe, that *parvis* is mentioned as a court or portico before the church of Notre Dame at Paris, in John de Meun's part of the Roman de la Rose, v. 12529.

A Paris n'eust hommes ne femme
Au *parvis* devant Noltre Dame.

The passage is thus translated by Chaucer Rom. R. v. 7157.

Ther n'as no wight in all Paris
Before our Ladie at *Parvis*.

The word is supposed to be contracted from

N n n

Paradise. This perhaps signified an ambulatory. Many of our old religious houses had a place called Paradise. In the year 1300, children were taught to read and sing in the *Parvis* of St. Martin's church at Norwich. Blomf. Norf. ii. 748. Our Serjeant is afterwards said to have received many *fees and robes*, v. 319. The serjeants and all the officers of the superior courts of law, antiently received winter and summer robes from the king's wardrobe. He is likewise said to cite cases and decisions, "that from the time of king William were full," v. 326. For this line see the very learned and ingenious Mr. Barrington's Observations on the antient Statutes.

* v. 309.

veral

veral stories, in settling disputes which must naturally arise in the course of such an entertainment, and in connecting all the narratives into one continued system. His love of good cheer, experience in marshalling guests, address, authoritative deportment, and facetious disposition, are thus expressively displayed by Chaucer.

Grete chere our Hostè made us everichone,
 And to the suppere fet he us anone;
 And servid us with vitales of the best:
 Strong was his wine, and wele to drink us lest^y.
 A femely man our Hostè was withal
 To bene a marshall in a lordis hal.
 A largè man was he, with eyin stepe,
 A fayrer burgeis is there none in Chepe^z.
 Bold of his speche, and wise, and well ytaught,
 And of manhodè lakid him right nought.
 And eke therto he was a merry man, &c.^a.

Chaucer's scheme of the *CANTERBURY TALES* was evidently left unfinished. It was intended by our author, that every pilgrim should likewise tell a Tale on their return from Canterbury^b. A poet who lived soon after the *CANTERBURY TALES* made their appearance, seems to have designed a sup-

^y "We liked."

^z Cheapside.

^a Prol. v. 749.

^b Or rather, two on their way thither, and two on their return. Only Chaucer himself tells two tales. The poet says, that there were twenty-nine pilgrims in company: but in the *CHARACTERS* he describes more. Among the *TALES* which remain, there are none of the Prioress's Chaplains, the Haberdasher, Carpynter, Webbe, Dyer, Tapicer, and Hoste. The Chanon Yeman has a *TALE*, but no *CHARACTER*. The Plowman's Tale is certainly supposititious. See *supr.* p. 306. And

Obf. Spens. ii. 217. It is omitted in the best manuscript of the *CANTERBURY TALES*, MSS. Harl. 1758. fol. membran. These *TALES* were supposed to be *spoken*, not *written*. But we have in the Plowman's, "For my *WRITING* me allow." v. 3309. Urr. And in other places. "For my *WRITING* if I have blame."—"Of my *WRITING* have me excus'd." etc. See a *NOTE* at the beginning of the *CANT. TALES*, MSS. Laud. K. 50. Bibl. Bodl. written by John Barcham. But the discussion of these points properly belongs to an editor of Chaucer.

plement

plement to this deficiency, and with this view to have written a Tale called the *MARCHAUNT'S SECOND TALE*, or the *HISTORY OF BERYN*. It was first printed by Urry, who supposed it to be Chaucer's ^c. In the Prologue which is of considerable length, there is some humour and contrivance: in which the author, happily enough, continues to characterise the pilgrims, by imagining what each did, and how each behaved, when they all arrived at Canterbury. After dinner was ordered at their inn, they all proceed to the cathedral. At entering the church one of the monks sprinkles them with holy water. The Knight with the better sort of the company goes in great order to the shrine of Thomas a Beckett. The Miller and his companions run staring about the church: they pretend to blazon the arms painted in the glass windows, and enter into a dispute in heraldry: but the Host of the Tabarde reproves them for their improper behaviour and impertinent discourse, and directs them to the martyr's shrine. When all had finished their devotions, they return to the inn. In the way thither they purchase toys for which that city was famous, called *Canterbury brooches*: and here much facetiousness passes betwixt the Frere and the Sompnour, in which the latter vows revenge on the former, for telling a Tale so palpably levelled at his profession, and protests he will retaliate on their return by a more severe story. When dinner is ended, the Host of the Tabarde thanks all the company in form for their several Tales. The party then separate till supper-time by agreement. The Knight goes to survey the walls and bulwarks of the city, and explains to his son the Squier the nature and strength of them. Mention is here made of great guns. The Wife of Bath is too weary to walk far; she proposes to the Prioreſſe to divert themselves in the garden, which abounds with herbs proper for making salves. Others wander about the streets. The Pardoner has a low adventure, which ends

^c Urr. Chauc. p. 595.

much to his disgrace. The next morning they proceed on their return to Southwark: and our genial master of the Tabarde, just as they leave Canterbury, by way of putting the company into good humour, begins a panegyric on the morning and the month of April, some lines of which I shall quote, as a specimen of our author's abilities in poetical description^c.

Lo! how the feson of the yere, and Averell^d flourish,
Doith^e the busshis burgyn^f out blossomes and flouris.
Lo! the prymerofys of the yere, how fresh they bene to
fene,
And many othir flouris among the grassis grene.
Lo! how they springe and sprede, and of divers hue,
Beholdith and seith, both white, red, and blue.
That lusty bin and comfortabyll for mannis fight,
For I say for myself it makith my hert to light^g.

On casting lots, it falls to the Marchaunt to tell the first tale, which then follows. I cannot allow that this Prologue and Tale were written by Chaucer. Yet I believe them to be nearly coeval.

^c There is a good description of a magical palace, v. 1973—2076. ^d April. ^e Make.
^f Shoot. ^g v. 690.

S E C T. XVIII.

IT is not my intention to dedicate a volume to Chaucer, how much soever he may deserve it; nor can it be expected, that, in a work of this general nature, I should enter into a critical examination of all Chaucer's pieces. Enough has been said to prove, that in elevation, and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, he surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion: that his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety: that his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity. In a word; that he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet; in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language, and a national want of taste; and when to write verses at all, was regarded as a singular qualification. It is true indeed, that he lived at a time when the French and Italians had made considerable advances and improvements in poetry: and although proofs have already been occasionally given of his imitations from these sources, I shall close my account of him with a distinct and comprehensive view of the nature of the poetry which subsisted in France and Italy when he wrote: pointing out in the mean time, how far and in what manner the popular models of those nations contributed to form his taste, and influence his genius.

I have already mentioned the troubadours of Provence, and have observed that they were fond of moral and allegorical fables^a. A taste for this sort of composition they

^a See *supr.* p. 148.

partly acquired by reading Boethius, and the *PSYCHOMACHIA* of Prudentius, two favorite classics of the dark ages; and partly from the Saracens their neighbours in Spain, who were great inventors of apologues. The French have a very early metrical romance *DE FORTUNE ET DE FELICITE*, a translation from Boethius's book *DE CONSOLATIONE*, by Reynault de Louens a Dominican friar^b. From this source, among many others of the Provencial poems, came the Tournament of *ANTICHRIST* above-mentioned, which contains a combat of the Virtues and Vices^c: the Romaunt of Richard de Lisle, in which *MODESTY* fighting with *LUST*^d is thrown into the river Seine at Paris: and, above all, the *ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE*, translated by Chaucer, and already mentioned at large in its proper place. Visions were a branch of this species of poetry, which admitted the most licentious excursions of fancy in forming personifications, and in feigning imaginary beings and ideal habitations. Under these we may rank Chaucer's *HOUSE OF FAME*, which I have before hinted to have been probably the production of Provence.

But the principal subject of their poems, dictated in great measure by the spirit of chivalry, was love: especially among the troubadours of rank and distinction, whose castles being crowded with ladies, presented perpetual scenes of the most splendid gallantry. This passion they spiritualised into various metaphysical refinements, and filled it with abstracted notions of visionary perfection and felicity. Here too they were perhaps influenced by their neighbours the Saracens, whose philosophy chiefly consisted of fantastic abstractions. It is

^b See Mem. Lit. tom. xviii. p. 741. 4^{to}. And tom. vii. 293. 294. I have before mentioned John of Meun's translation of Boethius. It is in verse. John de Langres is said to have made a translation in prose, about 1336. It is highly probable that Chaucer translated Boethius from some of the French translations. In the Bodleian library there is an *EXPLANATIO* of Boe-

thius's *CONSOLATION* by our countryman Nicholas Trivett, who died before 1329.

^c See *supr.* p. 285.

^d *PUTERIE*. Properly Bawdry, Obscenity. *MODESTY* is drowned in the river, "which gives occasion to this conclusion, "Dont vien que plus n'y a HONTE dans "Paris." The author lived about the year 1300.

manifest,

manifest, however, that nothing can exceed the profound pedantry with which they treated this favorite argument. They defined the essence and characteristics of true love with all the parade of a Scotist in his professorial chair: and bewildered their imaginations in speculative questions concerning the most desperate or the most happy situations of a sincere and sentimental heart^c. But it would be endless, and indeed ridiculous, to describe at length the systematical solemnity with which they cloathed this passion^f. The ROMANT OF THE ROSE which I have just alledged as a proof of their allegorising turn, is not less an instance of their affectation in writing on this subject: in which the poet, under the agency of allegorical personages, displays the gradual approaches and impediments to fruition, and introduces a regular disputation conducted with much formality between Reason and a lover. Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE is also formed on this philosophy of gallantry. It is a lover's parody of Boethius's book DE CONSOLATIONE mentioned above. His poem called LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCY^g, and his ASSEMBLE OF LADIES, are from the same

^c In the mean time the greatest liberties and indecencies were practiced and encouraged. These doctrines did not influence the manners of the times. In an old French tale, a countess in the absence of her lord having received a knight into her castle, and conducted him in great state to his repose, will not suffer him to sleep alone: with infinite politeness she orders one of her damsels, *la plus cortoise et la plus bele*, into his bed-chamber, *avec ce chevalier gesfr.* Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 70. Not. 17.

^f This infatuation continued among the French down to modern times. "Les gens de qualite, says the ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, confer-voient encore ce goüt que leurs pères avoient pris dans nos anciennes cours: ce fut sans doute pour complaire a son fondateur, que l'Academie Française

"traita, dans ses premiers séances, plusieurs sujets qui concernoient l'AMOUR; et l'on vit encore dans l'hôtel du Lougueville les personnes les plus qualifiées et le plus spirituelles du siècle de Louis xiv. se disputer a qui commenteroit et et raffineroit le mieux sur la delicateste du cœur et des sentimens, a qui feroit, sur ce chapitre, les distinctions le plus subtiles." Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. P. v. pag. 17.

^g Translated or imitated from a French poem of Alain Chartier, v. 11.

Which Maistr Alayne made of remembrance
Chief secretary to the king of France.

He was secretary to Charles the sixth and seventh. But he is chiefly famous for his prose.

school^b. Chaucer's PRIORESSE and MONKE, whose lives were devoted to religious reflection and the most serious engagements, and while they are actually travelling on a pilgrimage to visit the shrine of a sainted martyr, openly avow the universal influence of love. They exhibit, on their apparel, badges entirely inconsistent with their profession, but easily accountable for from these principles. The Prioress wears a bracelet on which is inscribed, with a crowned A, *Amor vincit omnia*ⁱ. The Monke ties his hood with a true-lover's knot^k. The early poets of Provence, as I before hinted, formed a society called the COURT OF LOVE, which gave rise to others in Gascony, Languedoc, Poitou, and Dauphiny: and Picardy, the constant rival of Provence, had a similar institution called *Plaids et Gieux sous l'Ormel*. These establishments consisted of ladies and gentlemen of the highest rank, exercised and approved in courtesy, who tried with the most consummate ceremony, and decided with supreme authority, cases in love brought before their tribunal. Martial d'Avergne, an old French poet, for the diversion and at the request of the countess of Beaujeu, wrote a poem entitled ARRESTA AMORUM, or the Decrees of Love, which is a humorous description of the *Plaids* of Picardy. Fontenelle has recited one of their processes, which conveys an idea of all the rest^l. A queen of France was appealed to from an unjust sentence pronounced in the love-pleas, where the countess of Champagne presided. The queen did not chuse to interpose in a matter of so much consequence, nor to reverse the decrees of a court whose decision was absolute and final. She answered, "God forbid, that I should presume to contradict the sentence of the countess of Champagne!" This was about the year 1206. Chaucer has a poem called the COURT

^b So is Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS, as we shall see hereafter.

v. 162

^k v. 197.

^l Hist. Theat. Franc. p. 15. tom. iii. Oeuvr. Paris, 1742.

OF LOVE, which is nothing more than the love-court of Provenceⁿ: it contains the twenty statutes which that court prescribed to be universally observed under the severest penalties°. Not long afterwards, on the same principle, a society was established in Languedoc, called the *Fraternity of the Penitents of Love*. Enthusiasm was here carried to as high a pitch of extravagance as ever it was in religion. It was a contention of ladies and gentlemen, who should best sustain the honour of their amorous fanaticism. Their object was to prove the excess of their love, by shewing with an invincible fortitude and consistency of conduct, with no less obstinacy of opinion, that they could bear extremes of heat and cold. Accordingly the resolute knights and esquires, the dames and damsels, who had the hardiness to embrace this severe institution, dressed themselves during the heat of summer in the thickest mantles lined with the warmest fur. In this they demonstrated, according to the antient poets, that love works the most wonderful and extraordinary changes. In winter, their love again perverted the nature of the seasons: they then clothed themselves in the lightest and thinnest stuffs which could be procured. It was a crime to wear fur on a day of the most piercing cold; or to appear with a hood, cloak, gloves, or muff. The flame of love kept them sufficiently warm. Fires, all the winter,

ⁿ See also Chaucer's TEN COMMANDMENTS OF LOVE, p. 554. Urr.

° Vie de Petrarque, tom. ii. Not. xix. p. 60. Probably the *Cour d'Amour* was the origin of that called *La Cour Amoureuse*, established under the gallant reign of Charles the sixth, in the year 1410. The latter had the most considerable families of France for its members, and a parade of grand officers, like those in the royal household and courts of law. See Hist. Acad. Inscript. Tom. vii. p. 287. seq. 4°. See also Hist. Langued. tom. iii. p. 25. seq.

The most uniform and unembarrassed

view of the establishment and usages of this COURT, which I can at present recollect, is thrown together from scattered and scarce materials by the ingenious author of VIE DE PETRAQUE, tom. ii. p. 45. seq. Not. xix. But for a complete account of these institutions, and other curious particulars relating to the antient manners and antient poetry of the French, the public waits with impatience for the history of the Provençal poets written by Mons. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, who has copied most of their manuscripts with great care and expence.

were utterly banished from their houses; and they dressed their apartments with evergreens. In the most intense frost their beds were covered only with a piece of canvass. It must be remembered, that in the mean time they passed the greater part of the day abroad, in wandering about from castle to castle; insomuch, that many of these devotees, during so desperate a pilgrimage, perished by the inclemency of the weather, and died martyrs to their profession^p.

The early universality of the French language greatly contributed to facilitate the circulation of the poetry of the troubadours in other countries. The Frankish language was familiar even at Constantinople and its dependent provinces in the eleventh century, and long afterwards. Raymond Montaniero, an historian of Catalonia, who wrote about the year 1300, says, that the French tongue was as well known in the Morea and at Athens as at Paris. "E parlavan axi belle Francis com dins en Paris^q." The oldest Italian poetry seems to be founded on that of Provence. The word SONNET was adopted from the French into the Italian versification. It occurs in the ROMAN DE LA ROSE, "Lais d'amour et SONNETS courtois^r." Boccacio copied many of his best Tales from the troubadours^s. Several of Dante's fictions are

^p See D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, tom. iv. p. 184. seq. Compare p. 145. Note, v.

^q Hist. Arragon. c. 261. ^r v. 720.

^s Particularly from Rutebeuf and Hebers. Rutebeuf was living in the year 1310. He wrote tales and stories of entertainment in verse. It is certain that Boccacio took, from this old French minstrel, Nov. x. Giorn. ix. And perhaps two or three others. Hebers lived about the year 1200. He wrote a French romance, in verse, called the *Seven Sages of Greece, or Dolopathos*. He translated it from the Latin of Dom Johans, a monk of the abbey of Haute-felve. It has great variety, and contains several agreeable stories, pleasant adventures, emblems, and proverbs. Boccacio

has taken from it four Tales, viz. Nov. ii. Giorn. iii. Nov. iv. Giorn. vii. Nov. viii. Giorn. viii. And the Tale of the Boy who had never seen a woman, since finely touched by Fontaine. An Italian book called *Erafastus* is compiled from this *Roman of the Seven Sages*. It is said to have been first composed by Sandaber the Indian, a writer of proverbs: that it afterwards appeared successively in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Greek; was at length translated into Latin by the monk above-mentioned, and from thence into French by Hebers. It is very probable that the monk translated it from some Greek manuscript of the dark ages, which Huet says was to be found in some libraries. Three hundred years after the *Roman* of Hebers, it was translated

derived from the same fountain. Dante has honoured some of them with a seat in his Paradise¹: and in his tract *DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA*, has mentioned Thiebault king of Navarre as a pattern for writing poetry². With regard to Dante's capital work the *INFERNO*, Raoul de Houdane, a Provencial bard about the year 1180, wrote a poem entitled, *LE VOYE OU LE SONGE D'ENFER*³. Both Boccaccio and Dante studied at Paris, where they much improved their taste by reading the songs of Thiebault king of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Coucy, and other antient French fabulists⁴. Petrarch's refined ideas of love are chiefly drawn from those amorous reveries of the Provencials which I have above described; heightened perhaps by the Platonic system, and exaggerated by the subtilising spirit of Italian fancy. Varchi and Pignatelli have written professed treatises on the nature of Petrarch's love. But neither they, nor the rest of the Italians who, to this day, continue to debate a point of so much consequence, consider how powerfully Petrarch must have been influenced to talk of love in so peculiar a strain by studying the poets of Provence. His *TRIUMFO DI AMORE* has much imagery copied from Anselm Fayditt, one of the most celebrated of these bards. He has likewise many imitations from the works of Arnaud Daniel, who is called the most eloquent of the troubadours⁵. Petrarch,

translated into Dutch, and again from the Dutch into Latin. There is an English abridgement of it, which is a story-book for children. See *Mem. Lit.* Tom. ii. p. 731. 4th. Fauchett, p. 106. 160. Huet, *Orig. Fab. Rom.* 136. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* x. 339. Maffieu, *Poef. Fr.* p. 137. Crescimben. *Volg. Poef.* Vol. i. L. v. p. 332. Many of the old French minstrels deal much in Tales and novels of humour and amusement, like those of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. They call them *Fabliaux*.

⁵ See p. 117. *supr.* Compare Crescimben. *Volg. Poef.* L. i. c. xiv. p. 162.

¹ See p. 43. 45. And *Commed. Infern.* cant. xxii.

² Fauch. *Rec.* p. 96.

³ See Fauchett, *Rec.* p. 47. 116. And Huet, *Rom.* p. 121. 108.

⁴ See p. 117. *supr.* He lived about 1189. *Recherch. Par Beauchamps*, p. 5. Nostradamus asserts, that Petrarch stole many things from a troubadour called Richard seigneur de Barbezieuz, who is placed under 1383. Petrarch however was dead at that time.

in one of his sonnets, represents his mistress Laura sailing on the river Rhone, in company with twelve Provençal ladies, who at that time presided over the COURT OF LOVE^y.

Pasquier observes, that the Italian poetry arose as the Provençal declined^z. It is a proof of the decay of invention among the French in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that about that period they began to translate into prose their old metrical romances: such as the fables of king Arthur, of Charlemagne, of Oddegir the Dane, of Renaud of Montauban, and other illustrious champions, whom their early writers had celebrated in rhyme^a. At length, about the year 1380, in the place of the Provençal a new species of poetry succeeded in France, consisting of Chants Royaux^b,

^y Sonnet. clxxxviii. Dodici Donne, &c. The academicians della Crusca, in their Dictionary, quote a manuscript entitled, LIBRO D'AMORE of the year 1408. It is also referred to by Crescimbeni in his Lives of the Provençal poets. It contains verdicts or determinations in the Court of Love.

^z Pasq. Les Recherch. de la France. vii. 5. p. 609. 611. edit. 1633. fol.

^a These translations, in which the originals were much enlarged, produced an infinite number of other romances in prose: and the old metrical romances soon became unfashionable and neglected. The romance of PERCEFORREST, one of the largest of the French romances of chivalry, was written in verse about 1220. It was not till many years afterwards translated into prose. M. Falconet, an ingenious enquirer into the early literature of France, is of opinion, that the most ancient romances, such as that of the ROUND TABLE, were first written in Latin prose: it being well known that Turpin's CHARLEMAGNE, as it is now extant, was originally composed in that language. He thinks they were translated into French rhymes, and at last into French prose, *tels que nous les avons aujourd'hui*. See Hist. Acad. Inscript. vii. 293. But part of this doctrine may be justly doubted.

^b With regard to the *Chant royal*, Pasquier describes it to be a song in honour of God, the holy Virgin, or any other argument of dignity, especially if joined with distress. It was written in heroic stanzas, and closed with a *l'Envoi*, or stanza containing a recapitulation, dedication, or the like. Chaucer calls the *Chant royal* above-mentioned, a *Kyngis Note*. Mill. T. v. 111. p. 25. His *Complaint of Venus*, *Cuckow and Nightingale*, and *La belle Dame sans Mercy*, Have all a *l'Envoi*, and belong to this species of French verse. His *l'Envoi* to the *Complaint of Venus*, or *Mars and Venus*, ends with these lines, v. 79.

And eke to me it is a grete penaunce,
Sith rime in English hath soche scarcite,
To follow word by word the curiosite
Of gransenflour of them that make in
Fraunce.

Make signifies to write poetry; and here we see that this poem was translated from the French. See also *Chaucer's Dreame*, v. 2204. Petrarch has the *Envoi*. I am inclined to think, that Chaucer's *Assemble of Fowles* was partly planned in imitation of a French poem written by Gace de la Vigne, Chaucer's cotemporary, entitled, *Roman d'Oiseaux*, which treats of the nature, properties, and management

Balades, Rondeaux, and Pastorales^c. This was distinguished by the appellation of the NEW POETRY: and Froissart, who has been mentioned above chiefly in the character of an historian, cultivated it with so much success, that he has been called its author. The titles of Froissart's poetical pieces will alone serve to illustrate the nature of this NEW POETRY: but they prove, at the same time, that the Provencial cast of composition still continued to prevail. They are, *The Paradise of Love, A Panegyric on the Month of May, The Temple of Honour, The Flower of the Daisy, Amorous Lays, Pastorals, The Amorous Prison, Royal Ballads in honour of our Lady, The Ditty of the Amorous Spinett, Virelais, Rondeaux, and The Plea of the Rose and Violet*^d. Whoever examines Chaucer's smaller pieces will perceive that they are altogether formed on this plan, and often compounded of these ideas. Chaucer himself declares, that he wrote

-----Many an hymne for your holidaires
 * That hightin balades, rondils, virelaies^e.

But above all, Chaucer's FLOURE AND THE LEAFE, in which an air of rural description predominates, and where the allegory is principally conducted by mysterious allusions to the virtues or beauties of the vegetable world, to flowers and plants, exclusive of its general romantic and allegoric vein,

management of all birds *de chasse*. But this is merely a conjecture, for I have never seen the French poem. At least there is an evident similitude of subject.

^c About this time, a Prior of S. Genevieve at Paris wrote a small treatise entitled, *L'art de Distier BALLADES, ET RONDELLES*. See Monf. Beauchamps Rech. Theatr. p. 88. M. Massieu says this is the first ART OF POETRY printed in France. Hist. Poet. Fr. p. 222. See L'ART POETIQUE du Jaques Pelloutier du Mons. Lyon, 555. 8vo. Liv. 11. ch. i. Du L'ODE.

^d Pasquier, ubi supr. p. 612. Who calls such pieces MIGNARDISES.

^e Here is an ellipse. He means, *And poems*.

^f Prol. Leg. G. W. v. 422. He mentions this sort of poetry in the *Frankleins Tale*, v. 2493. p. 109. Urr.

Of which matere [love] madin he many layes,
 Songis, Complaintis, Roundils, Virelayes.
 Compare Chaucer's DREME, v. 973. In the FLOURE AND LEAFE we have the words of a French Rondeau, v. 177.

bears

bears a strong resemblance to some of these subjects. The poet is happily placed in a delicious arbour, interwoven with eglantine. Imaginary troops of knights and ladies advance: some of the ladies are crowned with flowers, and others with chaplets of agnus castus, and these are respectively subject to a *Lady of the Flower*, and a *Lady of the Leaf*^s. Some are cloathed in green, and others in white. Many of the knights are distinguished in much the same manner. But others are crowned with leaves of oak or of other trees: others carry branches of oak, laurel, hawthorn, and woodbine^h. Besides this profusion of vernal ornaments, the whole procession glitters with gold, pearls, rubies, and other costly decorations. They are preceded by minstrels cloathed in green and crowned with flowers. One of the ladies sings a bargaret, or pastoral, in praise of the daisy.

Aⁱ bargaret in praising the daisie,
For as methought among her notis fwete
She said *si douce est le margaruite*^k.

This might have been Froissart's song: at least this is one of his subjects. In the mean time a nightingale, seated in a laurel-tree, whose shade would cover an hundred persons, sings the whole service, "longing to May." Some of the knights and ladies do obeysance to the leaf, and some to the

^s In a decision of the COURT OF LOVE cited by Fontenelle, the judge is called *Le Marquis des fleurs et violettes*. Font. ubi supr. p. 15.

^h v. 270.

ⁱ Rather *Bergerette*. A song *du Berger*, of a shepherd.

^k v. 350. A panegyric on this flower is again introduced in the Prologue to the *Leg. of G. Wom.* v. 180.

The long daie I shope me for to abide
For nothing ellis, and I shall not lie
But for to lokein upon the *daisie*,
That wel by reason men it callè maie
The *Daisie*, or els the *leg of the daie*:
The emprise, and the flour, of flouris al, &c.

All this while he means to pay a compliment to Lady Margaret, countess of Pembroke, king Edward's daughter, one of his patronesses. See the *Balade* beginning *In Fevrere*, &c. p. 556. Urr. v. 688. Froissart's song in praise of the daisy might have the same tendency: for he was patronised both by Edward and Philippa. *Margaruite* is French for *Daisy*. Chaucer perhaps intends the same compliment by the "*Margarite perle*," *Test. Love*, p. 483. col. i. &c. Urr. See also *Prolog. Leg. G. Wom.* v. 218. 224. That Prologue has many images like those in the *Flower and the Leaf*. It was evidently written after that poem.

flower of the daisy. Others are represented as worshipping a bed of flowers. Flora is introduced "of these flouris " goddesse." The lady of the leaf invites the lady of the flower to a banquet. Under these symbols is much morality couched. The leaf signifies perseverance and virtue: the flower denotes indolence and pleasure. Among those who are crowned with the leaf, are the knights of king Arthur's round table, and Charlemagne's Twelve Peers; together with the knights of the order of the garter now just established by Edward the third¹.

But these fancies seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the FLORAL GAMES instituted in France in the year 1324^m, which filled the French poetry with images of this sortⁿ. They were founded by Clementina Ifaure countess of Tholouse, and annually celebrated in the month of May. She published an edict, which assembled all the poets of France in artificial arbours dressed with flowers: and he that produced the best poem was rewarded with a violet of gold. There were likewise inferior prizes of flowers made in silver. In the mean time the conquerors were crowned with natural chaplets of their own respective flowers. During the ceremony, degrees were also conferred. He who had won a prize three times was created a doctor *en gaye Science*, the name of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. The instrument of creation was in verse^o. This institution, however fantastical, soon became common through the whole kingdom of France: and these romantic rewards, distributed with the most impartial attention to merit, at least infused an useful emulation, and in some measure revived the languishing genius of the French poetry.

¹ v. 516. 517. 519.

^m Mem. Lit. tom. vii. p. 422. 4^{to}.

ⁿ Hence Froissart in the EPINETTE AMOUREUSE, describing his romantic amusements, says he was delighted with

Violettes en leur saisons

Et roses blanches et vermeilles, &c.

See Mem. Lit. tom. x. p. 665. 287. 4^{to}.

^o Recherches sur les poètes couronnez, Mem. Lit. tom. x. p. 567. 4.

The French and Italian poets, whom Chaucer imitates, abound in allegorical personages: and it is remarkable, that the early poets of Greece and Rome were fond of these creations. Homer has given us, STRIFE, CONTENTION, FEAR, TERROR, TUMULT, DESIRE, PERSUASION, and BENEVOLENCE. We have in Hesiod, DARKNESS, and many others, if the Shield of Hercules be of his hand. COMUS occurs in the Agamemnon of Eschylus; and in the Prometheus of the same poet, STRENGTH and FORCE are two persons of the drama, and perform the capital parts. The fragments of Ennius indicate, that his poetry consisted much of personifications. He says, that in one of the Carthaginian wars, the gigantic image of SORROW appeared in every place: "Omnibus endo locis ingens apparet imago TRISTITIÆ." Lucretius has drawn the great and terrible figure of SUPERSTITION, "*Quæ caput e cœli regionibus ostendebat.*" He also mentions, in a beautiful procession of the Seasons, CALOR ARIDUS, HYEMS, and ALGUS. He introduces MEDICINE *muttering with silent fear*, in the midst of the deadly pestilence at Athens. It seems to have escaped the many critics who have written on Milton's noble but romantic allegory of SIN and DEATH, that he took the person of Death from the Alcestis of his favorite tragedian Euripides, where ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ is a principal agent in the drama. As knowledge and learning encrease, poetry begins to deal less in imagination: and these fantastic beings give way to real manners and living characters.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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